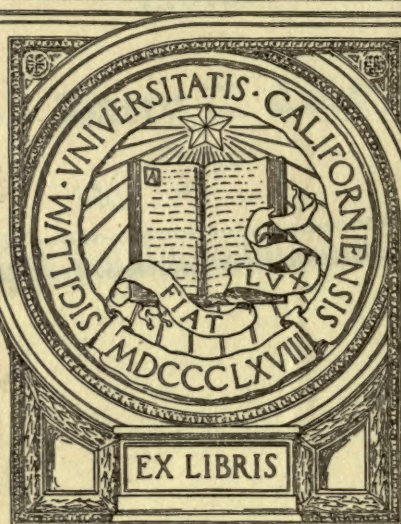
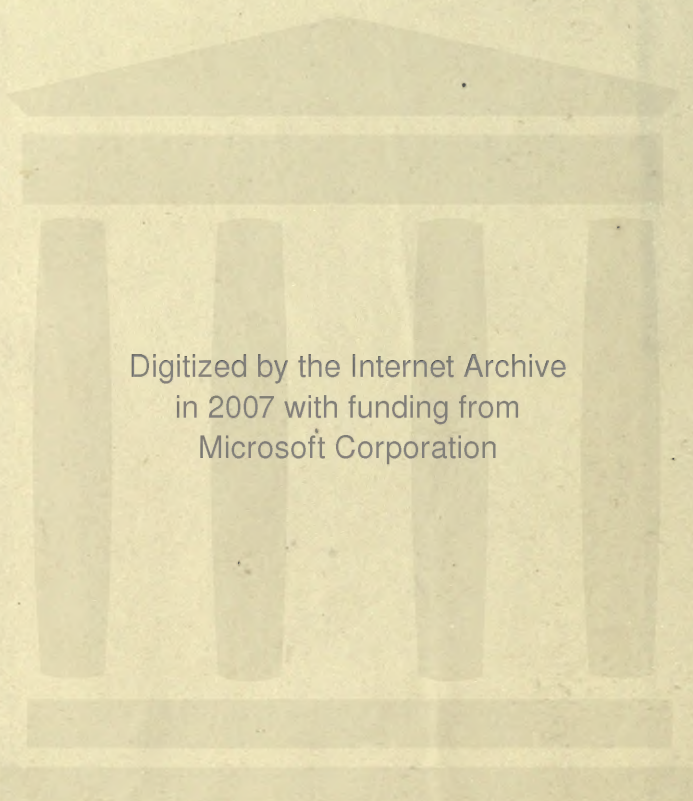


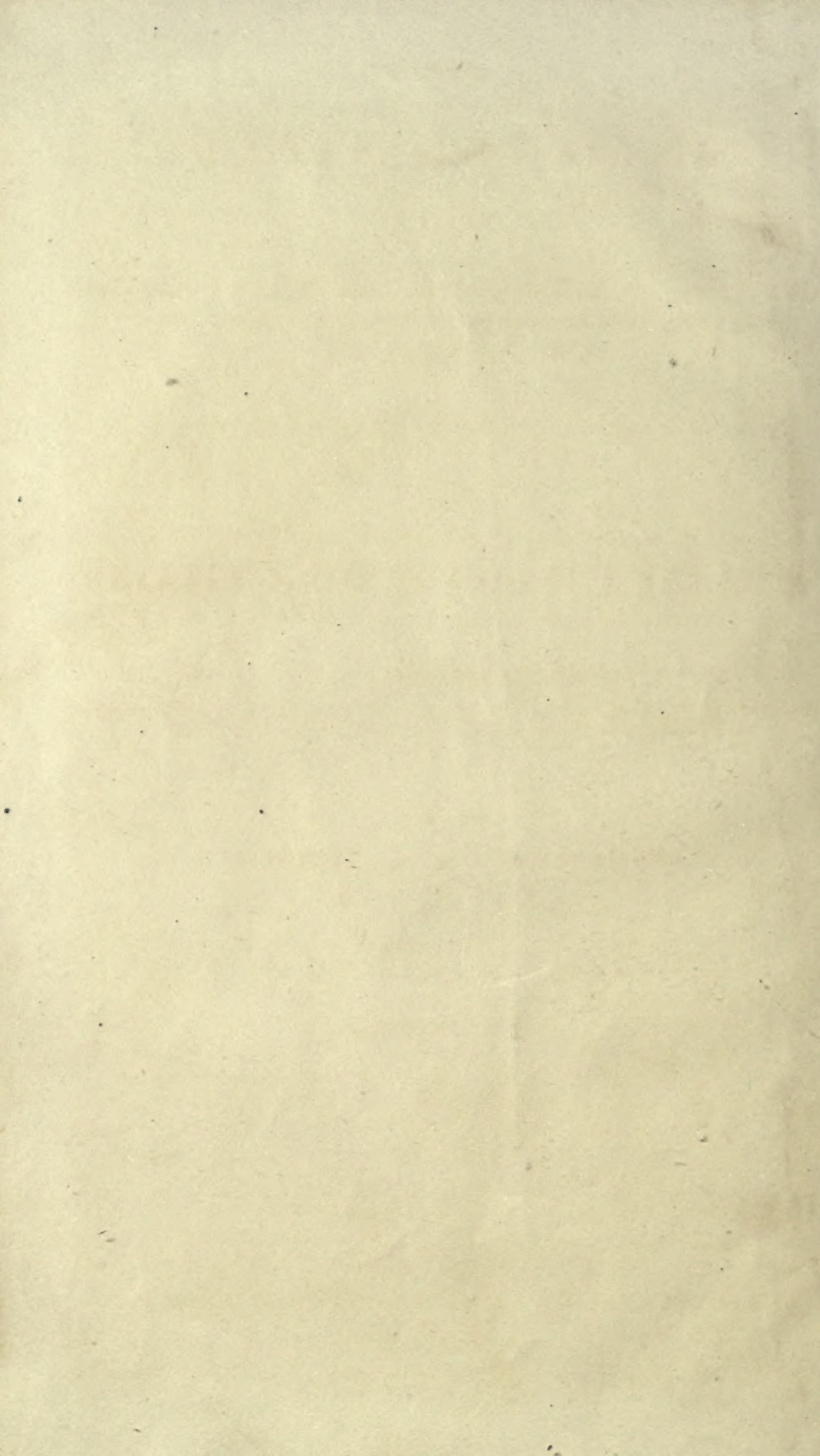
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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLO-
NIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS, GRECIANS,
AND MACEDONIANS.

INCLUDING A HISTORY

OF THE

ARTS AND SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS.

BY CHARLES ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, PROFESSOR OF ELOQUENCE IN THE ROYAL COLLEGE
AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

WITH A

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, BY JAMES BELL.

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VOL. I.

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APPLEGATE, POUNSFORD & CO., PUBLISHERS,

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1873.

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS,
PERSIANS, GREEKS, ROMANS, AND THE
MAKING OF THE MODERN WORLD

IN TWO VOLUMES

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BY CHARLES ROBERT

WITH A HISTORY OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ANCIENTS

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In presenting to the American Public, this new and improved edition of **ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY**, we deem it proper to point out a few of the many instances which, it is believed, gives it a superiority over other editions hitherto published in this country—They are,

FIRST—The restoration of the prefatory remarks of Rollin, to each history, as originally prepared by him and inserted in the French editions.

SECOND—The addition of “A History of the Arts and Sciences of the Ancients,” by Rollin, as inserted in the original, and all subsequent French editions.

The following extract from the preface of the Publishers of the Glasgow Edition of 1832, Edited by James Bell, will more clearly show the importance of the additions referred to.

“The publishers venture to say this is the only entire and unmutilated edition of Rollin's History in English, which has issued from the press for more than eighty years: indeed they are not aware that any other unmutilated edition was ever printed in Britain, except the first English edition published in 1738 by J. & P. Knapton, London. In Rollin's original work, as may be seen by consulting the French editions, and the first English edition, (1738,) the author has introduced each separate division of the history by suitable prefatory remarks. In the subsequent editions, however, these different introductions have been thrown together in the most confused and undistinguished manner, for the purpose of forming one general preface to the whole work; by which means not only is the original form of the work marred, but the utility of those valuable portions of it are in a great measure destroyed. But what is still worse, this part of the work has been exceedingly mutilated by the suppression of *many paragraphs*, and even *whole pages*; by which means the sentiments and remarks of the learned and pious author upon some of the most important and interesting subjects have been hidden from and lost to his English readers; and this is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as the mutilator has manifested any thing but a preference for the doctrines and morality of the Bible, in the selection of those parts of the work which he has chosen to suppress. In order also to make up the above mentioned heterogeneous preface, the whole of Chapter III. Book X. of the original work, forming part of the history of the Persians and Grecians, and amounting to above one hundred pages of the first English edition, has been torn from its original place in the work, and thrown into the centre of the foresaid general preface, without the smallest apparent regard to any principles of order or connexion, thus completing such a flagrant instance of literary license as it is hoped but seldom occurs. In the edition now offered to the public, the various introductions to the several divisions of

the history have been printed in their original separate form, and the many paragraphs formerly suppressed, as also Chapter III. Book X. have all been restored to their proper places in the work.

"It is a fact known to few English readers of Rollin, that the original edition of his "Ancient History," and all the subsequent French editions down to that edited by M. Letronne in 1823, contain as an integral part of the work, "A History of the Arts and Sciences of the Ancients." What first induced the English publishers to mutilate the work, by suppressing so large and valuable a part of it, we shall not determine; certain, however, it is, that their injudicious example has been followed in all the English editions published since 1740: so that even few Booksellers are now aware of the fact, that in all the English editions of Rollin published during the last eighty-five years, nearly a **THIRD PART OF THE WORK HAS BEEN SUPPRESSED**, and that a part too which the author himself, in common we believe with every enlightened and philosophic mind, regarded as the most valuable and interesting of the whole. For, as Dr. Johnson justly remarks, 'There is no part of history so generally useful as that which relates the progress of the human mind, the gradual improvement of reason, the successive advances of science, the vicissitudes of learning and ignorance, which are the light and darkness of thinking beings, the extinction and resuscitation of arts, and the revolutions of the intellectual world. If accounts of battles and invasions are peculiarly the business of princes, surely the useful or elegant are not to be neglected.'"

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passes the Euphrates and Tigris, and comes up with Darius. The famous battle of Arbela, 556.

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SECT. X. Darius leaves Ecbatana. He is betrayed and put in chains by Bessus governor of Bactria. The latter, upon Alexander's advancing towards him, flies, after having covered Darius with wounds, who expires a few moments before Alexander's arrival. He sends his corpse to Sysigambis, 565.

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SECT. XII. Lacedæmon revolts from the Macedonians, with almost all Peloponnesus. Antipater marches thither, and defeats the enemy in a battle, in which Agis is killed. Alexander marches against Bessus. Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to visit him from a very remote country. Alexander, at his return from Parthia, abandons himself to pleasure and excess. He continues his march against Bessus. A pretended conspiracy of Philotas against the king. He and Parmenio his father are put to death. Alexander subdues several nations. He at last arrives in Bactriana, whither Bessus is brought to him, 567.

SECT. XIII. Alexander, after taking a great many cities in Bactriana, builds one near the river Iaxartes, which he calls by his own name. The Scythians, alarmed at the building of this city, as it would be a check upon them, send ambassadors to the king, who address themselves to him with uncommon freedom. After having dismissed them, he passes the Iaxartes, gains a signal victory over the Scythians, and behaves with humanity to the vanquished. He checks and punishes the insurrection of the Sogdians, sends Bessus to Ecbatana to be put to death, and takes the city of Petra, which was thought impregnable, 573.

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SECT. XVII. Alexander, in his march through deserts, is grievously distressed by famine. He arrives at Pasagada, where Cyrus's monument stood. Orsines, a powerful satrap, is put to death through the clandestine intrigues of Bagoas the eunuch. Calanus voluntarily meets his death. Alexander marries Statira, the daughter of Darius. Harpalus arrives at Athens; Demosthenes is banished. The Macedonian soldiers make an insurrection, which Alexander appeases. He recalls Antipater from Macedonia, and sends Craterus in his room. The king's sorrow for the death of Hephestion, 590.

SECT. XVIII. Alexander enters Babylon, in spite of the sinister predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers. He there forms the plans of several voyages and conquests. He sets about repairing the breaches made in the embankments of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of Belus. He abandons himself to immoderate drinking, which brings him to his end. The universal grief spread over the whole empire upon that account. Sysigambis is not able to survive him. Preparations are made to convey Alexander's corpse to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya, 594.

SECT. XIX. The judgment which we are to form of Alexander, 598.

SECT. XX. Reflections on the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, 604.

APPROBATION.

PARIS, 3d September, 1730.

I HAVE read, by order of the Lord-Keeper, a manuscript entitled, "The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, and Greeks," &c. In this work appear the same principles of religion, of probity, and the same happy endeavors to improve the minds of youth, which are so conspicuous in all the writings of this author. The present work is not confined merely to the instruction of young people, but may be of service to all persons in general, who will now have an opportunity of reading in their native tongue, a great number of curious events, which before were known to few except the learned.

SECOURS

A LETTER,

WRITTEN BY THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. FRANCIS ATTERBURY, LATE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,
TO M. ROLLIN, IN COMMENDATION OF THIS WORK.

REVEREND ATQUE ERUDITISSIME VIR,

CUM, monente amico quodam, qui juxta aedes tuas nabitat, scirem te Parisios revertisse, statui salutatum ire, ut primum per valetudinem liceret. Id officii, ex pedum infirmitate aliquandiu dilatatum, cum tandem me impleturum sperarem, frustrâ fui; domi non eras. Restat, ut quod coram exequi non potui, scriptis saltem literis præstem; tibi quæ ob ea omnia quibus à te auctus sum, beneficia, grates agam, quas habeo certè, et semper habiturus sum, maximas.

Reverâ munera illa librorum nuperis à te annis editorum egregia ac perhonorifica mihi visa sunt. Multi enim facio, et te, vir præstantissime, et tua omnia quæcunque in isto literarum genere perpolita sunt; in quo quidem Te cæteris omnibus ejusmodi scriptoribus facili antecellere, atque esse eundem et dicendi et sentiendi magistrum optimum, prorsus exiatio; cumque in excolendis his studiis aliquantulum ipse et operæ et temporis posuerim, liberè tamen profiteor me, tua cum legam ac relegam, ea edoctum esse à te, non solum quæ nesciebam prorsus, sed etiam quæ antea didicisse mihi visus sum. Modestè itaque nimium de opere tuo sentis, cum juventuti tantum instituendæ elaboratum id esse contendis. Ea certè scribis, quæ a viris istius modi rerum haud imperitis, cum voluptate et fructu legi possunt. Vetera quidem et satis cognita revocas in memoriam; sed ita revocas, ut illustres, ut ornes; ut aliquid vetustis adicias quod novum sit, alienis quod omnino tum: bonasque picturas bonâ in luce collocando efficias, ut etiam iis, à quibus sæpius conspicte sunt, elegantiores tamen solito appareant, et placeant magis.

Certè, dum Xenophontem sæpius versas, ab illo et ea quæ à te plurimis in locis narrantur, et ipsum ubique narrandi modum videris traxisse, stylicque Xenophontei nitorem ac venustum simplicitem non imitari tantum, sed planè assequi: ita ut, si Gallicè scisset Xenophon, non aliis illum, in eo argumento quod tractas, verbis usurum, non alio prorsus more scripturum, judicem.

Hæc ego, haud assentandi causâ (quod vitium procul à me abest), sed verè ex animi sententiâ dico. Cum enim pulchris è te donis ditatus sim, quibus in eodem aut in alio quopiam doctrinæ genere referendis imparem me sentio, volui tamen propensè erga te animi gratie testimonium proferre, et te aliquo saltem munusculo, etsi perquam dissimili, remunerari.

Perge, vir docte admodum et venerande, de bonis literis, quæ nunc neglectæ passim et sprætæ jacent, bene mereri; perge juventutem Gallicam (quando illi solummodo te utilem esse vis) optimis et præceptis et exemplis informare.

Quod ut facias, annis etatis tuæ elapsis multos adjiciat Deus! iisque decurrentibus sanum te præstet atque incolorem. Hoc ex animo optat ac vovet

Tui observantissimus, FRANCISCUS ROFFENSIS.

Pransurum te mecum post festa dixit mihi amicus ille noster, qui tibi vicinus est. Cum statueris tecum quo die adfuturus es, id illi significabis. Me certè annis malique debilitatum, quodcumque veneris, domi invenies.

6^o Kal. Jan. 1731.

TRANSLATION.

REVEREND AND MOST LEARNED SIR,

WHEN I was informed by a friend who lives near you, that you were returned to Paris, I resolved to wait on you, as soon as my health would permit. After

having been prevented by the gout for some time, I was in hopes at length of paying my respects to you at your house, and went thither, but found you not at home. It is incumbent on me, therefore, to do that in writing, which I could not in person, and for all the favors you have been pleased to confer upon me, to return you the warmest acknowledgements which, as I now feel, I shall ever continue to cherish.

And indeed I esteem the books you have lately published, as presents of uncommon value, and such as do me very great honor. For I have the highest esteem, most excellent Sir, both for you, and for every thing that comes from so masterly a hand as yours, in the kind of learning of which you treat; in which I sincerely believe that you far excel all other writers, and are at the same time the best master both of speaking and thinking well: and I freely confess that, though I had applied some time and pains in cultivating such studies, when I read your volumes over and over again, I am instructed by you not only in things of which I was entirely ignorant, but also those which I fancied myself to have learned before. You have, therefore, too modest an opinion of your work, when you declare it composed solely for the instruction of youth. What you write may undoubtedly be read with pleasure and improvement by persons who are proficient in learning of that kind. For whilst you call to mind ancient facts and things sufficiently known, you do it in such a manner, that you illustrate, you embellish them; still adding something new to the old, something entirely your own to the labors of others: by placing good pictures in a good light, you make them appear with unusual elegance and more exalted beauties, even to those who have seen and studied them most.

In your frequent correspondence with Xenophon, you have certainly extracted from him, both what you relate in many places, and every where his very manner of relating; you seem not only to have imitated, but attained, the shining elegance and beautiful simplicity of that author's style: so that had Xenophon excelled in the French language, in my judgment, he would have used no other words, nor written in any other manner, upon the subjects you treat, than you have done.

I do not say this out of flattery (which is far from being my vice,) but from my real sentiments and opinion. As you have enriched me by your handsome presents which I know how incapable I am of repaying either in the same or in any other kind of learning, I was willing to testify my gratitude and affection for you, and at least to make you some small, though exceedingly unequal, return.

Go on, most learned and venerable Sir, to deserve well of sound literature, which now lies universally neglected and despised. Go on, in forming the youth of France (since you will have their utility to be your sole view) upon the best precepts and examples.

Which that you may effect, may it please God to add many years to your life, and during the course of them to preserve you in health and security. This is the earnest wish and prayer of

Your most faithful friend, FRANCIS ROFFEN

P. S. Our friend, your neighbor, tells me you intend to dine with me after the holy days. When you have fixed upon the day, be pleased to let him know it. Whenever you come, you will be sure to find one so weak with age and sufferings, as I am at home

December 26, 1731.

MEMOIR OF ROLLIN.

CHARLES ROLLIN was born at Paris, January 30, 1661. He derived no lustre from his birth, for he was the second son of a poor but honest cutler, who intended that he should follow the same profession. But, though of humble birth and obscure parentage, his nascent genius was early developed by those intimations of superior intelligence and nobility of mind which enable its possessors to rise above their circumstances, and emerge from obscurity to fame. A Benedictine friar, whom he occasionally served at mass, perceived the dawnings of his young mind, and could not think to see them smothered in the dull routine of a mechanical profession. He therefore told the mother her son's abilities, and enlarged on the propriety and advantage of cultivating them. His widowed mother (for he lost his father at a very early period) thought it impossible from her situation, to comply with a scheme which her discernment approved, and urged her inability to give her son a learned education. The difficulty was however surmounted by the zeal of the benevolent Benedictine, who procured for young Rollin a bursary at the college of Plessis. There he commenced his studies with that avidity which grows by what it feeds on. The patronage of his ecclesiastical benefactor was soon and amply repaid by the celerity of his progress, and the mother was made to participate in the triumphs and honors of her son, as she was often visited at her humble dwelling by persons of high birth and eminent rank, soliciting that young Rollin might spend the vacations with their sons, his fellow students at college. After having studied the *humanities* and philosophy at this college, he devoted three years to theology at the Sorbonne, the most celebrated Catholic theological seminary in France. His teacher in rhetoric was M. Hersan, who then enjoyed considerable reputation. He conceived such an exalted opinion of Rollin's virtue and abilities, as sometimes tempted him to call him Divine. When any composition in prose or verse was required from him, the professor was not ashamed to commend his pupil even to his own disparagement. "Apply," he would say, "to Rollin: he will do it better than I can." When this gentleman relinquished his labors at the college of Plessis, Rollin, though then only 21 years old, was judged by the university competent to succeed so able and learned a master. From that honor he was debarred by nothing but his own modesty. He consented, however, to become professor of an inferior class, and in 1687, was advanced to the chair of rhetoric. The year following, M. Hersan, with the permission of the king, resigned in favor of young Rollin the professorship of eloquence in the Royal College.

Rollin was not deficient in gratitude to his predecessor, and in the second volume of his *Traité des Etudes*, has drawn up a warm and affectionate eulogium on his virtue, learning, and disinterestedness. Of this last Rollin declares, that he showed a rare example: first, in sacrificing from his private fortune 2,000 crowns for some necessary repairs and embellishments at the college of Beauvais; second, his voluntary retirement to Compeigne, his native place, and devoting himself wholly to the education of the poor children of the town, building a handsome school-house for them, and establishing a master for

their instruction, fulfilling the office of one himself, assisting very frequently at their lessons, having always some of them at his table, clothing many of them, and distributing to them—all at different seasons—different rewards for their encouragement. The sweetest consolation to this eminent person enjoyed, was to think that, after his death, these children would make for him the same prayer that the famous John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and whose humility led him to become schoolmaster at Lyons, requested in his will, to be made for him by his pupils, "My God, my Creator, have pity upon thy poor servant John Gerson;" and finally, that he had the blessing of dying poor, in some sort, amidst the poor; the remains of his property hardly sufficing for a last endowment which he had made of *Sisters of Charity*, for the instruction of girls and the care of sick persons. Such is the character of M. Hersan from the grateful pen of his protégé Rollin. When our author succeeded to the office, as related before, he made it one of his chief cares to make his pupils cultivate the knowledge of their native tongue, and to make themselves familiar with the chief works in poetry and prose, which are contained in the French language. Classical literature seems then to have been in a declining state, as the knowledge of the Greek language had been so much neglected, that Rollin had the honor of reviving it in the university. To fix his pupils' attentions on these studies, he established examinations, to which the public were admitted, and in which it was the duty of the students to give an account of, and answer questions relative to the Latin or Greek authors they had read during the preceding years. These exercises were found so useful and so agreeable to the taste of the nation, that, without any senatus consultum, they were adopted by all the colleges; and from these they passed into private schools, and penetrated (our author says) into all the provinces.

It was a custom, more ancient than wise, in the university, for professors to compose tragedies, the different characters of which were sustained by the pupils. Against this practice Rollin argues most strenuously, in his fourth volume of his *Method of Studying the Belles Lettres*, on moral and religious considerations, as having a tendency to convert universities and schools into play-houses; to engender improper amorous feelings into the youthful mind; and thus to undermine those principles of honor and piety, which ought to be so sedulously inculcated and cultivated. His chief objection was—the practice in these tragedies of robing the young pupils in female dresses—a practice utterly repugnant to the express declaration of scripture:—"The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do so are abomination to the Lord thy God."—*Deut.* xxii 5. This custom probably originated among the heathens, who had male and female deities, as, Isis and Osiris among the Egyptians, Ashtaroth and Tammuz among the Phenicians, and Mars and Venus among the Greeks. The *Iliad* of Homer abounds in narratives of the libidinous intercourse and amours of the gods. Venus was the supposed goddess of love and pleasure, Mars the god of war and arms. Men therefore worshipped Venus in flowered garments of wo-

men, and the women wore a coat of mail and armor, when they worshipped Mars—these dresses being deemed suitable to the peculiar character of these deities, and therefore more pleasing to them. It was probably this idolatrous practice, which, as Lowman thinks, originated the above express prohibition. The exhibition of such tragedies, Rollin informs us, was condemned by the corporation of the city of Toulouse, and literary exercises adopted instead of them at the college of Esquile; and, in his own day, this obnoxious practice had been abandoned by most of the colleges at Paris; and was soon afterwards relinquished at the university. One of the professors at that university, M. Belleville, was distressed with agonizing reflections on his death-bed, for having followed this custom, which he knew had been the occasion of immoral practices to several of his scholars.

A similar practice still exists at Westminster school, where the scholars are annually obliged by the teachers to perform one of Terence's comedies. We have therefore no reason to boast of our superior morality and discernment in still following this anti-scriptural and Pagan custom, which has been long exploded in France; and that in virtue of the unbending piety and persevering opposition of a Roman Catholic professor.

After having held the office of the rhetorical professorship about 8 or 10 years with great reputation, our author resigned his situation with the view of devoting his leisure to the study of ancient history. His absence from the university was short. He was recalled in the close of 1694 to fill the office of rector. This office he enjoyed two years successively; and while he occupied that eminent literary station, he was assiduous and vigilant in performing its duties—was strict in maintaining the college discipline—revived the ancient customs—and introduced some salutary reforms. In compliance with the university statutes, he visited the colleges—a useful duty which his predecessors had imagined they were at liberty to neglect. He converted into a law the custom of commencing the lecture in the classes of humanity and philosophy, with the explanation of some passage of scripture; and with the same view of extending biblical knowledge, he published, for the benefit of the inferior classes, a collection of maxims selected from the Old and New Testament. Though personally considered, no man was more humble and inoffensive than our author, yet when the rights of his office were concerned, and of course the dignity of the university, none was more tenacious of supporting them—of which he gave several eminent instances. On the expiration of his rectorship, Rollin was engaged in superintending the education of the nephews of Cardinal de Noailles. The Abbé Vittemont recalled him to a public station by obtaining for him the office of Principal of the college of Beauvais. It was with some difficulty he could be prevailed on by the persuasions of M. Duguet, a learned theologian, to undertake its official duties, from an anxious sensibility, which magnified, in his apprehensions, the difficulties he would have to encounter. Rollin entreated them to furnish him with such lights and instructions as were necessary to be imparted to the numerous youths, whose education he was now to superintend. M. Duguet complied with the request, and published his Commentaries on the six days' work of Creation and on Genesis. The first part of this work, published in a separate volume, under the title of "An Explication of the Work of the Six Days," is declared by the *Siccles Littéraires de la France* to be an excellent work, in which the *utile* is conjoined with the *dulce*. The elevation of Rollin was of great advantage to the college of Beauvais. This society, which had previously been almost deserted, began to abound with scholars under the government of the new principal. A singular instance is given of the uncommon reputation our author enjoyed:—A rich gentleman of one of the provinces, attracted by the fame of Rollin, brought his son to be received as a pensioner in the college of Beauvais. Rollin declared his inability to admit him, as the

number of pensioners was already inconveniently great, and to convince the father, conducted him through all the apartments and sleeping rooms which were completely occupied. However, parental expectation was not to be so easily frustrated: "I have come to Paris (exclaimed the father,) on purpose to bring you my son. I shall depart to-morrow, and I will send him to you with a bed. I have but him, you may put him in the court—in the cellar, if you please—but let him be in your college, and from that moment I shall have no uneasiness about him." The goodness of Rollin could not resist such an appeal as this. He was compelled to receive the youth, and to dispose of him in his own apartments, until he could place him among the other scholars.

In Rollin's days, the principal of a college much resembled the master of a seminary. It was his office not only to guard the discipline and preside over the studies of the scholars, but also to instruct them in religious and moral duties; and even attend to their diet and personal comforts. How he executed his official functions in these departments, Rollin himself has told us at length in his Treatise on the Belles Lettres. He endeavored to combine and perpetuate among his countrymen accomplished literature and correct taste; and made it his study to repay with gratitude, the favors of his Benedictine friend—of M. Hersan, and those dignities which the university of Paris had conferred on him—by laboring to advance others in that honorable course which he himself had trodden. One of the most learned of his numerous pupils was M. Crevier, the author of several voluminous works. He continued Rollin's Roman History; but with inferior success to his master. He published also a History of the Roman Emperors, and an edition of Livy, though he is not entitled to the whole credit of the latter performance. This latter work originated in several literary conversations which Crevier had with Rollin, several of the professors of Beauvais, the Abbé d'Asfeld, and others. Crevier, as the youngest person, had the task assigned him of digesting and compiling the matter of these discussions. They took place during the college vacation. It was Rollin's zeal which produced them, as he considered them a mere recreation. The work consists of a number of learned and concise notes on Livy's Roman History.

Rollin had hitherto passed his days in calm weather and uninterrupted sunshine, but a cloud at length arose and obscured the horizon of his life, verifying the old remark—"That an unclouded morn is not always followed by a clear and serene evening." No virtues, however great—no labors, however disinterested—no piety, however sublime and ardent, could protect him from the storm of persecution. He was impeached with Jansenism—a crime not to be forgiven by a Jesuit. As many readers do not know what Jansenism is, it may be proper to inform them, that the term arose from Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, whose voluminous posthumous work, entitled "Augustine," was published in 1640. In this work Jansen professes to give a clear statement of the opinions of the renowned African bishop respecting predestination and grace; and strongly advocates his anti-pelagian doctrines of absolute, eternal, and personal election, original sin, human depravity, efficacious grace, particular redemption, and the perseverance of the saints; and maintains these to have been the orthodox sentiments of the Western Church. This alarmed the Jesuits, who had been long at issue with their rivals the Dominicans, on these points; and were perfectly sensible that if these opinions should gain ground, their cause and influence was gone. They bore a very strong similarity to the theological sentiments of the reformer of Geneva; so strong indeed, that the only perceptible difference lay in the phraseology which Jansen adopted, in order to avoid the charge of coalescing with the opinions of that heresiarch John Calvin. The Romish Inquisitors prohibited the sale of Jansen's book in 1641; and in 1642, a bull was fulminated against it by Urban VIII.; and in 1653, Innocent X. publicly condemned in a famous bull, by the influ-

ence of the Jesuits, the five following propositions in the bishop of Ypres's book:—1st, That there are several divine precepts, which good men, notwithstanding their desire to obey them, are nevertheless absolutely unable to obey, nor has God given that measure of grace, that is essentially necessary to render them capable of such obedience. 2d, That no man, in this corrupt state of nature, can resist the influence of Divine Grace, when it operates upon the mind. 3d, That, in order to render human actions meritorious, it is not requisite that they be free from necessity, but only that they be free from constraint. 4th, That the semi-pelagian opinion of *free will*, is a gross error. 5th, That whoever affirms that Christ atoned by his death, for the sins of all mankind, is a semi-pelagian. Four of these propositions were declared heretical in this bull; but the 5th and last proposition was condemned as *rash, impious, and injurious*, to the Supreme Being. The Jansenists uttered complaints and replies; and as the five condemned propositions were not given in Jansen's own words, they denied that they were to be found in his book. In the sequel the Jansenists and Jesuits were entangled in a violent dispute concerning the extent of Divine Grace. The latter maintained that sufficient grace is bestowed on all mankind; that the efficacy of this grace wholly depends on the spontaneous choice of the human will, or, in other words, on a self-determined volition; and that therefore, no additional Divine aid is at all necessary, to render such grace effectual. The former, on the contrary, denied the existence of any such general grace; that no grace is sufficient, unless it be at the same time efficacious; that it is not the volition which determines the grace, but the grace which determines the volition, for no one can act spiritually without efficacious grace. The Jansenists produced powerful champions from amongst themselves to advocate their cause—as, Nicole, Arnauld, Quesnel; and, *instar omnium*, the renowned Blaise Pascal, whose profound and universal genius cannot be sufficiently admired. In his immortal work, called the *Provincial Letters*—a work, admired by Frenchmen of the most opposite tastes and principles, as Bossuet and Voltaire, Boileau and D'Alembert—he made a transition from the subject of sufficient and efficacious grace, to the principles and morality of his opponents, which he attacked with such strength of argument, and exposed with such poignant satire and bitter ridicule, as paved the way for the ruin of the Jesuits. They retained their power, however, long enough to inflict consummate vengeance on the society of the Messieurs de Port Royal. By Louis XIV., under the influence of his confessor, a ferocious Jesuit, that monastery, which had become illustrious by the residence of learned and profound scholars, and devout nuns, was razed to the foundation, and the very dead disinterred to gratify the vengeance of the infamous disciples of the fanatic Loyola, in 1709.

In 1713, the famous bull *Unigenitus*, came forth against the Jansenists, which, though warmly opposed by the Cardinal de Noaille and a great portion of the French clergy, at length received the authority of the French parliament, and was registered among the laws of the state. To such a length was the power of the Jesuits carried, that even the dying were not allowed the benefits of the sacrament and extreme unction, unless they renounced the errors of Jansenism, and acquiesced in the bull *Unigenitus*. This occasioned fresh disturbances over all the kingdom; nor were they quelled till the order of the Jesuits was abolished. It is remarkable, that during the late awful storm of Divine vengeance which overtook the intolerant and selfish clergy in that kingdom, the Jansenists comparatively escaped. Although thousands of the clergy fled their country in terror, and sought refuge even amongst heretics, not a Jansenist was found amongst the number. The subject of this memoir was a passionate admirer of the illustrious Literati of the Port Royal, and a warm supporter of Jansenism, which he defended by several productions of his pen. Of course he could not escape the ruin of his party; and was therefore finally commanded to quit the village of Beauvais. This he

bore with pious magnanimity, and on the evening of the 6th of June, 1712, he silently left the college, after having paid in the chapel the sacrifice of devotion to his heavenly Protector, without any attendant, and without any consolation, but what arose from a consciousness of integrity and virtue, and that he was suffering in the cause of persecuted truth. He fixed his abode in a retired part of Paris, where he had purchased a small house, where he dwelt till his death. Still, however, he was not idle, nor suffered to be so. The concerns of education, and the interests of youth, occupied his attention. Parents wishing to consult him respecting their children, constantly intruded on his solitude; and were not satisfied that they had discharged their duty to them unless they sought and obtained our author's judicious advice. Even his successor in the college of Beauvais, M. Coffin, paid such deference to his judgment, that he never ventured to undertake any thing of importance without having first asked his advice. He used his leisure hours in publishing an edition of Quintilian's Institutions, which has been reprinted in London, and which is still used in the schools of our Gallic neighbors. This edition commences with a Latin preface of great purity and elegance, wherein Rollin characterizes the merit of this great rhetorician, and explains the utility of his work for forming both the orator and the man of virtue. The text is elucidated with short notes, and a summary of contents at the head of each chapter.

This edition appeared in 1715; and the same year he was appointed by the university *Procureur*, or Chief of the Nation of France. In 1720, he published his Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, in six parts: the first treating the study of languages—French, Latin, and Greek; the second treats of poetry; the third of rhetoric; the fourth and fifth are appropriated to philosophy and history; and the last enters into a detailed account of the proper management of youth and the government of a college. These subjects, if not treated in a profound, are at least handled in an agreeable manner. He possessed a talent—common to Frenchmen—of saying common things in a pleasant way; and his disquisitions are often more remarkable for their oratorical neatness, than philosophical profundity or acumen. This work, however, has been long superseded by similar works in our own language. It is still however a useful work, and may be perused with both profit and pleasure by a curious and attentive reader—chiefly as giving a view of the best French classical writers and works.

In 1730, Rollin was again elevated to the office of Rector of the university of Paris. But having plainly evinced, in a discourse delivered on the 30th of December 1730, his attachment to the principles of Jansenism, his honors were again violently torn from him, after he had enjoyed them but a few months; and he was displaced, and driven into his former retirement. Intolerance, however it might deprive him of his honors, was unable to ruin his well-earned fame, or snatch the pen from his hands, or shut the press against his publications. To assist those studies of youth, over which he had so long and laudably presided, he had composed his *Ancient History*, which appeared in thirteen volumes 12mo. at different times and which was completed in 1729, 1730. In the short space of three years after his expulsion, a second edition of the same work appeared in 1734—1738. This, of all his works, has obtained the greatest celebrity for its author—has spread his renown through the continent, and what is no small honor, has made his name as familiar to British readers as those of the most esteemed amongst our own countrymen. Reputation so extensive and so durable, must be built on no ordinary merit. The author has in fact done more than is intimated in the title of his work. It is not merely an accompaniment to scholastic studies, or a meagre analytic compend of events, but contains a fund of knowledge and gratification suited to every taste. The narrative is so deeply imbued with the spirit and feeling of antiquity, that those who are debarred from the classical originals, cannot repair to

a better source to form correct notions of the manners and temper of ancient nations; while the erudite scholar will be delighted to find the substance of his studies embodied and presented to the view of his mind in one consistent work. To accomplish such a work, required a very enlarged range of classical erudition. A very slight inspection will convince every—even the most ordinary, as well as the most enlightened—reader, that he who executed such a task was no ordinary man. Whatever moral instruction can be drawn from the perusal of historical events or biographical facts, is sure to be found in his pages. With these they are almost as thickly interspersed as are the tragedies of Euripides, but with more propriety, since history furnishes the maxims drawn from experience, whether it be that of individuals or societies, or nations, while tragedy attempts to produce the same effect by emotions of terror or pity. His custom of moralizing so much arose from his solicitude to inspire youthful minds with the principles of virtue. It was chiefly for this purpose that the *Ancient History* was compiled. Even persons of riper years and more matured judgment, may be both pleased and edified with his sentiments. His contemporary the Duke of Cumberland, paid him the following compliment: "I know not how M. Rollin manages. Every where else reflections weary me; in his book they charm me, and I never lose a single word of them." Their intention is good, and their tendency excellent, whatever opinion may be formed of their profusion.

Nothing ought to be more cautiously guarded against than an excessive admiration of learned and classical antiquity. It is the easily besetting sin of those who have drunk deep and long at the fountain of Pagan lore, whether in philosophy or poetry, history or elocution. Its tendency is in some degree to paganize the mind, or to produce an anomalous commixture of heathen and Christian principles insensibly in the scholar himself. Our author was quite aware of this tendency; and in order to counteract it, determines the merit of Pagan actions by the standard of Divine Revelation. He did not judge Pagans themselves by this standard, which would have been flagrantly unjust—a standard which they did not possess—but their actions alone. He makes due allowance for the situation in which Pagans were placed; but will admit of no palliation under that light which revelation has produced. There is much more pious feeling, and regard to religious principle, to be found in his *Ancient History*, than in the historical works of Robertson. No insidious attacks upon Revelation—no covert insinuations against the truths of Christianity—no profane ridicule of sacred things, disgrace his pages, as they do those of a Voltaire, a Gibbon, and a Hume. He does not labor to unsettle the faith or principles of his reader; nor does he display that heartless indifference to the welfare of his species, which is so predominant in the elegant narrative of Hume.

Non ulla anguis in herba
Latet, nec hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

His style, which his translator has very happily copied, is graceful, easy, and harmonious. It is formed upon the model of Xenophon, with whose writings he was intimately acquainted, and the study of which was his favorite employment. So successfully has he imitated his beauties, that, as the disciple of Socrates was called the *Attic Bee*, so the pupil of Hæsan has been styled by Montesquieu, in his posthumous works, the *Bee of France*. Yet impartiality obliges us to confess, that his work exhibits several considerable defects. It possesses little critical acumen. He does not seem remarkable for that accurate discrimination which is necessary in an historian, for distinguishing between improbability and verisimilitude; nor that critical sagacity which can guide a reader clearly through the various discordant narratives of Greek and Roman historians. He is often very credulous. His facts are not always authentic, nor is his chronology remarkable for its accuracy: yet his credulity may be excused, as he was educated in a community where credulity is confounded with faith;

and where as much dependence is placed on the traditional legends of lying monks as on Revelation itself. It is hardly possible for such a man as Rollin educated in an idolatrous community, and imbued with the faith of Jansenistic miracles, not to be in some degree credulous. The *Philosophy of history*, which can trace to their latent sources those revolutions in the history of mind—those changes in political societies, which have so deeply affected the interests of the human race, he does not seem very deeply to have studied. His reflections, though always pious, moral, and appropriate, seldom rise above the rank of common-place. He is not often brilliant, seldom still either sublime or profound, but he rarely fails to exhibit symptoms of a feeling heart and a cultivated understanding. His attempts at biblical criticism are seldom happy; nor is he always a luminous commentator, whether on scripture or profane history. He is himself occasionally chargeable with that very fault which he labors to prevent in others—an excessive admiration of heathen characters, as in the case of Cyrus, Socrates, and Lycurgus. So great is his admiration of Roman virtue, that he attempts to make an apology for their conduct towards unhappy Carthage, at the commencement of the third and last Punic war—a conduct which every man imbued with sentiments of equity and justice, must and will condemn, and that in the most unqualified terms. In describing the Lacedæmonian manners and character, he acts the part of a partial eulogist. He tells their virtues, but is silent on their faults. He gives only one side of the picture. The character of Cyrus is completely overcharged with praise, and he takes every word of Xenophon for gospel. His work, however, with all these defects, is a very popular and very useful performance: and has been the happy mean of awakening that latent curiosity in the mind of the young which is absolutely necessary for mental or moral improvement. It has induced many to read who otherwise, perhaps, would never have turned their attention that way. It must also be remembered, that he lived at a time when the knowledge of historical composition was but in its infancy; and that he had the merit of paving the way for the appearance of that very learned and laborious, though unequal work, the *Ancient Universal History*. His writings attracted the notice of the great, from whom he received many flattering tokens of regard, as the Prince Royal of Prussia, afterwards Frederick II. Queen Anne of England, and the Regent Duke of Orleans.

In his old age, Rollin softened its pressure by in nocent convivial pleasures. Then, more freely than before, he yielded to those numerous invitations with which his society was courted. He dined abroad almost daily with his friends, except Sundays and festivals. On these occasions he always endeavored to have his conversation seasoned with salt, that it might be useful to instruct parents by his experienced counsels, and encourage the young by his tenderness, and improve them by kind but well seasoned interrogations. He was sixty years of age before he ventured to write in his native language, and seventy when he commenced his *Ancient History*; and at the advanced period of seventy-five, he undertook a new work. This was the *Roman History*, from the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium—the first volume of which was published with the last of his *Ancient History*. It appears that he hesitated for some time whether, at so advanced an age, he should commence so arduous a work—a period which he deemed more proper to be devoted to the studies and the practice of religion. But at length he was induced, by the advice of his friends, to commence it, as it would be advantageous to youth, and which, therefore, could not fail of being acceptable to his Creator. He finished half of this intended performance. It does not, however, possess the merit of its predecessors. It is comparatively a dull and uninteresting performance; and bears the evident symptoms of old age, from that excessive proneness to moralize which it betrays on almost every occasion. While he merely performs the dry and unia-

interesting part of an annalist, he dwells with fond garrulity on those events which furnished matter of serious reflection to his burdened mind. It is greatly inferior to the similar works of a Hooke and a Ferguson. Its chief excellence consists in giving to a French reader an elegant translation of some of Livy's finest passages. Crevier, his pupil, continued the history from the ninth to the sixteenth volume; and however little praise Rollin's part of the work deserves, Crevier's deserves still less.

Our pious author was now drawing nigh the close of his useful career. He had spent his days in virtue and honor, and their termination was peace. In his last illness, which though fatal, was short, when the last sacraments were administered to him, his surrounding friends and pupils were overwhelmed with grief and drowned in tears. The good man, elated with Christian hope—that anchor of the renewed soul, which catches hold of that within the veil, whither our Great Forerunner has for us entered,—and joyously anticipating that abundant entrance which would be ministered to his departing spirit into the kingdom of God, reproved their lamentations, by declaring that no tears should be shed for him, and that his last day was to him and them a festival. Supported in the agonies of his dissolving frame by such holy sentiments, he expired in joy, and died in faith, in the eighty-first year of his age. His funeral was attended by the members of that university over which as rector he had twice presided; but he was denied the customary honors of an *Eloge* pronounced by a public discourse, for no other reason than because he was a Jansenist. Such detestable bigotry, such rancorous intolerance which pursued this eminently pious, learned and useful man, even to his last obsequies, cannot but excite the strongest indignation in the mind of every reader acquainted with his character and writings. He was accused of concealing in his humble mansion a press, whence issued anonymous pamphlets. The informations against him were so positive and urgent, that Cardinal Fleury, the Premier, was obliged to order the police to examine his house, and the search was as rigorous as the accusation had been malicious and groundless. Thus, in life and death, this good man was the victim of Jesuical hate; and it is matter of grief and lamentation to every benevolent mind—every breast that throbs with compassion for human woe, that such a detestable, such an inhuman, unrelenting order, has been again re-established by papal authority; and that the souls and the consciences of the French people are to be henceforth in the keeping of the Jesuits. It is one of those bitter fruits which sprung from the restoration of the Bourbon family to the throne of France. Louis XVI., the best and yet the most unfortunate of that worthless family, endeavored to cancel the injustice which had been done Rollin, and ordered a statue to be erected to his memory, among those of the most illustrious men of France. Public monuments are but a poor recompense to the persecuted dead, who are now beyond either the love or the hatred, the praise or the censure, of man. This, however, is all that posterity can do to repair the injustice, the cruelty, the irreligious hate of generations that are past. The vengeance due to such persecutors is with that God to whom it belongs; and who will one day be revealed in flaming fire, to award that just retribution which such deeds deserved, and do ample justice to these wretches, which was denied them by their contemporaries, and that openly in the view of angels and of men.

It Rollin's character, learning was ennobled by virtue, and virtue elevated by piety. His piety was not affected—was not the homage that vice pays to virtue, but that of an honest and ardent mind. He lived in what is termed the Augustan age of French literature—the age of Louis XIV—so much extolled by Voltaire, and was contemporaneous with her most celebrated literary characters. Although not entitled to the first rank among the writers of his own country; yet his attainments were great—his talents respectable—his learning extensive—and his taste

purified by the mode and classical antiquity. It may be affirmed, that his virtues were of the first order, and what blemishes were in his character, were as small spots in a luminous body, *nidi in pulcherrimo corpore*. Depressed by an obscure birth and an humble fortune, Rollin had to overcome many difficulties, ere he could obtain the most eminent situations in learning. Compelled to rely on his own resources, having no friends but those whom his exemplary conduct and superior talents conciliated, he rose solely by his own merit. When this was rewarded by success, perhaps superior to his ambition, it made no visible change in his mind, which seemed as humble as if he had remained in his original obscurity. He was never ashamed of his humble birth, nor his pristine low condition; but, on the contrary, gave notoriety to it by his own pen; and in a Latin epigram reminds one of his friends, that he took his flight from the caves of *Ætna* to the summit of *Pindus*.

Doctissimo viro N. Bosquillon cum ei cultellum in xenia mitteret.

Ætna hæc non Pindus tibi mittit munera, morem

Cyclopes Musis præcipue suum.

Translatum Ætnæ me Findi in culmina ab austris,

Hic te, si nescis, culter, amice, docet.

When caressed by the most illustrious persons in Europe, he still lived in a style as unostentatious and simple, as that of the plainest citizen. His house was so small, that it could sometimes with difficulty contain the numerous waitants who flocked to him. Splendour and parade were wearisome to him. When compelled by courtesy to be present at those entertainments, which had no attraction but the luxury of the repast and the rank of the guests, he always returned home dissatisfied. "These dinners (he would complain), when one does nothing but dine, fatigue me; I reckon such days lost." He preferred the tables of virtuous citizens, who were zealous for the education of their children. With them he had always an opportunity to *discharge his duty*. "These (he would say) are my dukes and peers." Disinterestedness was a principal feature in his character; and from this noble principle, and not from unavoidable poverty, arose his moderation. He had many opportunities of making a fortune, all of which he magnanimously declined or rejected. He never availed himself of his intercourse with the great, for the purpose of self-aggrandizement, though his income, at the time of his greatest prosperity, was scarcely 3,000 livres annually, or £125 sterling—a sum hardly equal to one-seventh of the salary of the principalship of one of our Scottish universities. He relinquished those profits, which would have been only the just remuneration of his study and labors; for the sole stipulation which he made with the bookseller who published his works, was, that he might be allowed to indemnify him, if he should happen to incur any loss. After he had quitted the college of Beauvais, his friend and protector, the president of Mesmes, secretly solicited for him a pension upon an ecclesiastical benefice. When he was on the point of obtaining his request, he sent for Rollin to communicate the intelligence, which (as he thought) would be joyfully received. But our author having heard the proposal, exclaimed with surprise, "A pension, my Lord, for me! Why what service have I done or rendered the church that I should possess ecclesiastical revenues?" The president reminded him, that the Christian education which he had given to so many youths was a service rendered to the church as well as the state; and urged him, as he was far from being rich, to accept the assistance which was offered. "My Lord, (replied Rollin,) I am richer than the king; and firmly persisted in rejecting property to which he thought none but churchmen entitled.

Though straitened in circumstances, Rollin is commended for great liberality and beneficence. He assisted with his purse the scholars whom he intended for professors; and who were too indigent to defray the entire expenses attendant on their education. Every month his servant distributed alms to a con-

siderable amount. On one occasion, being informed of an increase on the price of bread, he wrote to his faithful domestic from the Chateau d'Asfeld: "You must double the ordinary distribution for the last month and for this: you must even make it triple, if you think it necessary. Do not be afraid of impoverishing me by giving too much. It is laying out my money at great interest."

In devotion Rollin was rigid and even superstitious. During the time of the popular fanaticism respecting the Abbé Paris, he was to be seen praying at the tomb of the pious deacon. He said his breviary with the most punctual regularity. He heard mass every day, and always received the sacraments on Sundays. He cherished a singular devotion for the Virgin Mary; and on the days consecrated to her worship, he usually went to the church of Notre Dame, or our Lady, where he heard mass, communicated, and passed part of the morning in prayers. Every year, if he was at Paris in the month of October, he made on foot the pilgrimage of St. Dennis, during the festival of the apostle of France. He visited also annually his parish church of St. John en Grève, to renew his baptismal vows at the

sacred font. It was a practice which he commenced when he was principal, and afterwards continued till his death, to pray daily to the Infant Jesus Christ for the young—to the Virgin Mary for mothers—and to St. Joseph for fathers and mothers. During lent he practised great austerities, and observed the discipline of the primitive church. Such is the picture which has been drawn of Rollin's devotion. It is impossible not to regret that so much superstition and credulity should have prevailed in his character, and been displayed in his conduct. But it is impossible to calculate the influence which education, and religion which constantly acts upon the senses, may have upon the human mind; and how prone the most vigorous understandings are to believe the grossest absurdities, and indulge in the most foolish superstitions and gloomy austerities. What shall we say when such a man as the profound Pascal believed that most absurd of all absurdities, Transubstantiation? But, alas! alas! poor human nature! While we smile at Rollin's superstitions, and shun his errors, let us imitate that piety and those benevolent virtues which rendered him be loved and esteemed.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL GREEK AUTHORS CITED IN THIS WORK

HERODOTUS. *Francof.* an. 1608.
 THUCYDIDES. *Apud Henricum Stephanum*, 2n. 1588.
 XENOPHON. *Lutetia Parisiorum*, *apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum*, an. 1625.
 POLYBIUS. *Parisiis*, an. 1609.
 DIODORUS SICULUS. *Hanovia*, *Typis Wæchelianis*, an. 1604.
 PLUTARCHUS. *Lutetia Parisiorum*, *apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum*, an. 1624.
 STRABO. *Lutetia Parisiorum*, *Typis regiiis*, an. 1620.
 ATHENÆUS. *Lugduni*, an. 1612.

PAUSANIAS. *Hanovia*, *Typis Wæchelianis*, an. 1613.
 APPIANUS ALEXANDER. *Apud Henric. Stephanum*, an. 1592.
 PLATO. *Ex nova Joannis Serrani interpretatione*. *Apud Henricum Stephanum*, an. 1578.
 ARISTOTELES. *Lutetia Parisiorum*, *apud Societatem Græcarum Editionum*, an. 1619.
 ISOCRATES. *Apud Paulum Stephanum*, an. 1603.
 DIOGENES LAERTIUS. *Apud Henricum Stephanum*, an. 1594.
 DEMOSTHENES. *Francof.* an. 1604.
 ARRIANUS. *Lugd. Batav.* an. 1704.

PREFACE.

THE USEFULNESS OF PROFANE HISTORY, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO RELIGION.

What is to be observed in history besides the events and chronology.

THE study of profane history would little deserve to have a serious attention, and a considerable length of time bestowed upon it, if it were confined to the bare knowledge of ancient transactions, and an uninteresting inquiry into the eras when each of them happened. It little concerns us to know, that there were once such men as Alexander, Cæsar, Aristides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Assyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Persians, who were themselves subjected by the Macedonians, as these were afterwards by the Romans.

1. The causes of the rise and fall of empires. But it highly concerns us to know, by what methods those empires were founded; by what steps they rose to that exalted pitch of grandeur which we so much admire; what it was that constituted their true glory and felicity; and what were the causes of their declension and fall.

2. The genius and character of nations, and of the great persons that governed them. It is of no less importance to study attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and customs; and especially to acquaint ourselves with the character and disposition, the talents, virtues, and even vices, of those by whom they were governed; and whose good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the states over which they presided.

Such are the great objects which ancient history presents; causing to pass, as it were, in review before us, all the kingdoms and empires of the world; and at the same time, all the great men who were any ways conspicuous; thereby instructing us, by example rather than precept, in the arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil society, and the conduct of life that suits all ages and conditions.

3. The origin and progress of other knowledge, which cannot but excite the attention of all persons who have a taste and inclination for polite learning; I mean the manner in which arts and sciences were invented, cultivated and improved.

We there discover and trace as it were with the eye, their origin and progress; and perceive, with admiration, that the nearer we approach those countries which were once inhabited by the sons of Noah, in the greater perfection we find the arts and sciences; whereas they seem to be either neglected or forgotten, in proportion to the remoteness of nations from them; so that, when men attempted to revive those arts and sciences, they were obliged to go back to the source from whence they originally flowed.

I give only a transient view of these objects, though so very important, in this place, because I have already treated them at some length elsewhere.¹

But another object of infinitely greater importance, claims our attention. For although profane history treats only of nations who had imbibed all the absurdities of a superstitious worship: and abandoned themselves to all the irregularities of which human nature, after the fall of the first man, became capable; it nevertheless proclaims universally the greatness of the Almighty, his power, his justice, and above all, the admirable wisdom with which his providence governs the universe.

If the inherent² conviction of this last truth raised, according to Cicero's observation, the Romans above all other nations; we may, in like manner, affirm, that nothing gives history a greater superiority to many branches of literature, than to see in a manner imprinted, in almost every page of it, the precious footsteps and shining proofs of this great truth, viz. that God disposes all events as supreme Lord and Sovereign; that He alone determines the fate of kings and the duration of empires; and that he transfers the government of kingdoms from one nation to another³ because of the unrighteous dealings and wickedness committed therein.

It must be confessed, that if we compare the attentive, beneficent, and evident manner in which the Almighty presided anciently over his people, with that which appeared in his governing all other nations of the earth, one would be apt to conclude, that the latter were foreign and indifferent to him. God looked upon the holy nation as his own domain and inheritance; he resided in the midst of it, like a master in his house, and as a father in his family. Israel was his son, his first-born. He had made it his delight to form him from his infancy, and to instruct him in person. He imparted himself to him by his oracles; appointed miraculous men to be his governors; and displayed the amazing wonders of his power in his protection. Who could forbear, at the sight of so many glorious privileges to cry aloud with the prophet, "Judah is his sanctuary, or I Israel his dominion,"⁴ *Solummodo ibi magnificus est Dominus noster.* Nevertheless this God, although forgot by the nations, and seemingly forgetting them, always retained and exercised his supreme power over them, which, though concealed behind the veil of ordinary events, and such a conduct and government as was merely human, was not therefore less real or divine; "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," says the prophet, "the world and they that dwell therein."⁵

But, at the same time, did not neglect other nations.

It would be an error highly injurious to the Almighty, to suppose him the master only of one family, and not of all the nations of the world.

¹ Pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. *Orat. de Arusp. resp. n. 19*

² Ecclus. x. 8.

⁴ Isa. xxxiii. 21.

⁵ Psal. xxiii. 1.

¹ Vol. iii. and iv. Of the method of teaching and studying the *Belles Lettres*, &c.

He presided at the dispersion in going back to the most remote antiquity, and the origin of profane history; I mean, to the dispersion of the posterity of Noah into the several countries of the earth where they settled. Liberty, chance, views of interest, a love for certain countries, and similar motives, were, in outward appearance, the only causes of the different choice which men made in these various migrations. But the Scriptures inform us, that amidst the trouble and confusion that followed the sudden change in the language of Noah's descendants, God presided invisibly over all their councils and deliberations; that nothing was transacted but by the Almighty's appointment; and that he alone guided¹ and settled all mankind, agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and justice: "The Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth."²

It is true, indeed, that God, even in those early ages, had a peculiar regard for that people, whom he was one day to consider as his own. He pointed out the country which he designed for them; he caused it to be possessed by another laborious nation, who applied themselves to cultivate and adorn it; and to improve the future inheritance of the Israelites. He then fixed, in that country, the like number of families, as were to be settled in it, when the sons of Israel should, at the appointed time, take possession of it; and did not suffer any of the nations, which were not subject to the curse pronounced by Noah against Canaan, to enter upon an inheritance that was to be given up entirely to the Israelites. *Quando dividit Abissinus gentes, quando separabat filios Adams, constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum filiorum Israel.*³ But this peculiar regard of God to his future people, does not interfere with that which he had for the rest of the nations of the earth, as is evident from the many passages of Scripture, which teach us, that the entire succession of ages is present to Him; that nothing is transacted in the whole universe, but by His appointment; and that He directs the several events of it from age to age. *Tu es Deus conspекtor seculorum. A seculo usque in seculum respicis.*⁴

We must therefore consider, as an indisputable principle, and as the basis and foundation of the study of profane history, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the establishment, duration, and destruction, of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the general plan of the whole universe, known only to God, who constitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its several parts, as particularly with respect to the people of Israel, and still more with regard to the Messiah, and the establishment of the Church, which is his great work, the end and design of all his other works, and ever present to his sight; *Notum a seculo est Domino opus suum.*⁵

God has vouchsafed to discover to us, in Holy Scripture, a part of the relation of the several nations of the earth to his own people; and the little so discovered, diffuses great light over the history of those nations, of whom we shall have but a very imperfect idea, unless we have recourse to the inspired writers. They alone display, and bring to light, the secret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their foolish pride, their impious and cruel ambition: they reveal the true causes and hid-

den springs of victories and overthrows; of the grandeur and declension of nations; the rise and ruin of states; and teach us, what indeed is the principal benefit to be derived from history, the judgment which the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and consequently what ideas our selves ought to entertain of them.

Not to mention Egypt, that served at first as the cradle (if I may be allowed the expression) of the holy nation; and which afterward was a severe prison, and a fiery furnace to it;⁶ and, at last, the scene of the most astonishing miracles that God ever wrought in favor of Israel, not to mention, I say, Egypt, the mighty empires of Nineveh and Babylon furnish a thousand proofs of the truth here advanced.

Their most powerful monarchs, Tiglath-Pileser, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and many more, were, in God's hand, as so many instruments, which he employed to punish the transgressions of his people. "He lifted up an ensign to the nations from far, and hissed unto them from the end of the earth, to come and receive his orders."⁷ He himself put the sword into their hands, and appointed their marches daily. He breathed courage and ardor into their soldiers; made their armies indefatigable in labor, and invincible in battle; and spread terror and consternation wherever they directed their steps.

The rapidity of their conquests ought to have enabled them to discern the invisible hand which conducted them. But, says one of these kings⁸ in the name of the rest, "By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people, and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth; and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped."⁹

But this monarch, so august and wise in his own eye, how did he appear in that of the Almighty! Only as a subaltern agent, a servant sent by his master: "The rod of his anger, and the staff in his hand."¹⁰ God's design was to chastise, not to extirpate, his children. But Sennacherib "had it in his heart to destroy and cut off all nations."¹¹ What then will be the issue of this kind of contest between the designs of God, and those of this prince? At the time that he fancied himself already possessed of Jerusalem, the Lord, with a single blast, disperses all his proud hopes; destroys, in one night, a hundred four score and five thousand of his forces;¹² and putting "a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his lips,"¹³ (as though he had been a wild beast,) he leads him back to his own dominions, covered with infamy, through the midst of those nations, who, but a little before, had beheld him in all his pride and haughtiness.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, appears still more visibly governed by a Providence, to which he himself is an entire stranger, but which presides over all his deliberations, and determines all his actions.

Being come at the head of his army to two highways, the one of which led to Jerusalem, and the other to Rabbath, the chief city of the Ammonites, this king, not knowing which of them it would be best for him to strike into, debates for some time with himself, and at last casts lots. God makes the lot fall on Jerusalem, to fulfil the menaces he had

Powerful kings appointed to punish or protect Israel

¹ The ancients themselves, according to Pindar, (*Olymp. Od. vii.*) had retained some idea, that the dispersion of men was not the effect of chance, but that they had been settled in different countries by the appointment of Providence.

² Gen. xi. 8, 9.

³ When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel, (whom he had in view.) This is one of the interpretations given to this passage *Vide Bp. Mont's Bible. deut. xxxii. 8.*

⁴ Eccles. xxxvi. 17. xxxix. 19

⁵ Acts xv. 18.

⁶ I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and will rid you out of their bondage." Exod. vi. 6. "Out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt." Deut. iv. 30. ⁷ Isa. v. 26-30. x. 28-34. xiii. 4, 5. ⁸ Sennacherib. ⁹ Isa. x. 13, 14. ¹⁰ Isa. x. 5. ¹¹ Ibid. ver. 7. ¹² 1 Th. ver. 12. ¹³ "Because they rage against me and they tumult, I will come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest." 2 Kings xix. 28.

pronounced against that city, viz. to destroy it, to burn the temple, and lead its inhabitants into captivity.¹

One would imagine, at first sight, that this king had been prompted to besiege Tyre, merely from a political view, viz. that he might not leave behind him so powerful and well-fortified a city; nevertheless, a superior will had decreed the siege of Tyre.² God designed, on one side, to humble the pride of Ithobal its king, who fancying himself wiser than Daniel, whose fame was spread over the whole east; and ascribing entirely to his rare and uncommon prudence the extent of his dominions, and the greatness of his riches, persuaded himself that he was "a god, and sat in the seat of God."³ On the other side, he also designed to chastise the luxury, the voluptuousness, and the pride, of those haughty merchants, who thought themselves kings of the sea, and sovereigns over crowned heads; and especially, that inhuman joy of the Tyrians, who looked upon the fall of Jerusalem (the rival of Tyre) as their own aggrandizement. These were the motives which prompted God himself to lead Nebuchadnezzar to Tyre; and to make him execute, though unknowingly, his commands. IDICRO ecce EGO ADDUCAM ad Tyrum Nabuchodonosor.

To⁴ recompense this monarch, whose army the Almighty had caused "to serve a great service against Tyre"⁵ (these are God's own words); and to compensate the Babylonish troops for the grievous toils they had sustained during thirteen years' siege; "I will give," saith the Lord God, "the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army."⁶

The same Nebuchadnezzar,⁷ eager to immortalize his name by the grandeur of his exploits, was determined to heighten the glory of his conquests by his splendour and magnificence, in embellishing the capital of his empire with pompous edifices, and the most sumptuous ornaments. But whilst a set of adulating courtiers, on whom he lavished the highest honors and immense riches, make all places resound with his name, an august senate of watchful spirits is formed, who weigh, in the balance of truth, the actions of kings, and pronounce upon them a sentence from which there lies no appeal. The king of Babylon is cited before this tribunal, in which there presides the Supreme Judge, who, to a vigilance which nothing can elude, adds a holiness that will not allow of the least irregularity. *Vigil et sanctus*. In this tribunal all Nebuchadnezzar's actions, which were the admiration and wonder of the public, are examined with rigor; and a search is made into the inward recesses of his heart, to discover his most hidden thoughts. How will this formidable inquiry end? At the instant that Nebuchadnezzar, walking in his palace, and revolving, with a secret complacency, his exploits, his grandeur, and magnificence, is saying to himself, "Is not this great Babylon that I built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?"⁸ In this very instant, when, by vainly flattering himself that he held his power and kingdom from himself alone, he usurped the seat of the Almighty; a voice from heaven pronounces his sentence, and declares to him, that "his kingdom was departed from him, that he should be driven from men, and his dwelling be with the beasts of the field, until he knew that the Most High ruled in the kingdoms of men, and gave them to whomsoever he would."⁹

This tribunal, which is for ever assembled, though invisible to mortal eyes, pronounced the like sentence on those famous conquerors, on those heroes

of the pagan world, who, like Nebuchadnezzar, considered themselves as the sole authors of their exalted fortune; as independent on authority of every kind, and as not holding of a superior power.

As God appointed some princes to be the instruments of his vengeance, he made others the dispensers of his goodness. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and, to enable him to support with dignity so glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which constitute the greatest captains and princes: and caused that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens so much admired, though they neither knew the Author nor true cause of it.

We see in profane history the extent and swiftness of his conquests, the intrepidity of his courage, the wisdom of his views and designs; his greatness of soul, his noble generosity; his truly paternal affection for his subjects; and, on their part, the grateful returns of love and tenderness, which made them consider him rather as their protector and father, than as their lord and sovereign. We find, I say, all these particulars in profane history; but we do not perceive the secret principle of so many exalted qualities, nor the hidden spring which set them in motion.

But Isaiah discloses them, and delivers himself in words suitable to the greatness and majesty of the God who inspired him. He¹⁰ represents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; "subduing nations before him, loosing the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of brass, cutting in sunder the bars of iron," throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities, and putting him in possession "of the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places."

The prophet also tells us the cause and motive of all these wonderful events.¹¹ It was in order to punish Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, step by step, and gives success to all his enterprises. "I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways.—For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect."¹² But this prince is so blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his master, nor remember his benefactor. "I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.—I girded thee, though thou hast not known me."¹³

Men seldom form to themselves a right judgment of true glory, and the duties essential to regal power. A fine image of the regal duties

Scripture alone gives us a just idea of them, and this it does in a wonderful manner, under the image of a very large and strong tree, whose top reaches to heaven, and whose branches extend to the extremities of the earth.¹⁴ As its foliage is very abundant, and it is bowed down with fruit, it constitutes the ornament and felicity of the plains around it. It supplies a grateful shade, and a secure retreat to beasts of every kind: animals, both wild and tame, are safely lodged beneath it, the birds of heaven dwell in its branches, and it supplies food to all living creatures.

Can there be a more just or more instructive idea of the kingly office, whose true grandeur and solid glory does not consist in that splendor, pomp, and magnificence, which surround it; nor in that reverence and exterior homage which are paid to it by subjects, and which are justly due to it; but in the

¹ Ezek. xxi. 19—23.

² Chap. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

³ Chap. xxviii. 2.

⁴ This incident is related more at large in the history of the Egyptians, under the reign of Amasis.

⁵ Ezek. xxxix. 18. 20. ⁶ Ibid. ver. 19. ⁷ Dan. iv. 1—34.

⁸ Dan. iv. 30.

⁹ Ibid. ver. 31, 32.

¹⁰ "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut:

"I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron:

"And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel." *Isa. xlv. 1—3.* ¹¹ *Isa. xlv. 13, 14.*

¹² Chap. xlv. 13, 14. ¹³ Ibid. ver. 4, 5. ¹⁴ Dan. iv. 10, 11.

real services and solid advantages it procures to nations, whose support, defence, security, and asylum, it forms (both from its nature and institution,) at the same time that it is the fruitful source of blessings of every kind; especially with regard to the poor and weak, who ought to find, beneath the shade and protection of royalty, a sweet peace and tranquillity not to be interrupted or disturbed; whilst the monarch himself sacrifices his ease, and experiences alone those storms and tempests from which he shelters all others?

I think that I observe this noble image, and the execution of this great plan (religion only excepted) realized in the government of Cyrus, of which Xenophon has given us a picture, in his beautiful preface to the history of that prince. He has here specified a great number of nations, which, though separate from each other by vast tracts of country, and still more widely by the diversity of their manners, customs, and language, were however all united, by the same sentiments of esteem, reverence, and love, for a prince, whose government they wished, if possible, to have continued for ever, so much happiness and tranquillity did they enjoy under it.¹

To this amiable and salutary government, let us oppose the idea which the sacred writings give us of those monarchs and conquerors so much boasted by antiquity, who, instead of making the happiness of mankind the sole object of their care, were prompted by no other motives than those of interest and ambition. The Holy Spirit represents them under the symbols of monsters generated from the agitation of the sea, from the tumult, confusion, and dashing of the waves one against the other; and under the image of cruel wild beasts, which spread terror and desolation universally, and are for ever gorging themselves with blood and slaughter; bears, lions, tigers, and leopards.² How strong and expressive is this coloring!

Nevertheless, it is often from such destructive models, that the rules and maxims of the education generally bestowed on the children of the great are borrowed; and it is these ravagers of nations, these scourges of mankind, they propose to make them resemble. By inspiring them with the sentiments of a boundless ambition, and the love of false glory, they become (to borrow an expression from Scripture) "young lions; they learn to catch the prey, and devour men—to lay waste cities, to turn lands and their fulness into desolation by the noise of their roaring."³ And when this young lion is grown up, God tells us, that the noise of his exploits, and the renown of his victories, are nothing but a frightful roaring, which fills all places with terror and desolation.

The examples I have hitherto mentioned, extracted from the history of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, prove sufficiently the supreme power exercised by God over all empires; and the relation he has thought fit to establish between the rest of the nations of the earth and his own peculiar people. The same truth appears as conspicuously under the kings of Syria and Egypt, successors of Alexander the Great; between whose history, and that of the Jews under the Maccabees, every body knows the close connexion.

To these incidents I cannot forbear adding another, which, though universally known, is not therefore the less remarkable; I mean the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. When he had entered that city, and viewed all the fortifications of it, this prince, though a heathen, owned the all-powerful arm of the God of Israel; and, in a rapture of admiration, cried out, "It is manifest that the Almighty has fought for us, and has driven the Jews from those towers; since neither the utmost human force, nor that of all the engines in the world, could have effected it."⁴

Besides the visible and sensible connexion of sacred and profane history, there is another more secret, and more distinct relation with respect to the Messiah, for whose coming the Almighty, whose work was ever present to his sight, prepared mankind from far, even by the state of ignorance and dissoluteness in which he suffered them to be immersed during four thousand years. It was to make mankind sensible of the necessity of our having a Mediator, that God permitted the nations to walk after their own ways; while neither the light of reason, nor the dictates of philosophy, could dispel the clouds of error, or reform their depraved inclinations.

When we take a view of the grandeur of empires, the majesty of princes, the glorious actions of great men, the order of civil societies, and the harmony of the different members of which they are composed, the wisdom of legislators, and the learning of philosophers, the earth seems to exhibit nothing to the eye of man but what is great and resplendent; nevertheless, in the eye of God it was equally barren and uncultivated, as at the first instant of the creation. "The earth was without form and void."⁵ This is saying but little; it was wholly polluted and impure (the reader will observe that I speak here of the heathens,) and appeared, to God, only as the haunt and retreat of ungrateful and perfidious men, as it did at the time of the flood. "The earth was corrupt before God, and was filled with violence."⁶

Nevertheless, the Sovereign Arbiter of the universe, who, pursuant to the dictates of his wisdom dispenses both light and darkness, and knows how to check the impetuous torrent of human passions would not permit mankind, though abandoned to the utmost corruptions, to degenerate into absolute barbarity, and brutalize themselves, in a manner, by the extinction of the first principles of the law of nature, as is seen in several savage nations. Such an obstacle would have too much retarded the rapid progress, promised by him to the first preachers of the doctrine of his Son.

He darted from far, into the minds of men, the rays of several great truths, to dispose them for the reception of others more important. He prepared them for the instructions of the gospel, by those of philosophers; and it was with this view that God permitted the heathen professors to examine, in their schools, several questions, and establish several principles, which are nearly allied to religion; and to engage the attention of mankind, by the brilliancy of their disputations. It is well known, that the philosophers inculcate in every part of their writings the existence of a God, the necessity of a Providence that presides over the government of the world, the immortality of the soul, the ultimate end of man, the reward of the good and punishment of the wicked, the nature of those duties which constitute the band of society, the character of the virtues that are the basis of morality, as prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and other similar truths, which, though incapable of guiding men to righteousness, were yet of use to scatter certain clouds, and to dispel certain obscurities.

It is by an effect of the same providence, which prepared, from far, the ways of the gospel, that, when the Messiah revealed himself in the flesh God had united together almost all nations, by the Greek and Latin tongues; and had subjected to one monarch, from the ocean to the Euphrates, all the people not united by language, in order to give a more free course to the preaching of the apostles. The study of profane history, when entered upon with judgment and maturity, must lead us to these reflections, and point out to us the manner in which the Almighty makes the empires of the earth subservient to the establishment of the kingdom of his Son.

It ought likewise to teach us how to appreciate all that glitters most in the eye of the world, and is

God has always disposed of human events, with relation to the reign of the Messiah.

¹ Ἐλευσὶν ἐκιδρυμένην ἐμβάλεον τρισμυτῶν τοῦ παντός· αὐτὰ ἐκρίσθησαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ γυνὴν ἀγίου καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

² Dan vii ³ Ezek. xix. 3. 7. ⁴ Joseph. .iii. c. 46.

⁵ Gen. i. 2.

⁶ Ibid. vi. 11.

Exterior talents indulged to the heathens.

ences, beauty of genius, delicacy of taste, and perfection in all arts: these are the objects which profane history exhibits to us, which excite our admiration, and often our envy. But at the same time this very history ought to remind us, that the Almighty, ever since the creation, has indulged to his enemies all those shining qualities which the world esteems, and on which it frequently bestows the highest eulogiums; while, on the contrary, he often refuses them to his most faithful servants, whom he endues with talents of an infinitely superior nature, though men neither know their value, nor are desirous of them. "Happy is that people that is in such a case: yea, happy is that people, whose God is the Lord."¹

We must not be too profuse in our applauses of them.

I shall conclude this first part of my preface with a reflection which results naturally from what has been said. Since it is certain, that all these great men, who are so much boasted of in profane history, were so unhappy as not to know the true God, and to displease him; we should therefore be cautious and circumspect in the praises which we bestow upon them. St. Austin, in his *Retractions*, repents his having lavished so many encomiums on Plato, and the followers of his philosophy; because these, says he, were impious men, whose doctrine, in many points, was contrary to that of Jesus Christ.²

However, we are not to imagine, that St. Austin supposes it to be unlawful for us to admire and praise whatever is either beautiful in the actions, or true in the maxims, of the heathens. He only advises us to correct whatever is erroneous, and to approve whatever is conformable to rectitude and justice in them.³ He applauds the Romans on many occasions, and particularly in his book *De Civitate Dei*,⁴ which is one of the last and finest of his works. He there shows, that the Almighty raised them to be victorious over nations, and sovereigns of a great part of the earth, because of the gentleness and equity of their government (alluding to the happy ages of the Republic); thus bestowing on virtues that were merely human, rewards of the same kind, with which that people, blind on this subject, though so enlightened on others, were so unhappy as to content themselves. St. Austin therefore does not condemn the encomiums which are bestowed on the heathens but only the excess of them.

Students ought to take care, and especially we, who by the duties of our profession are obliged to be perpetually conversant with heathen authors, not to enter too far into the spirit of them; not to imitate, unperceived, their sentiments, by lavishing too great applauses on their heroes; nor to give into excesses which the heathens indeed did not consider as such, because they were not acquainted with virtues of a purer kind. Some persons, whose friendship I esteem as I ought, and for whose learning and judgment I have the highest regard, have found this defect in some parts of my work, on the *Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres*, &c.; and are of opinion, that I have gone too great lengths in the encomiums which I bestow on the illustrious men of paganism. I indeed own, that the expressions on those occasions are sometimes too strong and too unguarded: however, I imagined that I had supplied a proper corrective to this, by the hints

which I have interspersed in those four volumes, and, therefore, that it would be only losing time to repeat them: not to mention my having laid down, in different places, the principles which the fathers of the church establish on this head, declaring, with St. Austin, that without true piety, that is, without a sincere worship of the true God, there can be no true virtue; and that no virtue can be such, whose object is worldly glory; a truth, says this father, acknowledged universally by those who are inspired with real and solid piety. *Ilud constat inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem sine verâ pietate, id est, vera Dei vero cultu, veram posse habere virtutem; nec eam veram esse, quando gloria servit humana.*⁵

When I observed that Perseus had not resolution enough to kill himself, I do not thereby pretend to justify the practice of the heathens, who looked upon suicide as lawful; but simply to relate an incident, and the judgment which Paulus Æmilius passed on it. Had I barely hinted a word or two against that custom, it would have obviated all mistake and left no room for censure.

The ostracism, employed in Athens against persons of the greatest merit; theft connived at, as it appears, by Lycurgus in Sparta; an equality of goods established in the same city, by the authority of the state, and things of a like nature, may admit of some difficulty. However, I shall pay a more immediate attention to these particulars, when the course of the history brings me to them; and shall avail myself with pleasure of such lights as the learned and unprejudiced may favor me by communicating.⁶

In a work like that I now offer the public, intended more immediately for the instruction of youth it were heartily to be wished, that not one single thought or expression might occur, that could contribute to inculcate false or dangerous principles. When I first set about writing the present history, I proposed this for my maxim, the importance of which I perfectly conceive, but am far from imagining that I have always observed it, though it was my intention to do so; and therefore on this, as on many other occasions, I shall stand in need of the reader's indulgence.

SECTION II.

Particular observations on the following Work.

THE volume I here present the public, is the beginning of a work, in which I propose to give the ancient history of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, both of Nineveh and Babylon; together with that of the Medes, Persians, Macedonians, and the different states of Greece.

As I write principally for young persons, and for those who do not intend to make very deep researches into ancient history, I shall not burden this work with a sort of erudition, that might have been naturally introduced into it, but does not suit my purpose. My design is, in giving a continued series of ancient history, to extract from the Greek and Latin authors all that I shall judge most useful and entertaining with respect to the transactions, and most instructive with regard to the reflections.

I should wish to be able to avoid, at the same time, the dry sterility of epitomes, which convey no distinct idea to the mind; and the tedious accuracy of long histories, which tire the reader's patience. I am sensible that it is difficult to steer exactly between the two extremes; and although, in the two parts of history of which this first volume consists, I have retrenched a great part of what we meet with in ancient authors, they may still be thought too long; but I was afraid of spoiling the incidents, by being too studious of brevity. However, the taste of the public shall be my guide, to which I shall endeavor to conform hereafter.

I was so happy as not to displease the public in

¹ Psal. cxliv. 15.

² *Laus ipsa, quâ Platonem vel Platonicos seu Academicos philosophos tantum extuli, quantum impios homines non oportuit, non immerito mihi displicuit: presertim quorum contra errores magnos defendenda est Christiana doctrina. Retract. l. i. c. 1.*

³ *Id in quoque corrigendum, quod prævum est; quod autem rectum est, approbandum. De Bapt. cont. Donat. l. vi. c. 16.*

⁴ *Lib. v. cap. 19. 21. &c.*

⁵ *De Civitate Dei, lib. v. c. 19.*

⁶ *This Mr. Rollin has done admirably in the several volumes of his Ancient History.*

my first attempt.¹ I wish the present work may be equally successful, but dare not raise my hopes so high. The subjects I there treated, *viz.* polite literature, poetry, eloquence, and curious and detached pieces of history, gave me an opportunity of introducing into it from ancient and modern authors, whatever is most beautiful, affecting, delicate, and just, with regard both to thought and expression. The beauty and justness of the things themselves which I offered the reader, made him more indulgent to the manner in which they were presented to him; and besides, the variety of the subjects supplied the want of those graces which might have been expected from the style and composition.

But I have not the same advantage in the present work, the choice of the subjects not being entirely at my discretion. In a connected history, an author is often obliged to relate a great many things that are not always very interesting, especially with regard to the origin and rise of empires; and these parts are generally overrun with thorns, and offer very few flowers. However, the sequel will furnish matter of a more pleasing nature, and events that engage more strongly the reader's attention; and I shall take care to make use of the valuable materials which the best authors will supply. In the mean time, I must entreat the reader to remember that in a wide, extended, and beautiful region, the eye does not every where meet with golden harvests, smiling meads, and fruitful orchards; but sees, at different intervals, wild and less cultivated tracts of land. And, to use another comparison, furnished by Pliny, some trees in the spring emulously shoot forth a numberless multitude of blossoms, which by this rich dress (the splendor and vivacity of whose colors charm the eye) proclaim a happy abundance in a more advanced season;² while other trees, of a less gay appearance, though they bear good fruits, have not however the fragrance and beauty of blossoms, nor seem to share in the joy of reviving nature.³ The reader will easily apply this image to the composition of history.

To adorn and enrich my own, I will be so ingenious as to confess, that I do not scruple, nor am ashamed, to rifle from all quarters, and that I often do not cite the authors from whom I transcribe, because of the liberty I occasionally take to make some slight alterations. I have made the best use in my power of the solid reflections that occur in the second and third parts of the Bishop of Meaux's Universal History,⁴ which is one of the most beautiful and most useful books in our language. I have also received great assistance from the learned Dean Prideaux's Connexion of the Old and New Testament, in which he has traced and cleared up, in an admirable manner, the particulars relating to ancient history. I shall take the same liberty with whatever comes in my way, that may suit my design, and contribute to the perfection of my work.

I am very sensible, that it is not so much for a person's reputation, thus to make use of other men's labors, and that it is in a manner renouncing the name and quality of author. But I am not over fond of that title; and shall be extremely well pleased, and think myself very happy, if I can but deserve the name of a good compiler, and supply my readers with a tolerable history; who will not be over solicitous to inquire whether it be an original composition of my own or not, provided they are but pleased with it.

I cannot determine the exact number of volumes which this work will make; but am persuaded there

will be no less than ten or twelve. Students with a very moderate application, may easily go through this course of history in a year, without interrupting their other studies. According to my plan, my work should be given to the highest form but one. Youths in this class are capable of pleasure and improvement from this history; and I would not have them enter upon that of the Romans till they study rhetoric.

It would have been useful, and even necessary, to have given some idea of the ancient authors from whence I have extracted the facts which I here relate. But the course itself of the history will naturally give me an opportunity of mentioning them.

In the mean time, it may not be improper to take notice of the superstitious credulity with which most of these authors are reproached, on the subjects of auguries, auspices, prodigies, dreams, and oracles. And, indeed, we are shocked to see writers, so judicious in all other respects, lay it down as a kind of law, to relate these particulars with a scrupulous accuracy; and to dwell gravely on a tedious detail of trifling and ridiculous ceremonies, such as the flight of birds to the right or left hand, signs discovered in the smoking entrails of beasts, the greater or less greediness of chickens in pecking corn, and a thousand similar absurdities.

It must be confessed, that a sensible reader cannot, without astonishment, see persons among the ancients in the highest repute for wisdom and knowledge; generals who were the least liable to be influenced by popular opinions, and most sensible how necessary it is to take advantage of auspicious moments; the wisest councils of princes perfectly well skilled in the arts of government; the most august assemblies of grave senators; in a word, the most powerful and most learned nations in all ages: to see, I say, all these so unaccountably weak, as to make to depend on these trifling practices, and absurd observances, the decision of the greatest affairs such as the declaring of war, the giving battle, or pursuing a victory—deliberations that were of the utmost importance, and on which the fate and welfare of kingdoms frequently depended.

But, at the same time, we must be so just as to own, that their manners, customs, and laws, would not permit men, in these ages, to dispense with the observation of these practices: that education, hereditary tradition transmitted from immemorial time, the universal belief and consent of different nations, the precepts, and even examples of philosophers; that all these, I say, made the practices in question appear venerable in their eyes; and that these ceremonies, how absurd soever they may appear to us, and are really so in themselves, constituted part of the religion and public worship of the ancients.

This religion was false, and this worship mistaken; yet the principle of it was laudable, and founded in nature: the stream was corrupted, but the fountain was pure. Man assisted only by his own light, sees nothing beyond the present moment. Futurity is to him an abyss invisible to the most keen, the most piercing sagacity, and exhibits nothing on which he may with certainty fix his views, or form his resolutions. He is equally feeble and impotent with regard to the execution of his designs. He is sensible, that he is dependent entirely on a Supreme Power, that disposes all events with absolute authority, and which, in spite of his utmost efforts, and of the wisdom of the best concerted schemes, by raising only the smallest obstacles and slightest disappointments, renders it impossible for him to execute his measures.

This obscurity and weakness oblige him to have recourse to a superior knowledge and power: he is forced, both by his immediate wants, and the strong desire he has to succeed in all his undertakings, to address that Being who he is sensible has reserved to himself alone the knowledge of futurity, and the power of disposing it as he sees fitting. He accord

¹ The Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c.

² Arborum flos est pleni veris indicium, et anni renascentis; flos gaudium arborum. Tunc se novas, aliaque quàm sunt, ostendunt, tunc variis colorum picturis in certamen æque luxuriant. Sed hoc negatum plerique. Non enim omnes flores, et sunt tristes quædam, quæque non sentiunt gaudia annorum; nec ullo flore exiliantur, natalesque porum recursus annos varicolori nuntio promittunt. *Plin. Hist. Nat. l. lxvi. c. 25.*

³ As the fig-tree.

⁴ Mons. Bossuet.

ingly directs prayers, makes vows, and offers sacrifices to prevail, if possible, with the Deity, to reveal himself, either in dreams, oracles, or other signs which may manifest his will; fully convinced that nothing can happen but by the divine appointment; and that it is a man's greatest interest to know this supreme will, in order to conform his actions to it.

This religious principle of dependence on, and veneration of, the Supreme Being, is natural to man: it is imprinted deep in his heart; he is reminded of it, by the inward sense of his extreme indigence, and by all the objects which surround him; and it may be affirmed, that this perpetual recourse to the Deity is one of the principal foundations of religion, and the strongest band by which man is united to his Creator.

Those who were so happy as to know the true God, and were chosen to be his peculiar people, never failed to address him in all their wants and doubts, in order to obtain his succor, and to know his will. He accordingly vouchsafed to reveal himself to them; to conduct them by apparitions, dreams, oracles, and prophecies; and to protect them by miracles of the most astonishing kind.

But those who were so blind as to substitute falsehood in the place of truth, directed themselves, for the like aid, to fictitious and deceitful deities, who were not able to answer their expectations, nor recompense the homage that mortals paid them, any otherwise than by error and illusion, and a fraudulent imitation of the conduct of the true God.

Hence arose the vain observation of dreams, which, from a superstitious credulity, they mistook for salutary warnings from heaven; those obscure and equivocal answers of oracles, beneath whose veil the spirits of darkness conceal their ignorance; and, by a studied ambiguity, reserved to themselves an evasion or subterfuge, whatever might be the event. To this are owing the prognostics with regard to futurity, which men fancied they should find in the entrails of beasts, in the flight and singing of birds, in the aspect of the planets, in fortuitous accidents, and in the caprice of chance; those dreadful prodigies that filled a whole nation with terror, and which, it was believed, nothing could expiate but mournful ceremonies, and even sometimes the effusion of human blood: in fine, those black inventions of magic, those delusions, enchantments, sorceries, invocations of ghosts, and many other kinds of divination.

All I have here related was a received usage, observed by the heathen nations in general; and this usage was founded on the principles of that religion of which I have given a short account. We have a signal proof of this in that passage of the *Cyropæ-*

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dia,¹ where Cambyzes, the father of Cyrus, gives that young prince such noble instructions; instructions admirably well adapted to form the great captain and great king. He exhorts him, above all things, to pay the highest reverence to the gods; and not to undertake any enterprise, whether important or inconsiderable, without first calling upon and consulting them; he enjoins him to honor the priests and augurs, as being their ministers and the interpreters of their will, but yet not to trust or abandon himself so implicitly and blindly to them, as not by his own application, to learn every thing relating to the science of divination, of auguries, and auspices. The reason which he gives for the subordination and dependence in which kings ought to live with regard to the gods, and the benefit derived from consulting them in all things, is this: How clear-sighted soever mankind may be in the ordinary course of affairs, their views are always very narrow and bounded with regard to futurity; whereas the Deity, at a single glance, takes in all ages and events. "As the gods," says Cambyzes to his son, "are eternal, they know equally all things, past, present, and to come. With regard to the mortals who address them, they give salutary counsels to those whom they are pleased to favor, that they may not be ignorant of what things they ought or ought not to undertake. If it is observed, that the deities do not give the like counsels to all men; we are not to wonder at it, since no necessity obliges them to attend to the welfare of those persons on whom they do not vouchsafe to confer their favor."

Such was the doctrine of the most learned and most enlightened nations, with respect to the different kinds of divinations; and it is no wonder that the authors who wrote the history of those nations, thought it incumbent on them to give an exact detail of such particulars as constituted part of their religion and worship, and was frequently, in a manner, the soul of their deliberations, and the standard of their conduct. I therefore was of opinion, for the same reason, that it would not be proper for me to omit entirely, in the ensuing history, what relates to this subject, though I have, however, retrenched a great part of it.

Archbishop Usher is my usual guide in chronology. In the history of the Carthaginians I commonly set down four eras: The year from the creation of the world, which, for brevity's sake, I mark thus, A. M.; those of the foundation of Carthage and Rome; and lastly, the year before the birth of our Saviour, which I suppose to be the 4004th year of the world; wherein I follow Usher and others, though they suppose it to be four years earlier.

¹ Xenoph. in *Cyrop.* l. i. p. 25, 27

INTRODUCTION.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KINGDOMS.

To know in what manner the states and kingdoms were founded, that have divided the universe; the steps whereby they rose to that pitch of grandeur related in history; by what ties families and cities were united, in order to constitute one body or society, and to live together under the same laws and a common authority; it will be necessary to trace things back, in a manner, to the infancy of the world, and to those ages in which mankind, being dispersed into different regions (after the confusion of tongues,) began to people the earth.

In these early ages every father was the supreme head of his family; the arbiter and judge of whatever contests and divisions might arise within it; the natural legislator over his little society; the defender and protector of those, who by their birth, education, and weakness, were under his protection and safe-guard, and whose interests paternal tenderness rendered equally dear to him as his own.

But although these masters enjoyed an independent authority, they made a mild and paternal use of it. So far from being jealous of their power, they neither governed with haughtiness, nor decided with tyranny. As they were obliged by necessity to associate their family in their domestic labors, they also summoned them together, and asked their opinion in matters of importance. In this manner all affairs were transacted in concert, and for the common good.

The laws which paternal vigilance established in this little domestic senate, being dictated with no other view than to promote the general welfare; concerted with such children as were come to years of maturity, and accepted by the inferiors with a full and free consent; were religiously kept and preserved in families as an hereditary polity, to which they owed their peace and security.

But different motives gave rise to different laws. One man, overjoyed at the birth of a first-born son, resolved to distinguish him from his future children, by bestowing on him a more considerable share of his possessions, and giving him a greater authority in his family. Another, more attentive to the interest of a beloved wife, or darling daughter whom he wanted to settle in the world, thought it incumbent on him to secure their rights and increase their advantages. The solitary and cheerless state to which a wife would be reduced in case she should become a widow, affected more intimately another man, and made him provide beforehand, for the subsistence and comfort of a woman who formed his felicity. From these different views, and others of the like nature, arose the different customs of nations, as well as their rights, which are infinitely various.

In proportion as every family increased, by the birth of children, and their marrying into other families, they extended their little domain, and formed, by insensible degrees, towns and cities.

These societies growing, in process of time, very numerous; and the families being divided into various branches, each of which had its head, whose different interests and characters might interrupt the general tranquillity; it was necessary to intrust one person with the government of the whole, in order to unite all these chiefs or heads under a single authority, and to maintain the public peace by a uniform administration. The idea which men still retained of the paternal government, and the happy effects they had experienced from it, prompted them to choose from among their wisest and most virtuous men, him in whom they had observed the tenderest

and most fatherly disposition. Neither ambition nor cabal had the least share in this choice; probity alone, and the reputation of virtue and equity, decided on these occasions, and gave the preference to the most worthy.¹

To heighten the lustre of their newly acquired dignity, and enable them the better to put the laws in execution, as well as to devote themselves entirely to the public good; to defend the state against the invasions of their neighbors, and the factions of discontented citizens; the title of king was bestowed upon them, a throne was erected, and a sceptre put into their hands; homage was paid them, officers were assigned, and guards appointed for the security of their persons; tributes were granted; they were invested with full powers to administer justice, and for this purpose were armed with a sword, in order to restrain injustice, and punish crimes.

At first, every city had its particular king,² who, being more solicitous to preserve his dominion than to enlarge it, confined his ambition within the limits of his native country. But the almost unavoidable feuds which break out between neighbors; jealousy against a more powerful king; a turbulent and restless spirit; a martial disposition, or thirst of aggrandizement; or the display of abilities; gave rise to wars, which frequently ended in the entire subjection of the vanquished, whose cities were possessed by the victor, and increased insensibly his dominions. Thus,³ a first victory paving the way to a second, and making a prince more powerful and enterprising, several cities and provinces were united under one monarch, and formed kingdoms of a greater or less extent, according to the degree of ardor with which the victor had pushed his conquests.

But among these princes were found some, whose ambition being too vast to confine itself within a single kingdom, broke over all bounds, and spread universally like a torrent, or the ocean; swallowed up kingdoms and nations; and fancied that glory consisted in depriving princes of their dominions, who had not done them the least injury; in carrying fire and sword into the most remote countries, and in leaving every where bloody traces of their progress! Such was the origin of those famous empires which included a great part of the world.

Princes made a various use of victory, according to the diversity of their dispositions or interests. Some, considering themselves as absolute masters of the conquered, and imagining they were sufficiently indulged in sparing their lives, bereaved them, as well as their children, of their possessions, their country, and their liberty; subjected them to a most severe captivity; employed them in those arts which are necessary for the support of life, in the lowest and most servile offices of the house, in the painful toils of the field; and frequently forced them, by the most inhuman treatment, to dig in mines, and ransack the bowels of the earth, merely to satiate their avarice; and hence mankind were divided into freemen and slaves, masters and bondmen.

Others introduced the custom of transporting whole nations into new countries, where they settled them, and gave them lands to cultivate.

¹ Quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis non ambitio populi, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat. *Justin. l. i. c. 1.*

² Finis imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erit. Intus solum cuique patriam regni finiebantur. *Justin. l. i. c. 1.*

³ Domitis proximis, cum accessione virium fortior ad alia transiret, et proxima quoque victoria instrumentum acquens esset, totius orientis populos subegit. *Justin. ibid.*

Other princes again, of more gentle dispositions, contented themselves with only obliging the vanquished nations to purchase their liberties, and the enjoyment of their laws and privileges, by annual tributes, laid on them for that purpose; and sometimes they would suffer kings to sit peaceably on their thrones upon condition of their paying them some kind of homage.

But such of these monarchs as were the wisest and ablest politicians thought it glorious to establish a kind of equality betwixt the nations newly conquered and their other subjects; granting the former almost all the rights and privileges which the others enjoyed: and by this means the great number of nations, that were spread over different and far distant countries, constituted, in some measure, but one city, at least but one people.

Thus I have given a general and concise idea of

mankind, from the earliest monuments which history has preserved on this subject; the particulars whereof I shall endeavor to relate, in treating of each empire and nation. I shall not touch upon the history of the Jews, nor that of the Romans. The Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians, will form the subject of the work, of which this is the first volume.¹ I begin with the Egyptians and Carthaginians, because the former are of very great antiquity, and as the history of both is less blended with that of other nations; whereas those of other states are more interwoven, and sometimes succeed one another.

¹ This Introduction was given along with the first volume of the first edition.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES, AND PERSIANS,

COMMENCING VOL. II. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION, AND PAGE 94, VOL. I. OF THE PRESENT EDITION.

SECTION I.

Reflection on the different sorts of Government.

THE multiplicity of governments, established among the different nations of whom I am to treat, exhibits, at first view, to the eye and to the understanding, a spectacle highly worthy our attention; and shows the astonishing variety, which the Sovereign of the world has constituted in the empires that divide it, by the diversity of inclinations and manners observable in each of those nations. We herein perceive the characteristics of the Deity, who, ever resembling himself in all the works of his creation, takes a pleasure to paint and display therein, under a thousand shapes, in infinite wisdom, by a wonderful fertility and an admirable simplicity—a wisdom, that can form a single work, and compose a whole perfectly regular, from all the different parts of the universe—and all the productions of nature, notwithstanding the infinite manner in which they are multiplied and diversified.

In the East, the form of government that prevails is the monarchical, which being attended with a majestic pomp, and a haughtiness almost inseparable from supreme authority, naturally tends to exact a more distinguished respect, and a more entire submission, from those in subjection to its power. When we consider Greece, one would be apt to conclude, that liberty and a republican spirit had breathed themselves into every part of that country, and had inspired almost all the different people who inhabit it, with a violent desire of independence, diversified however under various kinds of government, but all equally abhorrent of subjection and slavery. In one part of Greece, the supreme power is lodged in the people, and what we call *democracy*; in another, it is vested in an assembly of the wise men, and those are called *aristocracy*; in a third republic, the government is lodged in the hands of a small number of select and powerful persons, and is called an *oligarchy*; in others, again, it is a mixture of all these parts, or of several of them, and sometimes even of the regal power.

It is manifest that this variety of governments, which all tend to the same point, though by different ways, contributes very much to the beauty of the universe; and that it can proceed from no other being, than him who governs it with infinite wisdom; and who diffuses universally an order and symmetry, of which the effect is to unite the several

parts together, and by that means to form one work of the whole. For although, in this diversity of governments, some are better than others, we nevertheless may very justly affirm¹ that there is no power but of God: and that the powers that be, are ordained of God. But neither every use that is made of this power, nor every means for the attainment of it, are from God, though every power be of him; and when we see these governments degenerating, sometimes to violence, factions, despotic sway, and tyranny, it is wholly to the passions of mankind, that we must ascribe those irregularities, which are directly opposite to the primitive institution of states, and which a superior wisdom afterwards reduces to order, always making them contribute to the execution of his designs, full of equity and justice.

This scene, or spectacle, as I before observed, highly deserves our attention and admiration; and will display itself gradually, in proportion as I advance in relating the ancient history, of which it seems to me to form an essential part. It is with the view of making the reader attentive to this object, that I think it incumbent on me to add to the account of facts and events what regards the manners and customs of nations; because these show their genius and characters, which we may call, in some measure, the soul of history. For to take notice only of eras and events, and confine our curiosity and researches to them, would be imitating the imprudence of a traveller, who, in visiting many countries, should content himself with knowing their exact distance from each other, and consider only the situation of the several places, the manner of building, and the dresses of the people; without giving himself the least trouble to converse with the inhabitants, in order to inform himself of their genius, manners, dispositions, laws, and government. Homer, whose design was to give, in the person of Ulysses, a model of a wise and intelligent traveller, tells us, at the very opening of his *Odyssey*, that his hero informed himself very exactly in the manners and customs of the several people whose cities he visited, in which he ought to be imitated by every person, who applies himself to the study of history.

SECTION II.

A geographical description of Asia.

As Asia will hereafter be the principal scene of the history we are now entering upon, it may not be

¹ Rom. xiii. 1.

improper to give the reader such a general idea of it, as may at least make him acquainted with its most considerable provinces and cities.

The northern and eastern parts of Asia are less known in ancient history.

To the north are Asiatic Sarmatia and Asiatic Scythia, which answer to Tartary.

Sarmatia is situated between the river Tanais, which separates Europe and Asia, and the river Rha, or Volga. Scythia is divided into two parts; the one on this, the other on the other side of mount Imaus. The nations of Scythia best known to us are the Sacæ and Massagetæ.

The most eastern parts are, Serica, Cathay; Sinarum regio, China; and India. This last country was better known anciently than the two former. It was divided into two parts; the one on this side the Ganges, included between that river and the Indus, which now composes the dominions of the Great Mogul; the other part was that on the other side of the Ganges.

The remaining part of Asia, of which much greater mention is made in history, may be divided into five or six parts, taking it from east to west.

I. Upper Asia, which begins at the river Indus. The chief provinces are Gedrosia, Carmania, Arachosia, Drangiana, Bactriana, the capital of which was Bactra; Sogdiana, Margiana, Hyrcania, near the Caspian Sea; Parthia, Media, its chief city Ecбатана; Persia, the cities of Persepolis and Elymais; Susiana, the city of Susa; Assyria, the city of Nineveh, situated on the river Tigris; Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and Tigris; Babylonia, the city of Babylon, on the river Euphrates.

II. Asia between the Pontus Euxinus and the Caspian Sea. Therein we may distinguish four provinces. 1. Colchis, the river Phasis, and mount Caucasus. 2. Iberia. 3. Albania; which two last-mentioned provinces now form part of Georgia. 4. The greater Armenia. This is separated from the lesser by the Euphrates; from Mesopotamia by mount Taurus; and from Assyria by mount Niphates. Its cities are Artaxata and Tigranocerta, and the river Araxes runs through it.

III. Asia Minor. This may be divided into four or five parts, according to the different situation of its provinces.

1. Northward, the shore of the Pontus Euxinus; Pontus, under three different names. Its cities are, Trapezus, not far from which are the people called Chalybes or Chaldæi; Themiscyra, a city on the river Thermodon, and famous for having been the abode of the Amazons. Paphlagonia, Bithynia; the cities of which are, Nicæ, Prusa, Nicomedia, Chalcedon opposite to Constantinople, and Heraclea.

2. Westward, going down by the shores of the Ægean sea: Mysia, of which there are two. The Lesser, in which stood Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Parium, Abydos opposite to Sestos from which it is separated only by the Dardanelles; Dardanum, Sigæum, Ilium, or Troy; and almost on the opposite side, the little island of Tenedos. The rivers are, the Æsepus, the Granicus, and the Simois. Mount Idar.

This region is sometimes called Phrygia Minor, or which Troas is part.

The Greater Mysia. Antandros, Trajanopolis, Adramyttium, Pergamus. Opposite to this Mysia is the island of Lesbos; the cities of which are, Methymna, where the celebrated Arion was born; and Mitylene, which has given to the whole island its modern name Metelin.

Æolia. Elea, Cumæ, Phocæa.

Ionica. Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus.

Caria. Laodicea, Antiochia, Magnesia, Alabanda. The river Mæander.

Doris. Halicarnassus Cnidos.

Opposite to these four last countries, are the islands Chios, Samos, Pathmos, Cos: and lower, towards the south, Rhodes.

3. Southward, along the Mediterranean.

Lycia, the cities of which are, Telmesus, Patara. The river Xanthus. Here begins mount Taurus, which runs the whole length of Asia, and assumes different names, according to the several countries through which it passes.

Pamphylia. Perga, Aspendus, Sida.

Cilicia. Seleucia, Corycium, Tarsus, on the river Cydnus. Opposite to Cilicia is the island of Cyprus. The cities are, Salamis, Amathus, and Paphos.

4. Along the banks of the Euphrates, going up northward;

The Lesser Armenia. Comana, Arabyza, Melitene, Satala. The river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates.

5. Inland:

Cappadocia; the cities whereof are, Neocæsarea, Comana Pontica, Sebastia, Sebastopolis, Diocæsarea, Cæsarea, otherwise called Mazaca, and Tyana.

Lycæonia and Isauria. Iconium, Isauria.

Pisidia. Seleucia and Antiochia of Pisidia.

Lydia. Its cities are, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia. The rivers are, Caystrus, and Hermus, into which the Pactolus empties itself, Mount Sipylus and Tmolus.

Phrygia Major. Synnada, Apamia.

IV. Syria, now named Suria, called under the Roman emperors the East, the chief provinces of which are,

1. Palestine, by which name is sometimes understood all Judea. Its cities are, Jerusalem, Samaria, and Cæsarea Palestina. The river Jordan waters it. The name of Palestine is also given to the land of Canaan, which extended along the Mediterranean, the chief cities of which were Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Accaron, and Gath.

2. Phœnicia, whose cities are, Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus. Its mountains, Libanus, and Antilibanus.

3. Syria, properly so called, or Antiochena; the cities whereof are, Antiochia, Apamia, Loadicea and Seleucia.

4. Comagena. The city of Samosata.

5. Coelesyria. The cities are, Zeugma, Thapsacus, Palmyra, and Damascus.

V. Arabia Petrea. Its cities are, Petra, at C. Bos tra. Mount Casius. Deserta. Felix.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS,

WHICH OCCUPIES THE 3d, 4th, AND 5th VOLS. OF THE FIRST EDITION, AND COMMENCES AT PAGE 192 VOL. I. OF THIS EDITION.

BEFORE I enter upon the history of the Persians and Grecians, I shall, 1. prefix here some preliminary observations, by way of introduction. 2. I shall lay down the plan and division of the several parts of this third volume; and 3. An abridgment of the Lacedæmonian history, from the establishment of their kings to the reign of Darius, where this third volume begins.

ARTICLE I.

A brief idea of the history contained in this third volume.
What use is to be made of it.

THIS third volume of the ancient history, will open an entirely new scene to the reader's view, not unworthy his curiosity and attention. We have seen two states of no great consideration, Media and Persia, extend themselves far and wide, under the conduct of Cyrus, like a torrent or a conflagration; and, with amazing rapidity, conquer and subdue many provinces and kingdoms. We shall see now that vast empire setting the nations under its dominion in motion, the Persians, Medes, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians, and many others; and falling, with all the forces of Asia and the East, upon a little country, of very small extent, and destitute of all foreign assistance; I mean Greece. When, on the one hand, we behold so many nations united together, such preparations of war made for several years with so much diligence; innumerable armies by sea and land, and such fleets, as the sea could hardly contain; and, on the other hand, two weak cities, Athens and Lacedæmon, abandoned by all their allies, and left almost entirely to themselves; have we not reason to believe, that these two little cities are going to be utterly destroyed and swallowed up by so formidable an enemy; and that no footsteps of them will be left remaining? And yet we shall find that they will prove victorious; and by their invincible courage, and the several battles they gain both by sea and land, will make the Persian empire lay aside all thoughts of ever again turning their arms against Greece.

The history of the war between the Persians and the Greeks will illustrate the truth of this maxim, that it is not the number, but the valor of the troops, and the conduct of the generals, on which depends the success of military expeditions. The reader will admire the surprising courage and intrepidity of the great men at the head of the Grecian affairs, whom neither all the world in motion against them could defeat, nor the greatest misfortunes disconcert; who undertook, with a handful of men, to make head against innumerable armies; who, notwithstanding such a prodigious inequality of forces, dared to hope for success; who even compelled victory to declare on the side of merit and virtue; and taught all succeeding generations what infinite resources are to be found in prudence, valor, and experience; in a zeal for liberty and our country; in the love of our duty; and in all the sentiments of noble and generous souls.

This war of the Persians against the Grecians will be followed by another amongst the Greeks themselves, but of a very different kind from the former. In the latter, there will scarce be any actions, but what in appearance are of little consequence and seemingly unworthy of a reader's curiosity who is fond of great events: in this he will meet with little besides private quarrels between certain cities, or some small commonwealths; some inconsiderable sieges (excepting that of Syracuse, one of the most important related in ancient history,) though several of these sieges were of no short duration; some battles between armies, where the numbers were small, and but little blood shed. What is it then, that has rendered these wars so famous in history? Sallust informs us in these words: "The actions of the Athenians doubtless were great; and yet I believe they were somewhat less than fame will have us conceive of them. But because Athens abounded in noble writers the acts of that republic are celebrated throughout the whole world as most glorious; and the gallantry of those heroes who performed them, has had the good fortune to be thought as transcendent as the eloquence of those who have described them."¹

Sallust, though jealous enough of the glory the Romans had acquired by a series of distinguished actions, with which their history abounds, yet does justice in this passage to the Grecians, by acknowledging, that their exploits were truly great and illustrious, though somewhat inferior, in his opinion to their fame. What is then this foreign and borrowed lustre, which the Athenian actions have derived from the eloquence of their historians? It is that the whole universe agrees in looking upon them as the greatest and most glorious that ever were performed: *Per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur*. All nations, seduced and enchanted as it were with the beauties of the Greek authors, think that people's exploits superior to any thing that was ever done by any other nation. This, according to Sallust, is the service which the Greek authors have done the Athenians, by their excellent manner of describing their actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our history, for want of similar assistance, has left a thousand brilliant actions and fine sayings unrecorded, which would have been put in the strongest light by the writers of antiquity, and have done great honor to our country.

But be this as it may, it must be confessed, that we are not always to judge of the value of an action, or the merit of the persons who shared in it, by the importance of the event. It is rather in such sieges and engagements as we find recorded in the history of the Peloponnesian war, that the conduct and abilities of a general are truly conspicuous. Accordingly, it is observed, that it was chiefly at the head of small armies, and in countries of no great extent, that our best generals of the last age displayed their great capacity, and showed themselves not inferior to the most celebrated captains of antiquity. In actions of this sort chance has no share, and does not cover any oversights that are committed. Every thing is conducted and carried on by the prudence of the general. He is truly the soul of the forces, which neither act nor move but by his direction. He sees every thing, and is present every where. Nothing escapes his vigilance and attention. Orders are seasonably given, and seasonably executed. Contrivances, stratagems, false marches, real or feigned attacks, encampments, decampments; in a word, every thing depends upon him alone.

On this account, the reading of the Greek historians, such as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, is of infinite service to young officers; because those historians, who were also excellent commanders, enter into all the particulars of the events which they relate, and lead the readers, as it were, by the hand, through all the sieges and battles they describe; showing them, by the example of the greatest generals of antiquity, and by a kind of anticipated experience, in what manner war is to be carried on.

Nor is it only with regard to military exploits, that the Grecian history affords us such excellent models. We shall there find celebrated legislators, able politicians, magistrates born for government, men that have excelled in all arts and sciences, philosophers that carried their inquiries as far as was possible in those early ages, and who have left us such maxims of morality, as might put many Christians to the blush.

It is true, these very philosophers, notwithstanding their penetration in some points, were entirely blind and ignorant as to others, even to the degree of contesting some of the most evident principles of the law of nature; and very often suffered their practice to belie their doctrine, and themselves to fall into the most gross irregularities. The Divine Providence permitted it so to be, and thought fit to give them up to a reprobate mind, in order to punish their pride, and to teach us by their example, what enormities men are capable of, even the wisest and most knowing, when they are left to their own weak-

habetur, quantum, eam verbis potero extollere præcæra ingenia. *Sallust. in Bell. Catilin.*

¹ Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego existimo, satis ample magnificæque fuerunt; verùm aliquanto minores tamen, quàm famâ feruntur. Sed quia proveniēte ibi scriptorū magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, quæ fecēre, virtus tanta

ness and natural depravity, and from what an abyss the mercy of our Divine Mediator has delivered us. But though they fell into some errors, both with respect to the understanding and the heart, which we are obliged to detest; yet that does not hinder their books from containing many excellent maxims, which, according to St. Austin,¹ we are entitled to claim as a benefit appertaining to us, in the same manner as the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt, enriched themselves with the spoils thereof: for this has been the practice of all the saints: "*Ipsi Gentiles siquid divinum et rectum in doctrinis suis habere potuerunt, non improbaverunt sancti nostri.*"²

The same thing may be said with regard to the virtuous actions of the heathens, whereof we shall find a great abundance in the Grecian history. We are told by St. Austin,³ that according to the rule of justice, *secundum justitiæ regulam*, we ought to be so far from blaming and condemning those actions, that we are obliged in reason to commend and extol them. Not that those actions were good and laudable in every respect; St. Austin⁴ was very far from entertaining such an opinion. He looked upon them only as good in their nature, and with respect to the duty of the agents; but as to the end, for which they were done, that father thought them very blameable, because they were not directed to the glory of God. These men had no recourse to the true God, (for him they did not know) nor was it to him they addressed themselves for wisdom in their counsels, success in their undertakings, the improvement of their talents or their virtue. It was not to the true God they returned thanks for these blessings, nor did they give him the glory of them by an humble acknowledgment. They did not consider him, either as the source and principle, or as the end of all the good they were capable of doing. Their best actions were corrupted, either by self-love or ingratitude, they could not therefore be available towards salvation, which is only to be obtained through faith in Jesus Christ.

But notwithstanding this, according to the same father, it may be very useful to Christians, both for their instruction and the regulation of their manners, to have the virtuous actions of the heathens laid before them in their full light, provided they set not too high a value upon them:⁵ for what the same father says of the virtues of the ancient Romans, may undoubtedly be applied with equal reason to those of the Grecians.

He employs a whole chapter, and that a pretty long one, in pointing out the most illustrious actions and signal virtues of that people; as their love of the public good—their devoted attachment to their country—their constancy in suffering the most cruel torments, and even death itself—their noble and generous disinterestedness—their esteeming and choosing poverty—their profound reverence for religion and the gods. He makes several reflections upon this subject, which well deserve a place here.

In the first place he supposeth, that it was in order to recompense the Romans for all these virtues, which yet were virtues only in name and appearance, that the divine providence gave them the empire of the universe, a recompense very suitable to their deserts, and with which they were weak enough to be contented. For the same reason he supposes⁶

God thought fit to let their name be so glorious and so much esteemed by all nations and in all ages, that so many great and illustrious actions should not pass entirely unrewarded.

In the second place he observes, that such virtues, notwithstanding their being false, are of public advantage to mankind, and that they enter into the secret designs of God towards the punishing or rewarding of his creatures. The love of glory, which is a vice, yet serves to suppress many other vices, of a more hurtful and mischievous nature, such as injustice, violence, and cruelty. And can it be questioned, whether a magistrate, a governor of a province, or a sovereign, that are gentle, patient, just, chaste, and beneficent, though merely upon human motives of interest or vain glory, are not infinitely more serviceable to the commonwealth, than they would be, if they were destitute of those external appearances and shadows of virtue; and whether men of such dispositions may be reckoned among the most valuable presents of heaven? We may the better judge of this matter, if we only compare such magistrates and princes with those of a contrary character, who, laying aside all honor and probity, despising reputation, and trampling upon the most sacred laws, acknowledge no other but their brutal passions; who are, in a word, such as God in his wrath sets over a people he intends to punish, and which he thinks worthy of such masters. *Et talibus quidem dominandi potestas non datur nisi summi Dei providentia, quando res humanas judicat talibus dominis dignas.*⁷

The third and last reflection this father makes, and which is the most pertinent to my subject, and to the end I propose in writing this Ancient History, relates to the use that ought to be made of the praises given to the virtuous heathens.

It shows what advantage a prudent reader should reap from the relation of the great exploits and virtuous actions of the Grecians, which will be the principal subject of this and the following volumes. When we see these men sacrificing their estates and fortunes to the relief of their fellow-citizens, their lives to the preservation of the state, and even their fame and glory to the public good; when we see them practising the most arduous virtues, and that on motives purely human, in order to acquire a transient reputation: what reproaches ought we not to make to ourselves, and how much ought we to be ashamed, if professing a religion, that recommends itself to us by the promises of eternal rewards, and has such powerful motives to enforce our love and gratitude, we however want the courage and resolution to practise the same virtues? And if we are so happy as to fulfil our engagements and duty, how can we be proud of it, when we consider how much greater things were done on a motive of mere vain-glory, by men who knew not God, and who confined all their desires to the goods of this present life?⁸

This then, according to St. Austin, is the principal use to be made of the study and reading of profane history: nor did the divine providence⁹ suffer the Greeks and Romans to become so famous and illustrious, but in order to give the greater weight to those examples of virtue with which their history abounds, that by our reading them with seriousness

artibus eorum, (i. e. virtutibus) quibus ad tantam gloriam pervenire nitebantur. At non est quod se summi et veri Dei justitia conquerantur; perceperunt mercedem suam. *Ibid.* cap. 13.

¹ Constat eos, qui cives non sint, civitatis eterne, utiliores esse terræ civitati quando habent virtutem vel ipsam quam si nec ipsam. *St. Aust. de civ. Dei*, lib. v. cap. 19.

² *St. Aust. de civ. Dei*, lib. v. cap. 19.

³ Ideo nobis proposita sunt necessaria comminationis exempla, ut, si virtutes, quarum ista: utunque sunt similes quæ isti pro civitatis terrene gloria tenebantur, pro Dei gloriosissima civitate non teneantur, pudore puniamur; si teneantur, superbiâ non extollamur. *Ibid.* c. 18.

⁴ Ut cives eterne illius civitatis, quam hic peregrinantur diligenter et sobrie illa intueantur exempla, et videant quanta dilectio debeatur superiæ patriæ propter vitam eternam, si tantum à suis civibus terrena dilecta est propter minimam gloriam. *St. Aust. de civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 16.

¹ St. Aug. de doctr. Chris. l. vi. c. 40.

² De bapt. con. Donat. l. vi. c. 87.

³ Habendi sunt in eorum numero, quorum etiam impiorum, nec Deum verum veraciter justoque colentium, quædam tamen facta vel legimus, vel novimus, vel audimus, quæ secundum justitiæ regulam non solum vituperare non possumus, verum etiam merito recteque laudamus. *St. Aug. lib. de Spir. et lit.* n. 48.

⁴ Novissis itaque non officiis sed finibus à veteris discernenda esse virtutes. Officium autem est, quod faciendum est; finis vero, propter quod faciendum est. *Id. contr. Julian.* lib. iv. c. 2. n. 21. Non erat in eis vera justitia, quia non actibus sed finibus pensantur officia. *Ibid.* n. 26.

⁵ *St. Aust. de civ. Dei*, lib. v. c. 18.

⁶ Si Romanis Deus neque hanc terrenam gloriam excellentissimè imperiū concederet, non redderetur merces bonis

and attention, we should learn from the love they bore to an earthly country, and to a glory of so short a duration, what longing we ought to have after a heavenly country, where an eternity of happiness awaits us.

If the virtues of those who are celebrated in history may serve us for models in the conduct of our lives; their vices and failings, on the other hand, are no less proper to caution and instruct us; and the strict regard, which an historian is obliged to pay to truth, will not allow him to dissemble the latter, through fear of eclipsing the lustre of the former. Nor does what I here advance contradict the rule laid down by Plutarch,¹ on the same subject, in his preface to the life of Cimon. He requires, that the illustrious actions of great men be represented in their full light; but as to the faults, which may sometimes escape them through passion or surprise, or into which they may be drawn by the necessity of affairs,² considering them rather as a certain degree of perfection wanting to their virtue, than as vices or crimes that proceed from any corruption of the heart: such imperfections as these, he would have the historian, out of compassion to the weakness of human nature, which produces nothing entirely perfect, content himself with touching very lightly; in the same manner as an able painter, when he has a fine face to draw, in which he finds some little blemish or defect, does neither entirely suppress it, nor think himself obliged to represent it with a strict exactness; because the one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy the likeness. The very comparison Plutarch uses, shows that he speaks only of slight and excusable faults. But as to actions of injustice, violence, and brutality, they ought not to be concealed nor disguised on any pretence; nor can we suppose, that the same privilege should be allowed in history as in painting, which invented the profile to represent the side face of a prince who had lost one eye, and by that means ingeniously concealed so disagreeable a deformity. History, the most essential rule of which is sincerity, will by no means admit of such indulgences, as indeed would deprive it of its greatest advantage.³

Shame, reproach, infamy, hatred, and the execrations of the public, which are the inseparable attendants on criminal and brutal actions, are no less proper to excite a horror for vice, than the glory, which perpetually attends good actions, is to inspire us with the love of virtue. And these, according to Tacitus, are the two ends which every historian ought to propose to himself by making a judicious choice of what is most extraordinary both in good and evil, in order to occasion that public homage to be paid to virtue which is justly due to it, and to create the greater abhorrence for vice, on account of that eternal infamy that attends it.⁴

The history which I am writing furnishes but too many examples of the latter sort. With respect to the Persians, it will appear, by what is said of their kings, that those princes whose power has no other bounds than those of their will, often abandon themselves to all their passions; that nothing is more difficult than to resist the illusions of a man's own greatness, and the flatteries of those that surround him; that the liberty of gratifying all one's desires, and of doing evil with impunity, is a dangerous situation; that the best dispositions can hardly withstand such a temptation; that even after having begun their career favourably, they are insensibly corrupted by softness and effeminacy, by pride, and their aversion to sincere counsels; and that it rarely happens they are wise enough to consider, that, when they find themselves exalted above all laws and re-

straints, they stand then most in need of moderation and wisdom, both in regard to themselves and others; and that in such a situation they ought to be doubly wise and doubly strong, in order to set bounds within, by their reason, to a power that has none without.

With respect to the Grecians, the Peloponnesian war will show the miserable effects of their intestine divisions, and the fatal excesses into which they were led by their thirst of dominion; and scenes of injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy, together with the open violation of treaties, or mean artifices and unworthy tricks to elude their execution. It will show, how scandalously the Lacedæmonians and Athenians debased themselves to the Barbarians, in order to beg aids of money from them: how shamefully the great deliverers of Greece renounced the glory of all their past labours and exploits, by stooping and making their court to haughty and insolent satrapes, and by going successively, with a kind of emulation, to implore the protection of the common enemy, whom they had so often conquered; and in what manner they employed the succours they obtained from them, in oppressing their ancient allies, and extending their own territories by unjust and violent methods.

On both sides and sometimes in the same person, we shall find a surprising mixture of good and bad, of virtues and vices, of glorious actions and mean sentiments; and sometimes, perhaps, we shall be ready to ask ourselves, whether these can be the same people, of whom such different things are related; and whether it be possible, that such a bright and shining light, and such thick clouds of smoke and darkness, can proceed from the same source?

I relate things as I find them in ancient authors; and the pictures I present the reader with are always drawn after those original monuments, which history has transmitted to us concerning the persons I speak of; and, I might likewise add, after human nature itself. But, in my opinion, even this medley of good and evil, though very odd in itself, may be of great advantage to us, and serve as a preservative against a danger sufficiently common and natural. For if we found, either in any nation or particular persons, a probity and a nobleness of sentiments always uniform, and free from all blemish and weakness, we should be tempted to believe that heathenism is capable of producing real and perfect virtues, though our religion teaches us, that those virtues we most admire among the heathens, are really no more than the shadow and appearance of them. But when we see the defects and imperfections, the vices and crimes, and those sometimes of the blackest die, that are intermixed with, and often very closely follow their most virtuous actions, we are taught to moderate our esteem and admiration of them; and at the same time, that we commend what appears noble, worthy, and great, among the Pagans, not prodigally to pay to the phantom of virtue that entire and unreserved homage, which is only due to virtue itself.

With these restrictions I desire to be understood, when I praise the great men of antiquity and their illustrious actions; and if, contrary to my intention, any expressions should escape me, which may seem to exceed these bounds, I desire the reader to interpret them candidly and reduce them to their just value and meaning.

ARTICLE II.

THE GENERAL PLAN AND DIVISION OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

The history contained in this third volume, includes the space of one hundred and seventeen years, during the reigns of six kings of Persia: Darius, the first of the name, the son of Hystaspes; Xerxes the first; Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus; Xerxes the second; Sogdianus (these two last reigned but a very little time); and Darius the second, commonly called Darius Nothus. This history begins at the year of the world 3483, and extends to the year

¹ In Cim. p. 479, 480.

² Εὐλαρισμὸς καὶ πολλὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀρετῇ συνευρισμὸν.
³ Habet in picturâ speciem tota facies. Appelles tamen imaginem Antigonis latere tantum altero ostendit, ut amissi oculi deformitas lateret. Quintil. l. ii. c. 13.

⁴ Exequi sententias haud institui, nisi insignes per honorem, aut notabili dedecore: quod præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes silentur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit. Tacit. annal. l. iii. c. 65.

3600. As this whole period naturally divides itself into two parts, I shall also divide it into two distinct books.

The first part, which consists of ninety years, extends from the beginning of the reign of Darius the first, to the forty-second year of Artaxerxes, the same year in which the Peloponnesian war began; that is, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3573. This part chiefly contains the different enterprises and expeditions of the Persians against Greece, which never produced more great men and great events, nor ever displayed more conspicuous or more solid virtues. Here will be seen the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, Platæa, Mycæ, Eurymedon, &c. Here the most eminent commanders of Greece signalized their courage; Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pausanias, Pericles, Thucydides, &c.

To enable the reader more easily to recollect what passed within the space of time among the Jews, and also among the Romans, the history of both which nations is entirely foreign to that of the Persians and Greeks, I shall here set down in few words the principal epochs relating to them.

EPOCHAS OF THE JEWISH HISTORY.

The people of God were at this time returned from their Babylonish captivity to Jerusalem, under the conduct of Zorobabel. Usher is of opinion that the history of Esther ought to be placed in the reign of Darius. The Israelites, under the shadow of this prince's protection, and animated by the earnest exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, did at last finish the building of the temple, which had been interrupted for many years by the cabals of their enemies. Artaxerxes was no less favourable to the Jews than Darius: he first of all sent Ezra to Jerusalem, who restored the public worship, and the observation of the law; then Nehemiah, who caused walls to be built round the city, and fortified it against the attacks of their neighbours, who were jealous of its reviving greatness. It is thought that Malachi, the last of the prophets, was contemporary with Nehemiah, or that he prophesied not long after him.

This interval of the sacred history extends from the reign of Darius I. to the beginning of the reign of Darius Nohus; that is to say, from the year of the world 3485, to the year 3581. After which the Scripture is entirely silent, till the time of the Maccabees.

EPOCHAS OF THE ROMAN HISTORY.

The first year of Darius I. was the 233d of the building of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was then on the throne, and about ten years after was expelled, when the consular government was substituted to that of the kings. In the succeeding part of this period happened the war against Porsenna; the creation of the tribunes of the people; Coriolanus's retreat among the Volsci, and the war that ensued thereupon; the wars of the Romans against the Latins, the Veientes, the Volsci, and other neighbouring nations; the death of Virginia under the Decemvirate; the disputes between the people and senate about marriages and the consulship, which occasioned the creating of military tribunes instead of consuls. This period of time terminates in the 323d year from the foundation of Rome.

The second part, which consists of twenty-seven years, extends from the 43d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Darius Nohus; that is, from the year of the world 3573, to the year 3600. It contains the first nineteen years of the Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven, of which Greece and Sicily were the seat, and wherein the Greeks, who had before triumphed over the Barbarians, turned their arms against each other. Among the Athenians, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades; among the Lacedæmonians, Brasidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, distinguished themselves in the most extraordinary manner.

Rome continues to be agitated by different disputes between the senate and the people. Towards

the end of this period, and about the 350th year of Rome, the Romans formed the siege of Veji, which lasted ten years.

ARTICLE III.

AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE LACEDÆMONIAN HISTORY, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR KINGS, TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS THE FIRST, KING OF PERSIA.

I have already observed, that eighty years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ, that is, the descendants of Hercules, returned into the Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, reigned jointly together. Herodotus observes,¹ that these two brothers were, during their whole lives, at variance, and that almost all their descendants inherited the like disposition of mutual hatred and antipathy; so true it is, that the sovereign power will admit of no partnership, and that two kings will always be too many for one kingdom! However, after the death of these two, the descendants of both still continued to sway the sceptre jointly: and what is very remarkable, these two branches subsisted for near nine hundred years, from the return of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus, to the death of Cleomenes, and supplied Sparta with kings without interruption, and that generally in a regular succession from father to son, especially in the elder branch of the family.

The Origin and Condition of the Elotæ, or Helots.

When the Lacedæmonians first began to settle in Peloponnesus, they met with great opposition from the inhabitants of the country, whom they were obliged to subdue one after another by force of arms, or receive into their alliance on easy and equitable terms, with the imposition of a small tribute. Strabo² speaks of a city called Elos, not far from Sparta, which, after having submitted to the yoke, as others had done, revolted openly and refused to pay the tribute. Agis, the son of Eurysthenes, newly settled on the throne, was sensible of the dangerous tendency of this first revolt, and therefore immediately marched with an army against them, together with Soüs, his colleague. They laid siege to the city, which after a pretty long resistance, was forced to surrender at discretion. This prince thought it proper to make such an example of them as should intimidate all their neighbours, and deter them from the like attempts, and yet not alienate their minds by too cruel a treatment; for which reason he put none to death. He spared the lives of all the inhabitants, but at the same time deprived them of their liberty, and reduced them all to a state of slavery. From thenceforward they were employed in all mean and servile offices, and treated with extreme rigour. These were the people who were called Elotæ, or Helots. The number of them exceedingly increased in process of time, the Lacedæmonians giving undoubtedly the same name to all the people whom they reduced to the same condition of servitude. As they themselves were averse to labour, and entirely addicted to war, they left the cultivation of their lands to these slaves, assigning every one of them a certain portion of ground, the produce of which they were obliged to carry every year to their respective masters, who endeavoured by all sorts of ill usage, to make their yoke more grievous and insupportable. This was certainly very bad policy, and could only tend to breed a vast number of dangerous enemies in the very heart of the state, who were always ready to take arms and revolt on every occasion. The Romans acted more prudently; for they incorporated the conquered nations into their state, by associating them into the freedom of their city, and thereby converted them from enemies, into brethren and fellow citizens.

¹ Lib. vi. c. 52.

² Lib. viii. p. 365. Plut. in Lyeurg. p. 40.

LYCURGUS, the Lacedæmonian Lawgiver.

Eurytion, or Eurypon,¹ as he is named by others, succeeded Solis. In order to gain the affection of his people, and render his government agreeable, he thought fit to recede in some points from the absolute power exercised by the kings his predecessors; this rendered his name so dear to his subjects, that all his descendants were, from him, called Eurytionidæ. But this relaxation gave birth to horrible confusion, and an unbounded licentiousness in Sparta, and for a long time occasioned infinite mischiefs. The people became so insolent, that nothing could restrain them. If Eurytion's successors attempted to recover their authority by force, they became odious; and if, through complaisance or weakness, they chose to dissemble, their mildness served only to render them contemptible; so that order in a manner was abolished, and the laws no longer regarded. These confusions hastened the death of Lycurgus's father, whose name was Eunomus, and who was killed in an insurrection. Polydectes, his eldest son and successor, dying soon after without children, every body expected that Lycurgus would have been king. And indeed he was so in effect, as long as the pregnancy of his brother's wife was uncertain; but as soon as that was manifest, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her child, in case it proved a son; and from that moment he took upon himself the administration of the government, as guardian to his unborn nephew, under the title of Prodicus, which was the name given by the Lacedæmonians to the guardians of their kings. When the child was born, Lycurgus took him in his arms, and cried out to the company that was present, "Behold, my lords of Sparta, your new-born king!" and at the same time, he put the infant into the king's seat, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy the people expressed upon occasion of his birth. The reader will find in the second volume of this history, all that relates to the history of Lycurgus, the reformation he made, and the excellent laws he established in Sparta. Agesilaus was at this time king in the elder branch of the family.

War between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians.

Some time after this,² in the reign of Theopompus, a war broke out between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, on account of a little country, called Thyrea, that lay upon the confines of the two states, and to which each of them pretended a right. When the two armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both sides, in order to spare the effusion of blood, that the quarrel should be decided by three hundred of the bravest men chosen from their respective armies; and that the land in question should become the property of the victorious party. To leave the combatants more room to engage, the two armies retired to some distance. Those generous champions then, who had all the courage of two mighty armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with so much resolution and fury, that the whole number except three men, two on the side of the Argives, and one on that of the Lacedæmonians, lay dead upon the spot; and only the night parted them. The two Argives, looking upon themselves as the conquerors, made what haste they could to Argos to carry the news; the single Lacedæmonian, Othryades by name, instead of retiring, stripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and carrying their arms into the Lacedæmonian camp, continued in his post. The next day the two armies returned to the field of battle. Both sides laid equal claim to the victory: the Argives, because they had more of their champions left alive than the enemy had; the Lacedæmonians, because the two Argives that remained alive had fled; whereas their single soldier had remained master of the field of battle, and had carried off the spoils of the enemy: in short, they could not determine the dispute without coming to another engagement. Here fortune declared in favor of the

Lacedæmonians, and the whole territory of Thyrea was the prize of their victory. But Othryades, not able to bear the thoughts of surviving his brave companions, or of enduring the sight of Sparta after their death, killed himself on the same field of battle where they had fought, resolving to have one fate and tomb with them.

Wars between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians.

There were no less than three several wars between the Messenians and the Lacedæmonians, all of them very fierce and bloody. Messenia was a country in Peloponnesus, towards the west, and not far from Sparta: it was of considerable strength and was governed by its own kings.

The first Messenian War.

The first Messenian war lasted twenty years, and broke out the A. M. 3261. second year of the ninth Olympiad. Ant. J. C. 743. The Lacedæmonians pretended to have received several considerable injuries from the Messenians, and among others, that of having had their daughters ravished by the inhabitants of Messenia, when they went, according to custom, to a temple that stood on the borders of the two nations; as also that of the murder of Telecles, their king, which was a consequence of the former outrage. Probably a desire of extending their dominion, and of seizing a territory which lay so convenient for them, might be the true cause of the war. But be that as it may, the war broke out in the reign of Polydorus and Theopompus, kings of Sparta, at the time when the office of archon at Athens was still decennial.

Euphaes, the thirteenth descendant from Hercules, was then king of Messenia.⁴ He gave the command of his army to Cleonnis. The Lacedæmonians opened the campaign with the siege of Amphea, a small inconsiderable city, which, however, they thought would suit them very well as a place for military stores. The town was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. This first blow served only to animate the Messenians, by showing them what they were to expect from the enemy, if they did not defend themselves with vigor. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, bound themselves by an oath, not to lay down their arms, nor return to Sparta, till they had made themselves masters of all the cities and lands belonging to the Messenians: so much did they rely upon their strength and valor.

Two battles were fought, wherein the loss was nearly equal on both sides.⁵ But after the second, the Messenians suffered extremely through the want of provisions, which occasioned a great desertion among their troops, and at last brought a pestilence among them.

Hereupon they consulted the oracle of Delphi, which directed them, in order to appease the wrath of the gods, to offer up a virgin of the royal blood in sacrifice. Aristomenes, who was of the race of the Epytides, offered his own daughter. The Messenians then considering, that if they left garrisons in all their towns, they should extremely weaken their army, resolved to abandon them all, except Ithome, a little place seated on the top of a hill of the same name, about which they encamped and fortified themselves. In this situation were seven years spent, during which nothing passed but slight skirmishes on both sides, the Lacedæmonians not daring in all that time to force the enemy to a battle.

Indeed, they almost despaired of being able to reduce them: nor was there any thing but the obligation of the oath, by which they had bound themselves, that made them continue so burdensome a war. What gave them the greatest uneasiness was, their apprehension, lest their absence from their wives for so many years, an absence which might still continue many more, should destroy their fam-

¹ Plat. in Lycurg. p. 10. ² Herod. l. i. c. 62.
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³ Pausan. l. iv. p. 216—242. Justin. l. iii. c. 4.

⁴ Pausan. l. iv. 225, 226.

⁵ Pausan. l. iv. 227—234.

ilies at home, and leave Sparta destitute of citizens.¹ To prevent this misfortune, they sent home such of their soldiers as were come to the army since the forementioned oath had been taken, and made no scruple of prostituting their wives to their embraces. The children that sprung from this unlawful intercourse, were called Parthenie, a name given them to denote the infamy of their birth. As soon as they were grown up, not being able to endure such an opprobrious distinction, they banished themselves from Sparta with one consent, and under the conduct of Phalantus, went and settled at Tarentum in Italy, after driving out the ancient inhabitants.²

At last in the eighth year of the war, which was the thirteenth of Euphaes's reign, a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Ithome.³ Euphaes pierced through the battalions of Theopompus with too much heat and precipitation for a king. He there received a multitude of wounds, several of which were mortal. He fell, and seemed to give up the ghost. Whereupon wonderful efforts of courage were exerted on both sides; by the one, to carry off the king; by the other to save him. Cleonnis killed eight Spartans, who were dragging him along, and spoiled them of their arms, which he committed to the custody of some of his soldiers. He himself received several wounds, all on the fore-part of his body, which was a certain proof that he had never turned his back upon his enemies. Aristomenes, fighting on the same occasion, and for the same end, killed five Lacedæmonians, whose spoils he likewise carried off, without receiving any wound. In short, the king was saved and carried off by the Messenians; and, all mangled and bloody as he was, he expressed great joy that he had not been worsted. Aristomenes, after the battle was over, met Cleonnis, who, by reason of his wounds, could neither walk by himself, nor with the assistance of those that lent him their hands. He therefore took him upon his shoulders, without quitting his arms, and carried him to the camp.

As soon as they had applied the first dressing to the wounds of the king of Messenia and of his officers, there arose a new contention among the Messenians, that was pursued with as much warmth as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the consequence of the other. The affair in question was, the adjudging the prize of glory to him that had signalized his valor most in the late engagement. It was a custom among them, which had long been established, publicly to proclaim, after a battle, the name of the man that had showed the greatest courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the officers and soldiers, to inspire them with resolution and intrepidity, and to stifle the natural apprehension of death and danger. Two illustrious champions entered the lists on this occasion, namely, Cleonnis and Aristomenes.

The king, notwithstanding his weak condition, attended by the principal officers of his army, presided in the council, where this important dispute was to be decided. Each competitor pleaded his own cause. Cleonnis founded his pretensions upon the great number of the enemies he had slain, and upon the multitude of wounds he had received in the action, which were so many undoubted testimonies of the courage with which he had faced both death and danger; whereas, the condition in which Aristomenes came out of the engagement, without hurt and without wound, seemed to show, that he had been very careful of his own person, or, at most, could only prove, that he had been more fortunate, out not more brave or courageous, than himself. And as to his having carried him on his shoulders into the camp, that action indeed might serve to prove the strength of his body, but nothing farther; and the thing in dispute at this time, says he, is not strength but valor.

The only thing Aristomenes was reproached for was, his not being wounded; therefore he confined himself to that point. "I am," says he, "called fortunate, because I have escaped from the battle without wounds. If that were owing to my cowardice, I should deserve another epithet than that of fortunate; and instead of being admitted to dispute the prize, ought to undergo the rigor of the laws that punish cowards. But what is objected to me as a crime, is in truth my greatest glory. For, if my enemies, astonished at my valor, durst not venture to attack or oppose me, it is no small degree of merit that I made them fear me; or if, whilst they engaged me, I had at the same time strength to cut them in pieces, and skill to guard against their attacks, I must then have been at once both valiant and prudent. For whoever, in the midst of an engagement, can expose himself to dangers with caution and security, shows, that he excels at the same time both in the virtues of the mind and the body. As for courage, no man living can reproach Cleonnis with any want of it; but for his honor's sake, I am sorry that he should appear to want gratitude."

After the conclusion of these harangues, the question was put to the vote. The whole army is in suspense, and impatiently waits for the decision. No dispute could be so warm and interesting as this. It is not a competition for gold or silver, but solely for honor. The proper reward of virtue is pure disinterested glory. Here the judges are unsuspected. The actions of the competitors still speak for them. It is the king himself, surrounded with his officers who presides and adjudges. A whole army are the witnesses. The field of battle is a tribunal without partiality and cabal. In short, all the votes concurred in favor of Aristomenes, and adjudged him the prize.

Euphaes died not many days after the decision of this affair.⁴ He had reigned thirteen years, and during all that time had been engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians. As he died without children he left the Messenians at liberty to choose his successor. Cleonnis and Damis were candidates in opposition to Aristomenes; but he was elected king in preference to them. When he was on the throne, he did not scruple to confer on his two rivals the principal offices of the state: all strongly attached to the public good, even more than their own glory; competitors, but not enemies; these great men were actuated by a zeal for their country, and were neither friends nor adversaries to one another, but for its preservation.

In this relation, I have followed the opinion of the late Monsieur Boivin⁵ the elder, and have made use of his learned dissertation upon a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which the world was little acquainted with. He supposes and proves in it, that the king spoken of in that fragment is Euphaes; and that Aristomenes is the same that Pausanias calls Aristodemus, according to the custom of the ancients who were often called by two different names.

Aristomenes, otherwise called Aristodemus, reigned near seven years, and was equally esteemed and beloved by his subjects. The war⁶ still continued all this time. Towards the end of his reign he beat the Lacedæmonians, took their king Theopompus, and in honor of Jupiter of Ithome, sacrificed three hundred of them, among whom their king was the principal victim. Shortly after, Aristodemus sacrificed himself upon the tomb of his daughter, in conformity to the answer of an oracle. Damis was his successor, but without taking upon him the title of king.

After his death,⁷ the Messenians never had any success in their affairs, but found themselves in a very wretched and hopeless condition. Being reduced to the last extremity, and utterly destitute of provisions, they abandoned Ithome, and fled to such of

¹ Diod. l. xv. p. 378.

² Et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanto. *Her. Od.* v. l. 2.

³ Pausan. l. iv. p. 234, 235. Diod. in Frag.

⁴ Pausan. l. v. p. 235, 241.

⁵ Memoirs of the Academy of inscriptions, vol. ii. p. 24—113.

⁶ Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 20. Euseb. in Prep. l. iv. c. 16.

⁷ Pausan. l. iv. p. 241, 242.

their allies as were nearest to them. The city was immediately razed, and the other part of the country submitted. They were made to engage by oath never to forsake the party of the Lacedæmonians, and never to revolt from them; a very useless precaution, only proper to make them add the guilt of perjury to their rebellion. Their new masters imposed no tribute upon them; but contented themselves with obliging them to bring to the Spartan market one half of the corn they should reap every harvest. It was likewise stipulated, that the Messenians, both men and women, should attend, in mourning, the funerals either of the kings or chief citizens of Sparta; which the Lacedæmonians probably looked upon as a mark of dependence, and as a kind of homage paid to their nation. Thus ended
A. M. 3281.
Ant. J. C. 723. the first Messenian war, after having lasted twenty years.

THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

The lenity¹ with which the Lacedæmonians treated the Messenians at first, was of no long duration. When once they found the whole country had submitted, and thought the people incapable of giving them any farther trouble, they returned to their natural character of insolence and haughtiness, that often degenerated into cruelty, and sometimes even into ferocity. Instead of treating the vanquished with kindness, as friends and allies, and endeavouring by gentle methods to win those whom they had subdued by force, they seemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their yoke, and making them feel the whole weight of subjection. They laid heavy taxes upon them, delivered them up to the avarice of the collectors of those taxes, gave no ear to their complaints, rendered them no justice, treated them with contempt like vile slaves, and committed the most heinous outrages against them.

Man, who is born for liberty, can never reconcile himself to servitude: the most gentle slavery exasperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected then from so cruel a one as that under which the Messenians groaned? After having endured it with great uneasiness² near forty years, they resolved to throw off the yoke, and to recover their ancient liberty. This was in the fourth year of the twenty-third Olympiad:
A. M. 3320.
Ant. J. C. 684. the office of archon at Athens was then made annual; and Anaxander and Anaxidamus reigned at Sparta.

The Messenians' first care was to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the neighbouring nations. These they found well inclined to enter into their views, as very agreeable to their own interests. For it was not without jealousy and apprehensions, that they saw so powerful a city rising up in the midst of them, which manifestly seemed to aim at extending her dominion over all the rest. The people therefore of Elis, the Argives and Sicyonians, declared for the Messenians. But before their forces were joined, a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians. Aristomenes,³ the second of that name, was at the head of the latter. He was a commander of intrepid courage, and of great abilities in war. The Lacedæmonians were beaten in this engagement. Aristomenes, to give the enemy at first an advantageous opinion of his bravery, knowing what influence it has on the success of future enterprise, boldly ventured to enter into Sparta by night, and upon the gate of the temple of Minerva, surnamed Chalciceos, to hang up a shield, on which was an inscription, signifying, that it was a present offered by Aristomenes to the goddess out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians.

This bravado did in reality astonish the Lacedæmonians. But they were still more alarmed at the

formidable league that was formed against them. The Delphic oracle, which they consulted, in order to know by what means they should be successful in this war, directed them to send to Athens for a commander, and to submit to his counsel and conduct. This was a very mortifying step to so haughty a city as Sparta. But the fear of incurring the god's displeasure, by a direct disobedience, prevailed over all other considerations. They sent an embassy therefore to the Athenians. The people of Athens were somewhat perplexed at the request. On the one hand they were not sorry to see the Lacedæmonians at war with their neighbours, and were far from desiring to furnish them with a good general: on the other, they were afraid also of disobeying the god. To extricate themselves out of this difficulty, they offered the Lacedæmonians Tyrtaeus. He was a poet by profession, and had something original in the turn of his mind, and disagreeable in his person; for he was lame. Notwithstanding these defects, the Lacedæmonians received him as a general sent them by Heaven itself. Their success did not at first answer their expectation, for they lost three battles successively.

The kings of Sparta, discouraged by so many disappointments, and out of all hopes of better success for the future, were absolutely bent upon returning to Sparta, and marching home again with their forces. Tyrtaeus opposed this design very warmly, and at length brought them over to his opinion. He addressed the troops, and repeated to them some verses he had made with that intention, and on which he had bestowed great pains and application. He first endeavoured to comfort them for their past losses, which he imputed to no fault of theirs, but only to ill fortune, or to fate, which no human wisdom can surmount. He then represented to them, how shameful it would be for Spartans to fly from an enemy; and how glorious it would be for them rather to perish sword in hand, if it was so decreed by fate, in fighting for their country. Then, as if all danger was vanished, and the gods, fully satisfied and appeased with their late calamities, were entirely turned to their side, he set victory before their eyes as present and certain, and as if she herself were inviting them to battle. All the ancient authors,⁴ who have made any mention of the style and character of Tyrtaeus's poetry, observe, that it was full of a certain fire, ardour, and enthusiasm, that inflamed the minds of men, that exalted them above themselves, that inspired⁵ them with something generous and martial, that extinguished all fear and apprehension of danger or death, and made them wholly intent upon the preservation of their country and their own glory.

Tyrtaeus's verses had really this effect on the soldiers upon this occasion. They all desired, with one voice, to march against the enemy. Being become indifferent as to their lives, they had no thoughts but to secure themselves the honour of a burial. To this end they all tied strings round their right arms, on which were inscribed their own and their fathers' names, that, if they chanced to be killed in the battle, and to have their faces so altered through time, or accidents, as not to be distinguishable, it might certainly be known who each of them was by these marks. Soldiers determined to die are very valiant. This appeared in the battle that ensued. It was very bloody, the victory being a long time disputed on both sides: but at last the Messenians gave way. When Tyrtaeus went afterwards to Sparta, he was received with the greatest marks of distinction, and incorporated into the body of citizens.

The gaining of this battle did not put an end to the war, which had already lasted three years. Aristomenes, having assembled the remains of his army, retired to the top of a mountain, of difficult access, which was called Ira. The conquerors attempted to carry the place by assault, but that brave prince defended himself there for the space of eleven years, and per-

¹ Pausan. p. 242. 261. Justin. l. iii. c. 5.

² Cum per complures annos gravia servitutis verbera, plerumque et vincula, cæteraque captivitatis mala perpessus essent, post longam penarum patientiam bellum instaurant. Justin. l. iii. c. 5.

³ According to several historians, there was another Aristomenes in the first Messenian war. Diod. l. xv. p. 378.

⁴ Plat. l. i. de Legib. p. 692. Plut. in Agid. et Cleom. p. 205.

⁵ Tyrtaeusque mares animos in martia bella Verbisque excit. Hor in Art. Poet.

formed the most extraordinary actions of valour. He was at last obliged to quit it, only by surprise and treachery, after having defended it like a lion. Such of the Messenians as fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, were reduced to the condition of the Helots. The rest, seeing their country ruined, went and settled at Zancle, a city in Sicily, which afterwards took its name from this people, and was called Messina; the same place as is called at this day Messina. Aristomenes, after having conducted one of his daughters to Rhodes, whom he had given in marriage to the tyrant of that place, thought

of passing on to Sardis, to remain with Arlys, king of the Lydians, or to Ecbatana, with Phraortes, king of the Medes; but death prevented the execution of all his designs.

The second Messenian war was of fourteen years' duration, and A. M. 3333. ended the first year of the twenty- Ant. J. C. 671. seventh Olympiad.

There was a third war between these people and the Lacedæmonians, which began both at the time, and on the occasion, of a great earthquake that happened at Sparta. We shall speak of this war in its place.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF PHILIP KING OF MACEDONIA AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

WHICH FORMED VOL. VI. OF THE FIRST EDITION, AND COMMENCES PAGE 000. VOL. I. OF THIS EDITION.

THE reigns of Philip king of Macedon, and Alexander his son, which are the subject of this volume, contain the space of thirty-six years; the reign of the former including twenty-four, and that of the latter twelve. They extend from the first year of the cvth Olympiad, or the year of the world 3644, to the first year of the cxvth Olympiad, which answers to the year of the world 3680.

The kings who reigned during that time in Persia, were Artaxerxes, Ochus, Arsés, and Darius Codomanus. The Persian empire expired with the last.

We know not any thing concerning the transactions of the Jews during these thirty-six years, except what we are told by Josephus, Book xi. chap. 7 and 8, of his Antiquities of the Jews, under the high-priests John or Johanan, and Jaddus. These will be mentioned in the course of this history, with which that of the Jews is intermixed.

The above mentioned space of thirty-six years (with respect to the Roman history,) extends from the 393d to the 429th year from the foundation of Rome. The great men who made the most conspicuous figure among the Romans during that space of time, were Appius Claudius the dictator, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Tit. Manlius Torquatus, L. Papirius Cursor, M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Fabius Maximus, and the two Decii, who devoted themselves to death for the sake of their country.

The names of Philip and Alexander, of whom we are now to speak, are so well known, that it would be superfluous to inform our readers, that the history of those two princes is very important and affecting.

It were to be wished, that the entire life of Philip of Macedon, written by some ancient author, had come down to us; or (since we have no such life) that some modern writer had collected with care from various authors, the several circumstances relating to it. For want of this, I have had recourse chiefly to Demosthenes, and the interpreters of this orator; particularly to the notes of M. de Tourneil, and those of Signior Lucchesini; a noble patrician of Lucca, whose remarks are very learned.

With regard to Alexander the Great, not to mention Diodorus Siculus, and Justin; Quintus Curtius Plutarch and Arrian, have treated very largely of that monarch. The latter, who was a disciple of Epictetus, was of Nicomedia in Bithynia. He flourished under the emperor Adrian, and the two Antonines. Arrian was a soldier, as well as a philosopher and historian; and this appears from the descriptions he gives of battles, which are much more accurate and exact than those of Quintus Curtius. His style is simple and unadorned, and he makes but few or no reflections; but this simplicity is infinitely superior to the splendid diction of the Latin historian. Arrian wrote the campaigns of Alexander the Great in seven books, in imitation of Xenophon, who had related those of Cyrus, in the same number of books; which circumstance, with some resemblance in their styles, has occasioned his being sometimes called the modern Xenophon. His history of India, comprised in one book only, seems in some measure the sequel and conclusion of that of Alexander.

Quintus Curtius wrote the same history in ten books; the two first of which were not transmitted to us but have been supplied by Freinshemius. The time in which Quintus Curtius lived is not exactly known, a circumstance which has occasioned a great dispute among the learned; some of whom place him under Augustus or Tiberius, others under Vespasian, and others again under Trajan. His style is florid and agreeable; his history abounds with judicious reflections and very beautiful speeches; but the latter are generally too long, and have too much the air of declamation. His thoughts though ingenious, and very often extremely just, have however a conceited glitter, an affected brightness, which do not seem to argue the character of the Augustan age. It would be surprising, if Quintus Curtius had lived before Quintilian, that the latter in his enumeration of the Latin authors, should have made no mention of so remarkable an historian. Be this as it will (for I leave the decision of it to the learned) I have made great use of that author, as well as of the excellent translation which M. de Vaugelas has given us of him.

* These notes were printed at Rome in 1732.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,

WHICH OCCUPIES THE 7th, 8th, 9th, AND 10th VOLS. OF THE FIRST EDITION, AND WHICH COMMENCES AT PAGE 1. VOL. II. OF THIS EDITION.

SECTION I.

THE History, of which it remains for me to treat in this work, is that of the successors of Alexander, and comprehends the space of two hundred and ninety-three years; from the death of that monarch, and the commencement of the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagos, in Egypt, to the death of Cleopatra, when that kingdom became a Roman province, under the emperor Augustus.

The history will present to our view a series of all the crimes which usually arise from inordinate ambition; scenes of jealousy and perfidy, treason, ingratitude, and flagrant abuses of sovereign power; cruelty, impiety, an utter oblivion of the natural sentiments of probity and honour, with the violation of all laws, human and divine, will rise before us. We shall behold nothing but fatal dissensions, destructive wars, and dreadful revolutions. Men, originally friends, brought up together, and natives of the same country, companions in the same dangers, and instruments in the accomplishment of the same exploits and victories, will conspire to tear in pieces the empire they had all concurred to form at the expense of their blood. We shall see the captains of Alexander sacrifice the mother, the wives, the brother, and sisters, of that prince, to their own ambition; without sparing even those to whom they themselves either owed, or gave, life. We shall no longer behold those glorious times of Greece, that were once so productive of great men and great examples; or, if we should happen to discover some traces and remains of them, they will only resemble the gleams of lightning that shoot along in a rapid track, and attract attention only in consequence of the profound darkness that precedes and follows them.

I acknowledge myself to be sufficiently sensible how much a writer is to be pitied, for being obliged to represent human nature in such colours and lineaments as dishonour her, and which cannot fail of inspiring disgust, and a secret affliction in the minds of those who are made spectators of such a picture. History loses whatever is most interesting and most capable of conveying pleasure and instruction, when she can only produce those effects, by inspiring the mind with horror for criminal actions, and by a representation of the calamities which usually succeed them, and are to be considered as their just punishment. It is difficult to engage the attention of a reader, for any considerable time, on objects which only raise his indignation; and it would be affronting him, to seem desirous of dissuading him from the excess of inordinate passions, of which he conceives himself incapable.

How is it possible to diffuse any interest through a narration, which has nothing to offer but a uniform series of vices and great crimes; and which makes it necessary to enter into a particular detail of the actions and characters of men born for the calamity of the human race, and whose very name should not be transmitted to posterity? It may even be thought dangerous, to familiarize the minds of the generality of mankind to uninterrupted scenes of two successful iniquity; and to be particular in describing the unjust

success which waited on those illustrious criminals, the long duration of whose prosperity being frequently attended with the privileges and rewards of virtue, may be thought an imputation on Providence, by persons of weak understandings.

This history, which seems likely to prove very disagreeable, from the reasons I have just mentioned, will become more so from the obscurity and confusion in which the several transactions will be involved, and which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. Ten or twelve of Alexander's captains were engaged in a course of hostilities against each other, for the partition of his empire after his death; and to secure to themselves some portion greater or less, of that vast body. Sometimes feigned friends, sometimes declared enemies, they are continually forming different parties and leagues, which are to subsist no longer than is consistent with the interest of each individual. Macedonia changed its master five or six times in a very short space; by what means then can order and perspicuity be preserved, in so prodigious a variety of events that are perpetually crossing and breaking in upon each other?

Besides which, I am no longer supported by any ancient authors capable of conducting me through this darkness and confusion. Diodorus will entirely abandon me, after having been my guide for some time; and no other historian will appear to take his place. No proper series of affairs will remain; the several events are not to be disposed into any regular connexion with each other; nor will it be possible to point out, either the motives to the resolutions formed, or the proper character of the principal actors in this scene of obscurity. I think myself happy when Polybius, or Plutarch, lend me their assistance. In my account of Alexander's successors, whose transactions are, perhaps, the most complicated and perplexed part of ancient history, Usher, Prideaux, and Vaillant, will be my usual guides; and on many occasions, I shall only transcribe from Prideaux; but, with all these aids, I shall not promise to throw so much light upon this history as I could desire.

After a war of more than twenty years, the number of the principal competitors was reduced to four: Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lysimachus; the empire of Alexander was divided into four fixed kingdoms, agreeably to the prediction of Daniel, by a solemn treaty concluded between the parties. Three of these kingdoms, Egypt, Macedonia, Syria, or Asia, will have a regular succession of monarchs, sufficiently clear and distinct; but the fourth, which comprehended Thrace, with part of the Lesser Asia, and some neighbouring provinces, will suffer a number of variations.

As the kingdom of Egypt was that which was subject to the fewest changes, because Ptolemy, who was established there as governor, at the death of Alexander, retained the possession of it ever after, and left it to his posterity; we shall, therefore, consider this prince as the basis of our chronology, and our several epochs shall be fixed from him.

This seventh volume, therefore, will contain the space of one hundred and three or four years under the three first kings of Egypt: viz. Ptolemy the son

of Lagus, who reigned thirty-eight years; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned forty; and Ptolemy Euergetes, whose reign continued twenty-seven.

In order to throw some light upon the history contained therein, I shall, in the first place, give the principal events of it, in a chronological abridgment.

Introductory to which, I must desire the reader to accompany me in some reflections, which have not escaped Monsieur Bossuet, with relation to Alexander. This prince, who was the most renowned and illustrious conqueror in all history, was the last monarch of his race. Macedonia, his ancient kingdom, which his ancestors had governed for so many ages, was invaded from all quarters, as a vacant succession; and after it had long been a prey to the strongest, it was at last transferred to another family. If Alexander had continued peaceably in Macedonia, the grandeur of his empire would not have excited the ambition of his captains; and he might have transmitted the sceptre of his progenitors to his own descendants; but, as he had not prescribed any bounds to his power, he was instrumental in the destruction of his house, and we shall behold the extermination of his family, without the least remaining traces of them in history. His conquests occasioned a vast effusion of blood, and furnished his captains with a pretext for murdering one another. These were the effects that flowed from the boasted bravery of Alexander, or rather from that brutality, which, under the specious names of ambition and glory, spread desolation, and carried fire and sword through whole provinces, without the least provocation, and shed the blood of multitudes who had never injured him.

We are not to imagine, however, that Providence abandoned these events to chance; but, as it was then preparing all things for the approaching appearance of the Messiah, it was vigilant to unite all the nations that were to be first enlightened with the gospel, by the use of one and the same language, which was that of Greece: and the same Providence made it necessary for them to learn this foreign tongue, by subjecting them to such masters as spoke no other. The Deity, therefore, by the agency of this language, which became more common and universal than any other, facilitated the preaching of the apostles, and rendered it more uniform.

It has been also remarked, that the design of God in extending the Grecian conquests through those very nations that were to be converted by the gospel, was, that the philosophy of the Greeks should be equally diffusive; in order to prepare the minds of those barbarous people; to train them up in a habitude of turning their reflections inward upon themselves; to render them attentive to the distinction of body and soul, matter and spirit; to awaken in them an idea of the soul's immortality, and the great end of man's existence; to recall the first principles of the law of nature; to distinguish the characteristics of the principal virtues; to furnish them with rules for discharging the duties of life, and to establish the most essential ties of society, of which individuals are the members. Christianity derived advantages from all these preparations, and has gathered in all the fruit of those seeds, which Providence scattered on the minds of men at such a remote distance, and which the grace of Jesus Christ caused to spring forth, at the period pre-ordained from all eternity by the divine decrees.

But though the Deity caused the Grecian conquests to be productive of all these advantages to his churches, he did not consider the Greeks as less criminal, or less deserving of punishment. They had no intention to be subservient to his eternal purposes of mercy, and only proposed the gratification of their own ambition and avarice; but his wisdom and power caused their unjust desires to be instrumental in the accomplishment of his own decrees. It was indeed extremely remarkable, as I have already intimated, that most of the near relations, and all the officers of Alexander, should be taken off by miserable deaths. The Almighty caused those usurpers to exterminate one another, and employed their own ministration to punish them for the depredations, barbarities, and injustice, with which they had harassed so many nations, who had never

injured them, and whose only crime consisted in their desire to be free and not to acknowledge them for their masters.

Victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Thus did their crimes avenge the conquered world

SECTION II.

A chronological abridgement of the history contained in this seventh volume.

The partition of the empire of Alexander the Great among the generals of that prince, immediately after his death, did not subsist for any length of time, and hardly took place, if we except Egypt, where Ptolemy had first established himself, and on the throne of which he always maintained himself without acknowledging any superior.

It was not till after the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, wherein Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, were defeated, and the former lost his life, that this partition was fully regulated and fixed. The empire of Alexander was then divided into four kingdoms, by a solemn treaty, as had been foretold by Daniel. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Coele Syria, and Palestine. Cassander, the son of Antipater, obtained Macedonia and Greece. Lysimachus acquired Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces on the other side of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. And Seleucus had Syria, and all that part of the greater Asia which extended to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus.

Of these four kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria subsisted, almost without any interruption, in the same families, through a long succession of princes. The kingdom of Macedonia had several masters of different families successively. That of Thrace was at last divided into several branches, and no longer constituted one entire body, by which means all traces of regular succession ceased to subsist.

I. The Kingdom of Egypt.

The kingdom of Egypt had fourteen monarchs, including Cleopatra, after whose death, those dominions became a province of the Roman empire. All these princes had the common name of Ptolemy, but each of them was likewise distinguished by a peculiar surname. They had also the appellation of Lagides, from Lagus the father of that Ptolemy who reigned the first in Egypt. The fifth and sixth volumes contain the histories of six of these kings, and I shall give their names a place here, with the duration of their reigns, the first of which commenced immediately upon the death of Alexander the Great.

A. M.	Ptolemy Soter. He reigned thirty-eight
3680.	years and some months.
	Ptolemy Philadelphus. He reigned forty
3718.	years, including the two years of his reign
	in the lifetime of his father.
3758.	Ptolemy Euergetes, twenty-five years.
3783.	Ptolemy Philopator, seventeen.
3800.	Ptolemy Epiphanes, twenty-four.
3824.	Ptolemy Philometor, thirty-four.

II. The Kingdom of Syria.

The kingdom of Syria had twenty-seven kings, which makes it evident, that their reigns were often very short: and indeed several of these princes waded to the throne through the blood of their predecessors.

They are usually called the Selencidæ, from Selencus, who reigned the first in Syria. History reckons up six kings of this name, and thirteen who are called by that of Antiochus; but they are all distinguished by different surnames. Others of them assumed different names, and the last, Antiochus XIII. was surnamed Epiphanes, Asiaticus, and Commagenus. In his reign Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, after it had been governed by kings for the space of two hundred and fifty years, according to Eusebius.

The kings of Syria, the transactions of whose reigns are contained in the fifth and sixth volumes, are eight in number.

- A. M. Seleucus Nicator. He reigned twenty
3704. years.
3724. Antiochus Soter, nineteen.
3743. Antiochus Theos, fifteen.
3753. Seleucus Callinicus, twenty.
3778. Seleucus Ceraunus, three.
3781. Antiochus the Great, thirty-six.
3817. Seleucus Philopator, twelve.
3829. Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus Philopator, eleven.

III. *The Kingdom of Macedonia.*

Macedonia frequently changed its masters, after the solemn partition had been made between the four princes. Cassander died three or four years after that partition, and left three sons. Philip, the eldest, died shortly after his father. The other two contended for the crown without enjoying it, both dying soon after without issue.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, Pyrrhus, and A. M. 3710. Lysimachus made themselves masters of all, or the greatest part of Macedonia; sometimes in conjunction, and at other times separately.

After the death of Lysimachus, Seleucus possessed himself of Macedonia, but did not long enjoy it.

Ptolemy Ceraunus having slain the preceding prince, seized the kingdom, and possessed it but a very short time, having lost his life in a battle with the Gauls, who had made an irruption into that country.

Sosthenes, who defeated the Gauls, A. M. 3726. reigned but a short time in Macedonia.

Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, at length obtained the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, and transmitted it to his descendants, after he had reigned thirty-four years.

He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned 10 years, and then died, leaving a son named Philip, who was but two years old.

Antigonus Doson reigned 12 years in the quality of guardian to the young prince.

Philip after the death of Antigonus, ascended the throne at the age of fourteen years, and reigned something more than forty.

His son Perseus succeeded him, and A. M. 3824. reigned about eleven years. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Paulus Æmilius; and Macedonia, in consequence of that victory, was added to the provinces of the Roman empire.

IV. *The Kingdom of Thrace, and Bithynia, &c.*

This fourth kingdom, composed of several separate provinces very remote from one another, had not any succession of princes, and did not long subsist in its first condition; Lysimachus, who first obtained it, having been killed in a battle after a reign of twenty years, and all his family being exterminated by assassinations, his dominions were dismembered, and no longer constituted one kingdom.

SECTION III.

A chronological abridgement of the history of several lesser kingdoms.

Besides the provinces which were divided among the captains of Alexander, there were others which had been either formed before, or were then erected, into different states, independent of the Greeks, whose power greatly increased in process of time.

Kings of Bithynia.

Whilst Alexander was extending his conquests in the East, Zypethes had laid the foundations of the kingdom of Bithy-

nia. It is not certain who this Zypethes was, unless that Pausanias,¹ from his name, conjectures, that he was a Thracian. His successors, however, are better known.

Nicomedes I. This prince invited the Gauls to assist him against his brother, A. M. 3726. with whom he was engaged in a war.

Prusias I.

Prusias II. surnamed the Hunter, in whose court Hannibal took refuge, and assisted him with his counsels, in his war against Eumenes II. king of Pergamus. A. M. 3820.

Nicomedes II. was killed by his son Socrates.

Nicomedes III. was assisted by the Romans in his wars with Mithridates, and bequeathed to them at his death the kingdom of Bithynia, as a testimonial of his gratitude to them; by which means these territories became a Roman province.

Kings of Pergamus.

This kingdom at first comprehended only one of the smallest provinces of Mysia, on the coast of the Ægean sea, over against the island of Lesbos.

It was founded by Phileterus, a eunuch, who had served under Docius, a commander of the troops of Antigonus. Lysimachus confided to him the treasures he had deposited in the castle of the city of Pergamus, and he became master both of these and the city after the death of that prince. He governed this little sovereignty for the space of twenty years, and then left it to Eumenes his nephew.

Eumenes I. enlarged his principality, by the addition of several cities, which he took from the kings of Syria, having defeated Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, in a battle. He reigned twenty-two years.

He was succeeded by Attalus I. his cousin-german, who assumed the title of king, after he had conquered the Galatians; and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation. He assisted the Romans in their war with Philip, and died after a reign of forty-three years. He left four sons.

His successor was Eumenes II. his eldest son, who founded the famous library of Pergamus. He reigned thirty-nine years, and left the crown to his brother Attalus, in the quality of guardian to one of his sons whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. The Romans enlarged his dominions considerably, after the victory they obtained over Antiochus the Great.

Attalus II. espoused Stratonice his brother's widow, and took extraordinary care of his nephew, to whom he left the crown, after he had worn it twenty-one years.

Attalus III. surnamed Philometor, distinguished himself by his barbarous and extraordinary conduct. He died after he had reigned five years, and bequeathed his riches and dominions to the Romans.

Aristonicus, who claimed the succession, endeavoured to defend his pretensions against the Romans, but the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced, after a war of four years, into a Roman province.

Kings of Pontus.

The kingdom of Pontus, in Asia Minor, was anciently dismembered from the monarchy of Persia, by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in favour of Artabazus, who is said by some historians, to have been the son of one of those Persian lords who conspired against the Magi.

Pontus is a region of Asia Minor, situated partly along the coast of the Euxine sea (*Pontus Euxinus*.)

from which it derives its name. It extends from the river Halys, as far as Colchis. Several princes reigned in that country since Ariabazus.

The sixth monarch was Mithridates I. who is properly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus, and his name was assumed by the generality of his successors.

A. M. 3600. He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes, who had governed Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon: he reigned twenty-six years.

Ant. J. C. 404. His successor was Mithridates II. Antigonos suspecting, in consequence of a dream, that he favoured Cassander, had determined to destroy him, but he eluded the danger by flight. This prince was called *Κρείστος*, or the *Founder*, and reigned thirty-five years.

Mithridates III., who succeeded him, added Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominion, and reigned thirty-six years.

After the reigns of two other kings, Mithridates IV. the great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great, ascended the throne, and espoused a daughter of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, by whom he had Laodice, who was married to Antiochus the Great.

He was succeeded by his son Pharnaces, who had some disagreement with the kings of Pergamus. He made himself master of Sinope, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Pontus.

After him reigned Mithridates V., surnamed Euergetes, the first who was called the friend of the Romans, because he had assisted them against the Carthaginians in the third Punic war.

He was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupator. Ant. J. C. 124. This is the great Mithridates who sustained so long a war with the Romans: he reigned sixty-six years.

Kings of Cappadocia.

Strabo¹ informs us, that Cappadocia was divided into two Satrapies, or governments, under the Persians, as it also was under the Macedonians. The maritime part of Cappadocia formed the kingdom of Pontus: the other tracts constituted Cappadocia properly so called, or Cappadocia Major, which extended along mount Taurus, and to a great distance beyond it.

When Alexander's captains divided the provinces of his empire among themselves, Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes. Perdiccas attacked and defeated him, after which he caused him to be slain.

His son Ariarathes re-entered the kingdom of his father some time after this event, and established himself so effectually, that he left it to his posterity.

The generality of his successors assumed the same name, and will have their place in the series of the history.

Cappadocia, after the death of Archelaus, the last of its kings, became a province of the Roman empire, as the rest of Asia also did much about the same time.

Kings of Armenia.

Armenia, a vast country of Asia, extending on each side of the Euphrates, was conquered by the Persians; after which it was transferred, with the rest of the empire, to the Macedonians, and at last fell to the share of the Romans. It was governed for a great length of time by its own kings, the most considerable of whom was Tigranes, who espoused the daughter of the great Mithridates, king of Pontus, and was also engaged in a long war with the Romans. This kingdom supported itself many years, between the Roman and Parthian empires, sometimes depend-

ing on the one and sometimes on the other, till at last the Romans became its masters.

Kings of Epirus

Epirus is a province of Greece, separated from Thessaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus. The most powerful people of this country were the Molossians.

The kings of Epirus pretended to derive their descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, who established himself in that country; and called themselves *Æacids*, from *Æacus*, the grandfather of Achilles.

The genealogy of the latter kings, who were the only sovereigns of this country of whom any accounts remain, is variously related by authors, and consequently must be doubtful and obscure.²

Arymbas ascended the throne, after a long succession of kings; and as he was then very young, the states of Epirus, who were sensible that the welfare of the people depends on the proper education of their princes, sent him to Athens, which was the residence and centre of all the arts and sciences, in order to cultivate, in that excellent school, such knowledge as was necessary to form the mind of a king. He there learned the art of reigning, and as he surpassed all his ancestors in ability and knowledge, he was in consequence infinitely more esteemed and beloved by his people than they had been. When he returned from Athens, he made laws, established a senate and magistracy, and regulated the form of the government.³

Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias had espoused Philip king of Macedon, attained an equal share in the regal government with Arymbas his eldest brother, by the influence of his son-in-law. After the death of Arymbas, *Æacidas*, his son, ought to have been his successor; but Philip still had sufficient influence to procure his expulsion from the kingdom by the Molossians, who established Alexander, the son of Neoptolemus, sole monarch of Epirus.

Alexander espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Philip, and marched with an army into Italy, where he lost his life in the country of the Brutians.

Æacidas then ascended the throne, and reigned without any associate in Epirus. He espoused Phthia the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, by whom he had two daughters, *Deidamia* and *Troias*, and one son, the celebrated *Pyrrhus*.

As he was marching to the assistance of Olympias, his troops mutinied against him, condemned him to exile, and slaughtered most of his friends. *Pyrrhus*, who was then an infant, happily escaped this massacre.

Neoptolemus, a prince of the blood, but whose particular extraction is little known, was placed on the throne by the people of Epirus.

Pyrrhus, being recalled by his subjects at the age of twelve years, first shared the sovereignty with Neoptolemus; but having afterwards directed him of his dignity, he reigned alone.

This history will treat of the various adventures of this prince. He died in the city of Argos, in an attack to make himself master of it.

Helenus, his son, reigned after him for some time in Epirus, which was afterwards united to the Roman empire.

Tyrants of Heraclea.

Heraclea is a city of Pontus, anciently founded by the Boeotians, who sent a colony into that country by the order of an oracle.

When the Athenians, having conquered the Persians, had imposed a tribute on the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, for the fitting out and support of a fleet intended for the defence of the common liberty, the inhabitants of Heraclea, in consequence of their attachment to the Persians, were the only people who

¹ Diod. l. xvi. p. 463. Justin. l. viii. c. 6. Plat. in *Pyrrho*.

² Quanto doctior majoribus, tanto et gratior populo fuit *Just. l. xvii. c. 3.*

³ Strab. l. xii. p. 534.

refused to acquiesce in so just a contribution.¹ Larmachus was therefore sent against them, and he ravaged their territories; but a violent tempest having destroyed his whole fleet, he beheld himself abandoned to the mercy of that people, whose innate ferocity might naturally have been increased by the severe treatment they had lately received. But they had recourse to no other vengeance than kindness; they furnished him with provisions and troops for his return, and were willing to consider the depredations which had been committed in their country as advantageous to them, if at that price they could convert the enmity of the Athenians into friendship.²

Some time after this event, the populace of Heracles excited a violent commotion against the rich citizens and senators, who having implored assistance to no effect, first from Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards from Epaminondas the Theban, were necessitated to recall Clearchus a senator to their defence, whom themselves had banished; but his exile had neither improved his morals nor rendered him a better citizen than he was before. He therefore made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, subservient to his design of subjecting it to his own power. With this view he openly declared for the people, caused himself to be invested with the highest office in the magistracy, and assumed a sovereign authority in a short time. Being thus become a professed tyrant, there were no kinds of violence to which he had not recourse against the rich and the senators, to satiate his avarice and cruelty. He proposed for his model Dionysius the Tyrant, who had established his power over the Syracusans at the same time.

After a hard and inhuman servitude of twelve years, two young citizens, who were Plato's disciples, and had been instructed in his maxims, formed a conspiracy against Clearchus, and slew him; but though they delivered their country from the tyrant, the tyranny still subsisted.

Timotheus,³ the son of Clearchus assumed his place, and pursued his conduct for the space of fifteen years.

He was succeeded by his brother Dionysius,⁴ who was in danger of being dispossessed of his authority

by Perdicas; but as this last was soon destroyed Dionysius contracted a friendship with Antigonus whom he assisted against Ptolemy in the Cyprian war.

He espoused Amastris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres, the brother of Darius. This alliance inspired him with so much courage, that he assumed the title of king, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of several places which he seized on the confines of Heracles.

He died two or three years before the battle of Ipsus, after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving two sons and a daughter under the tutelage and regency of Amastris.

This princess was rendered happy in her administration, by the affection Antigonus entertained for her. She founded a city, and called it by her own name; into which she transplanted the inhabitants of three other cities, and espoused Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus.⁵

Kings of Syracuse.

Hiero, and his son Hieronymus, reigned at Syracuse; the first fifty-four years, the second but one year.

Syracuse recovered its liberty by the death of the last, but continued in the interest of the Carthaginians, which Hieronymus had caused it to espouse. His conduct obliged Marcellus to form the siege of that city, which he took the following year. I shall enlarge upon the history of these two kings in another place.

Other Kings.

Several kings likewise reigned in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as also in Thrace, Cyrene in Africa, Paphlagonia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and a variety of other places; but their history is very uncertain, and their successions have but little regularity.

These circumstances are very different with respect to the kingdom of the Parthians, who formed themselves, as we shall see in the sequel, into such a powerful monarchy, as became formidable even to the Roman empire. That of the Bactrians received its original about the same period: I shall treat of each in their proper places.

¹ Justin. l. xvi. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xv. p. 320.

² Heracleenses honestiorem beneficii, quam ultionis occasionem rati, instructos comitatibus auxiliisque dimittunt; bene agrorum suorum populationem impensam existimantes, et quos hostes habuerant, amicos reddiderunt. Justin.

³ Diod. l. xvi. p. 435

⁴ Ibid. p. 478.

⁵ Diod. l. xx. p. 832.



ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

BOOK I.

I shall divide what I have to say upon the Egyptians into three parts. The first contains a concise description of the different parts of Egypt, and of what is most remarkable in it; in the second I treat of the customs, laws and religion of the Egyptians; and in the third I give the history of their kings.

PART I.

Description of Egypt; with an Account of whatever is most curious and remarkable in that Country.

EGYPT comprehended anciently, within limits of no very great extent, a prodigious number of cities,¹ and an incredible multitude of inhabitants.

It is bounded on the east by the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez; on the south by Ethiopia, on the west by Libya, and on the north by the Mediterranean. The Nile runs from south to north, through the whole country, about two hundred leagues in length. This country is enclosed on each side with a ridge of mountains, which very often leave, between the foot of the hills and the river Nile, a tract of ground of not above half a day's journey in length,² and sometimes less.

On the west side, the plain grows wider in some places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty leagues. The greatest breadth of Egypt, is from Alexandria to Damietta, being about fifty leagues.

Ancient Egypt may be divided into three principal parts: Upper Egypt, otherwise called Thebais, which was the most southern part, Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis, so called from the seven Nomi or districts it contained: Lower Egypt, which included what the Greeks called Delta, and all the country as far as the Red Sea, and along the Mediterranean to Rhinocolura, or mount Casius. Under Sesostris,³ all Egypt became one kingdom, and was divided into thirty-six governments of Nomi: ten in Thebais, ten in Delta, and sixteen in the country between both.

The cities of Syene and Elephantina divided Egypt from Ethiopia; and in the days of Augustus were the boundaries of the Roman Empire; *Clastra olim Romani Imperii*, Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 61.

CHAPTER I.

THEBAIS.

THEBES, from whence Thebais had its name, might vie with the noblest cities in the universe. Its hundred gates, celebrated by Homer,⁴ are universally known; and acquired it the surname of Hecatonpylos, to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Æthiopia. Its population was proportion-

ate to its extent;⁵ and according to history, it could send out at once two hundred chariots and ten thousand fighting men at each of its gates. The Greeks and Romans have celebrated its magnificence and grandeur,⁶ though they saw it only in its ruins; so august were the remains of this city.

In the Thebaid,⁷ now called Said, have been discovered temples and palaces, which are still almost entire, adorned with innumerable columns and statues. One palace especially is admired, the remains whereof seem to have existed purely to eclipse the glory of the most pompous edifices. Four walks extending farther than the eye can see, and bounded on each side with sphinxes, composed of materials as rare and extraordinary as their size is remarkable, serve as avenues to four porticoes, whose height is amazing to behold. And even they who have given us the description of this wonderful edifice, had not time to go round it; and are not sure that they saw above half; however, what they had a sight of was astonishing. A hall, which in all appearance stood in the middle of this stately palace, was supported by a hundred and twenty pillars six fathoms round, of a proportionable height, and intermixed with obelisks, which so many ages have not been able to demolish. Painting had displayed all her art and magnificence in the edifice. The colors themselves, which soonest feel the injury of time, still remain amidst the ruins of this wonderful structure, and preserve their beauty and lustre; so happily could the Egyptians imprint a character of immortality on all their works.—Strabo,⁸ who was on the spot, describes a temple he saw in Egypt, very much resembling that of which I have been speaking.

The same author,⁹ describing the curiosities of Thebais, speaks of a very famous statue of Memnon, the remains whereof he had seen. It is said that this statue, when the beams of the rising sun first shone upon it in the morning, uttered an articulate sound.¹⁰ And indeed Strabo himself was an ear-witness of this: but then he doubts whether the sound came from the statue.

CHAPTER II.

MIDDLE EGYPT, OR HEPTANOMIS.

MEMPHIS was the capital of this part of Egypt in this city were to be seen many stately temples; among them that of the god Apis, who was honored here after a particular manner. I shall speak of it hereafter, as well as of the pyramids which stood in the neighborhood of this place,

¹ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 816. ⁶ Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

⁷ Thevenot's Travels. 8 Lib. xvii. p. 805. 9 P. 816.

² A day's journey is twenty-four eastern, or thirty-three English miles and a quarter.

³ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 787. ⁴ Hom. Il. i. ver. 381

⁵ It is related that under Amasis, there were twenty thousand inhabited cities in Egypt. Herod. l. ii. c. 177.

⁶ Germanicus nris quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum principia fuerunt Memnonis saxen effigies ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens, &c Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 61.

and rendered it so famous. Memphis was situated on the west side of the Nile.

Grand Cairo,¹ which seems to have succeeded Memphis, is built on the other side of that river. The castle of Cairo is one of the greatest curiosities in Egypt. It stands on the hill without the city, has a rock for its foundation, and is surrounded with walls of a vast height and solidity. You go up to the castle by a way hewn out of the rock, and which is so easy of ascent, that loaded horses and camels get up without difficulty. The greatest rarity in this castle is Joseph's well, so called, either because the Egyptians are pleased with ascribing what is most remarkable among them to that great man, or because such a tradition has been preserved in the country. This is a proof, at least, that the work in question is very ancient; and it is certainly worthy the magnificence of the most powerful kings of Egypt. This well has, as it were, two stories, cut out of the solid rock to a prodigious depth. The descent to the reservoir of water, between the two wells, is by a staircase seven or eight feet broad, consisting of two hundred and twenty steps, and so contrived, that the oxen employed to throw up the water, go down with all imaginable ease, the descent being scarcely perceptible. The well is supplied from a spring, which is almost the only one in the whole country. The oxen are continually turning a wheel with a rope, to which a number of buckets is fastened. The water thus drawn from the first and lowermost well is conveyed by a little canal into a reservoir, which forms the second well; from whence it is drawn to the top in the same manner, and then conveyed by pipes to all parts of the castle. As this well is supposed by the inhabitants of the country to be of great antiquity, and has indeed much of the antique manner of the Egyptians, I thought it might deserve a place among the curiosities of ancient Egypt.

Strabo² speaks of a similar engine, which, by wheels and pulleys, threw up the water of the Nile to the top of a very high hill; with this difference, that, instead of oxen, a hundred and fifty slaves were employed to turn these wheels.

The part of Egypt of which we now speak, is famous for several rarities, each of which deserves a particular examination. I shall mention only the principal, such as the obelisks, the pyramids, the labyrinth, the lake of Mœris, and the Nile.

SECTION I.—THE OBELISKS.

EGYPT seemed to place its chief glory in raising monuments for posterity. Its obelisks form at this day, on account of their beauty as well as height, the principal ornament of Rome; and the Roman power despairing to equal the Egyptians, thought it honor enough to borrow the monuments of their kings.

An obelisk is a quadrangular, taper, high spire, or pyramid, raised perpendicularly, and terminating in a point, to serve as an ornament to some open square; and is very often covered with inscriptions or hieroglyphics, that is, with mystical characters or symbols used by the Egyptians to conceal and disguise their sacred things, and the mysteries of their theology.

Sesostris erected in the city of Heliopolis two obelisks of extreme hard stone, brought from the quarries of Syene, at the extremity of Egypt.³ They were each one hundred and twenty cubits high, that is, thirty fathoms, or one hundred and eighty feet.⁴ The emperor Augustus, having made Egypt a province of the empire, caused these two obelisks to be transported to Rome, one whereof was afterwards broken to pieces. He dared not

venture to make the same attempt upon a third which was of a monstrous size.⁵ It was made in the reign of Ramesses: it is said that twenty thousand men were employed in the cutting of it. Constantius, more daring than Augustus, caused it to be removed to Rome. Two of these obelisks are still to be seen there, as well as another a hundred cubits or twenty-five fathoms high, and eight cubits, or two fathoms, in diameter. Caius Cæsar had it brought from Egypt in a ship of so odd a form, that according to Pliny,⁶ the like had never been seen.

Every part of Egypt abounded with this kind of obelisks; they were for the most part cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, where some are now to be seen half finished. But the most wonderful circumstance is, that the ancient Egyptians should have had the art and contrivance to dig even in the very quarry a canal, through which the water of the Nile ran in the time of its inundation; from whence they afterwards raised up the columns, obelisks, and statues, on rafts⁷ proportioned to their weight, in order to convey them into Lower Egypt. And as the country was intersected every where with canals, there were few places to which those huge bodies might not be carried with ease; although their weight would have broken every other kind of engine.

SECTION II.—THE PYRAMIDS.

A PYRAMID is a solid or hollow body,⁸ having a large and generally a square base, and terminating in a point. There were three pyramids in Egypt more famous than the rest, one whereof was justly ranked among the seven wonders of the world; they stood not very far from the city of Memphis. I shall take notice here only of the largest of the three. This pyramid, like the rest, was built on a rock, having a square base, cut on the outside as so many steps, and decreasing gradually quite to the summit. It was built with stones of a prodigious size, the least of which were thirty feet, wrought with wonderful art, and covered with hieroglyphics. According to several ancient authors, each side was eight hundred feet broad, and as many high. The summit of the pyramid, which to those who viewed it from below, seemed a point was a fine platform, composed of ten or twelve massy stones, and each side of the platform sixteen or eighteen feet long.

M. de Chazelles, of the Academy of Sciences, who went purposely on the spot in 1693, gives us the following dimensions:—

The side of the square base	110 fathoms.
The fronts are equilateral triangles, and therefore the superficies of the base is	12,100 square fathoms.
The perpendicular height	77½ fathoms.
The solid contents	313,590 cubical fathoms.

A hundred thousand men were constantly employed about this work, and were relieved every three months by the same number. Ten complete years were spent in hewing out the stones, either in Arabia or Ethiopia, and in conveying them to Egypt; and twenty years more in building this immense edifice, the inside of which contained numberless rooms and apartments. There were expressed on the pyramid, in Egyptian characters, the sums it cost only for garlic, leeks, onions, and other vegetables of this description, for the workmen; and the whole amounted to sixteen hundred talents of silver,⁹ that is, four millions five hundred thousand French livres; from whence it was easy to conjecture what a vast sum the whole expense must have amounted to.

¹ Thevenot. ² Lib. xvii. p. 807. ³ Diod. lib. i. p. 37.

⁴ It is proper to observe, once for all, that an Egyptian cubit, according to Mr. Greaves, was one foot nine inches and about ¼ of an inch.

⁵ Plin. l. xxvii. c. 8, 9. ⁶ Plin. l. xxvii. c. 9.

⁷ Rafts are pieces of flat timber put together, to carry goods on rivers.

⁸ Herod. l. ii. c. 121. &c. Diod. l. i. p. 39.—41. Plin. lib. xxxvii. c. 12. ⁹ About 200,000l. sterling.

Such were the famous Egyptian pyramids, which by their figure, as well as size, have triumphed over the injuries of time and the Barbarians. But what efforts soever men may make, their nothingness will always appear. These pyramids were tombs; and there is still to be seen, in the middle of the largest, an empty sepulchre, cut of one entire stone, about three feet deep and broad, and a little above six feet long.¹ Thus all this bustle, all this expense, and all the labors of so many thousand men for so many years, ended in procuring for a prince, in this vast and almost boundless pile of building, a little vault six feet in length. Besides, the kings who built these pyramids had it not in their power to be buried in them; and so did not enjoy the sepulchre they had built. The public hatred which they incurred, by reason of their unheard-of cruelties to their subjects, in laying such heavy tasks upon them, occasioned their being interred in some obscure place, to prevent their bodies from being exposed to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

This last circumstance,² which historians have taken particular notice of, teaches us what judgment we ought to pass on these edifices, so much boasted of by the ancients. It is but just to remark and esteem the noble genius which the Egyptians had for architecture; a genius that prompted them from the earliest times, and before they could have any models to imitate, to aim in all things at the grand and magnificent; and to be intent on real beauties, without deviating in the least from a noble simplicity, in which the highest perfection of the art consists. But what idea ought we to form of those princes, who considered as something grand, the raising by a multitude of hands, and by the help of money, immense structures, with the sole view of rendering their names immortal; and who did not scruple to destroy thousands of their subjects to satisfy their vain glory! They differed very much from the Romans, who sought to immortalize themselves by works of a magnificent kind, but, at the same time, of public utility.

Pliny³ gives us in few words, a just idea of these pyramids, when he calls them a foolish and useless ostentation of the wealth of the Egyptian kings: *Regum pecunia otiosa ac stulta ostentatio*: and adds, that by a just punishment their memory is buried in oblivion; the historians not agreeing among themselves about the names of those vain monuments; *Inter eos non constat a quibus facta sint, justissimo casu obliteratis tante vanitatis auctoribus*. In a word, according to the judicious remark of Diodorus, the industry of the architects of those pyramids is no less valuable and praise-worthy, than the design of the Egyptian kings is contemptible and ridiculous.

But what we should most admire in these ancient monuments, is, the true and standing evidence they give of the skill of the Egyptians in astronomy; that is, in a science which seems incapable of being brought to perfection, but by a long series of years, and a great number of observations. M. de Chazelles, when he measured the great pyramid in question, found that the four sides of it were turned exactly to the four quarters of the world; and consequently showed the true meridian of that place. Now, as so exact a situation was in all probability purposely pitched upon by those who piled up this huge mass of stones above three thousand years ago, it follows, that during so long a space of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that respect, or (which amounts to the same thing) in the poles of the earth or the meridians. This is M. de Fontenelle's remark in his eulogium of M. de Chazelles.

SECTION III. — THE LABYRINTH

WHAT has been said concerning the judgment we ought to form of the pyramids,⁴ may also be applied to the labyrinth, which Herodotus, who saw it, assures us was still more surprising than the pyramids. It was built at the southern extremity of the lake of Mæris, whereof mention will be made presently, near the town of Crocodiles, the same with Arsinoë. It was not so much one single palace, as a magnificent pile composed of twelve palaces, regularly disposed, which had a communication with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interspersed with terraces, were ranged round twelve halls, and discovered no outlet to such as went to see them. There was the like number of buildings under ground. These subterraneous structures were designed for the burying-place of the kings, and also (who can speak this without deploring the blindness of man!) for keeping the sacred crocodiles, which a nation, so wise in other respects, worshipped as gods.

In order to visit the rooms and halls of the labyrinth, it was necessary, as the reader will naturally suppose, for people to take the same precaution as Ariadne made Theseus use, when he was obliged to go and fight the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete. Virgil describes it in this manner:

Ut quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta
Parietibus textum cæcis iter accipitemque
Mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
Fallor! indempnus et irremissibilis error.⁵
Hic labor ille domus, et inextricabilis error.
Dædalus, ipse dolos tecti ambagisque resolvit,
Cæca regens filo vestigia.⁶

And as the Cretan labyrinth of old,
With wand'ring ways, and many a winding fold,
Involved the weary feet without redress,
In a round error, which deny'd recess:
Not far from thence he grav'd the wondrous maze;
A thousand doors, a thousand winding ways.

SECTION IV. — THE LAKE OF MÆRIS.

THE noblest and most wonderful of all the structures or works of the kings of Egypt, was the lake of Mæris:⁷ accordingly, Herodotus considers it as vastly superior to the pyramids and labyrinth. As Egypt was more or less fruitful in proportion to the inundations of the Nile; and as in these floods, the too great or too little rise of the waters was equally fatal to the lands, king Mæris, to prevent these two inconveniences, and to correct, as far as lay in his power, the irregularities of the Nile, thought proper to call art to the assistance of nature; and so caused the lake to be dug, which afterwards went by his name. This lake was in circumference about three thousand six hundred stadia,⁸ that is, about one hundred and eighty French leagues, and three hundred feet deep. Two pyramids, on each of which was placed a colossal statue on a throne, raised their heads to the height of three hundred feet, in the midst of the lake, whilst their foundations took up the same space under the water; a proof that they were erected before the cavity was filled, and a demonstration that a lake of such vast extent was the work of man's hands in one prince's reign. This is what several historians have related concerning the lake Mæris, on the testimony of the inhabitants of the country. And M. Bossuet, the bishop of Meaux, in his discourse on universal history, relates the whole as fact. For my part, I will confess that I do not see the least probability in it. Is it possible to conceive, that a lake of a hundred and eighty leagues in circumference, could have been dug in the reign of one prince? In what manner, and

¹ Herod. l. ii. c. 148. Diod. l. i. p. 42. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13. Strab. l. xvii. p. 811.

² Æneid. l. v. ver. 588. &c. ³ Æneid. l. vi. ver. 27. &c.

⁴ Herod. l. ii. c. 140. Strabo. l. xvii. p. 787. Diod. l. ii. p. 47. Plin. l. v. c. 9. Pomp. Meia, l. i.

⁵ Virg. et Diod. Pliny agrees almost with them

¹ Strabo mentions the sepulchre. lib. xvii. p. 808.

² Diod. lib. i. p. 40.

³ Lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

where, could the earth taken from it be conveyed? What should prompt the Egyptians to lose the surface of so much land? By what arts could they fill this vast tract with the superfluous waters of the Nile? Many other objections might be made. In my opinion, therefore, we ought to follow Pomponius Meia, an ancient geographer; especially as his account is confirmed by several modern travelers. According to that author, this lake is but twenty thousand paces, that is, seven or eight French leagues in circumference. *Maris, aliquando campus, nunc lacus, viginti millia passuum in circuitu patens.*¹

This lake had a communication with the Nile, by a great canal, more than four leagues long,² and fifty feet broad. Great sluices either opened or shut the canal and lake, as there was occasion.

The charge of opening or shutting them amounted to fifty talents, that is, fifty thousand French crowns.³ The fishing of this lake brought the monarch immense sums; but its chief utility related to the overflowing of the Nile. When it rose too high, and was like to be attended with fatal consequences, the sluices were opened, and the waters, having a free passage into the lake, covered the lands no longer than was necessary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the inundation was too low, and threatened a famine, a sufficient quantity of water, by the help of drains, was let out of the lake, to water the lands. In this manner the irregularities of the Nile were corrected; and Strabo remarks, that, in his time, under Petronius, a governor of Egypt, when the inundation of the Nile was twelve cubits, a very great plenty ensued; and even when it rose but to eight cubits, the dearth was scarce felt in the country; doubtless because, the waters of the lake made up for those of the inundation, by the help of canals and drains.

SECTION V. — THE INUNDATIONS OF THE NILE.

THE Nile is the greatest wonder of Egypt. As it seldom rains there, this river, which waters the whole country by its regular inundations, supplies that defect, by bringing, as a yearly tribute, the rains of other countries; which made a poet say ingeniously, *The Egyptian pastures, how great soever the drought may be, never implore Jupiter for rain:*

To propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi. ⁴

To multiply so beneficent a river, Egypt was cut into numberless canals, of a length and breadth proportioned to the different situations and wants of the lands. The Nile brought fertility every where with its salutary streams; united cities one with one another, and the Mediterranean with the Red Sea; maintained trade at home and abroad, and fortified the kingdom against the enemy; so that it was at once the nourisher and protector of Egypt.

The fields were delivered up to it; but the cities that were raised with immense labor, and stood like islands in the midst of the waters, looked down with joy on the plains which were overflowed, and at the same time enriched, by the Nile.

This is a general idea of the nature and effects of this river, so famous among the ancients. But a wonder so astonishing in itself, and which has been the object of the curiosity and admiration of the learned in all ages, seems to require a more particular description, in which I shall be as concise as possible.

1. The Sources of the Nile.

The ancients placed the sources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon (as they are common-

ly called,) in the tenth degree of south latitude. But our modern travelers have discovered that they lie in the twelfth degree of north latitude, and by that means they cut off about four or five hundred leagues of the course which the ancients gave that river. It rises at the foot of a great mountain in the kingdom of Gojam in Abyssinia, from two springs, or eyes, to speak in the language of the country, the same word in Arabic signifying *eye* and *fountain*. These springs are thirty paces from one another, each as large as one of our wells or a coach wheel. The Nile is increased with many rivulets which run into it; and after passing through Ethiopia in a very winding course, flows at last into Egypt.

2. The Cataracts of the Nile.

This name is given to some parts of the Nile, where the water falls down from the steep rocks. This river, which at first glided smoothly along the vast deserts of Ethiopia, before it enters Egypt, passes by the cataracts. Then growing on a sudden, contrary to its nature, raging and violent in those places where it is pent up and restrained; after having at last broken through all obstacles in its way, it precipitates itself from the top of some rocks to the bottom, with so loud a noise, that it is heard three leagues off.

The inhabitants of the country, accustomed by long practice to this sport, exhibit here a spectacle to travelers that is more terrifying than diverting. Two of them go into a little boat, the one to guide it, the other to throw out the water. After having long sustained the violence of the raging waves by managing their little boat very dexterously, they suffer themselves to be carried away with the impetuous torrent as swift as an arrow. The affrighted spectator imagines they are going to be swallowed up in the precipice down which they fall; when the Nile, restored to its natural course, discovers them again, at a considerable distance, on its smooth and calm waters. This is Seneca's account,⁵ which is confirmed by our modern travelers.

3. Causes of the Inundations of the Nile.

The ancients⁶ have invented many subtle reasons for the Nile's great increase, as may be seen in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Seneca. But it is now no longer a matter of dispute, it being almost universally allowed, that the inundations of the Nile are owing to the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, from whence this river flows. These rains swell it to such a degree, that Ethiopia first, and then Egypt, are overflowed; and that which at first was but a large river, rises like a sea, and overspreads the whole country.

Strabo observes⁷ that the ancients only guessed that the inundations of the Nile were owing to the rains which fall in great abundance in Ethiopia; but adds, that several travelers have since been

¹ Excipiunt eum (Nilum) cataractæ, nobilis insigni spectaculo locus.—Illic excitatis primum aquis, quas sine tumultu leni aëre duxerat, violentus et torrens per malignos transitus prosilit, dissimilis sibi—tandemque eluctatus obstantia, in vastam altitudinem subito destitutus cadit, cum ingenti circumjacentium regionum strepitu; quem perferre gens ibi a Persis collocata non potuit, obtusis assidue fragore auribus, et ob hoc sedibus ad quietiora translati. Inter miracula fluminis incredibilem incolarum audaciam accepi. Bini parvula navigia consensum, quorum altes navem regit, alter exhaurit. Deinde multum inter rapidam insaniam Nili et reciprocos fluctus volutati, tandem tenuissimos canales tenent, per quos angusta rupium effluunt: et cum toto flumine effusi navigium ruens mans temperant, magnoque spectantium metu in caput nixi, cum jam adploraveris, mersosque atque obrutos tanta mole crolleris, longe ab eo in quem ecciderant loco navigasti, tormenti modo missi. Nec mergit cadens unda, sed planis aquis tradit. *Senec. Nat. Quæst.* l. iv. c. 2.

¹ Mela, l. i. ² Eighty-five stadia. ³ 11,250l. sterling.

⁴ Seneca (*Nat. Quæst.* l. iv. c. 2.) ascribes these verses to Ovid, but they are Tibullus's.

⁵ Herod. l. ii. c. 19—27. Diod. l. i. c. 35—39. Senec.

Nat. Quæst. l. iv. c. 1 & 2.

⁷ Lib. xvii. p. 789.

eye-witnesses of it; Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was very curious in all things relating to arts and sciences, having sent thither able persons, purposely to examine this matter, and to ascertain the cause of so uncommon and remarkable an effect.

4. The Time and Continuance of the Inundations.

Herodotus,¹ and after him Diodorus Siculus, and several other authors, declare, that the Nile begins to swell in Egypt at the summer solstice, that is, about the end of June, and continues to rise till the end of September; and then decreases gradually during the months of October and November; after which it returns to its channel, and resumes its wonted course. This account agrees very nearly with the relations of all the moderns, and is founded in reality on the natural cause of the inundation, viz. the rains which fall in Ethiopia. Now, according to the constant testimony of those who have been on the spot, these rains begin to fall in the month of April, and continue, during five months, till the end of August and beginning of September. The Nile's increase in Egypt must, consequently, begin three weeks or a month after the rains have begun to fall in Abyssinia; and accordingly travellers observe, that the Nile begins to rise in the month of May, but so slowly at the first, that it probably does not yet overflow its banks. The inundation happens not till about the end of June, and lasts the three following months, according to Herodotus.

I must point out to such as consult the originals, a contradiction in this place between Herodotus and Diodorus on one side; and between Strabo, Pliny, and Solinus, on the other. These last shorten very much the continuance of the inundation; and suppose the Nile to draw off from the lands in three months or a hundred days. And what adds to the difficulty, is, that Pliny seems to ground his opinion on the testimony of Herodotus: *In totum autem revocatur Nilus intra ripas in Libia, ut tradit Herodotus, centesimo die*. I leave to the learned the reconciling of this contradiction.

5. The height of the Inundations.

The just height of the inundation,² according to Pliny, is sixteen cubits. When it rises but to twelve or thirteen, a famine is threatened; and when it exceeds sixteen, there is danger. It must be remembered, that a cubit is a foot and a half. The emperor Julian takes notice,³ in a letter to Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt, that the height of the Nile's overflowing was fifteen cubits, the 20th of September, in 362. The ancients do not agree entirely with one another, nor with the moderns, with regard to the height of the inundation; but the difference is not very considerable, and may proceed, 1. from the disparity between the ancient and modern measures, which it is hard to estimate on a fixed and certain foot; 2. from the carelessness of the observers and historians; 3. from the real difference of the Nile's increase, which was not so great the nearer it approached the sea.

As the riches of Egypt depended on the inundation of the Nile,⁴ all the circumstances and different degrees of its increase had been carefully considered; and by a long series of regular observations, made during many years, the inundation itself discovered what kind of harvest the ensuing year was likely to produce. The kings had placed at Memphis a measure on which these different in-

creases were remarked; and from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt, the inhabitants of which knew, by that means, beforehand, what they might fear or promise themselves from the harvest. Strabo⁵ speaks of a well on the banks of the Nile near the town of Syene, made for that purpose.

The same custom is observed to this day at Grand Cairo. In the court of a mosque there stands a pillar, on which are marked the degrees of the Nile's increase; and common criers every day proclaim in all parts of the city how high it is risen. The tribute paid to the Grand Seigneur for the lands, is regulated by the inundation. The day on which it rises to a certain height, is kept as a grand festival, and solemnized with fire-works, feasting, and all the demonstrations of public rejoicing; and in the remotest ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with a universal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happiness.

The heathens ascribed the inundation of the Nile to their god Serapis;⁶ and the pillar on which was marked the increase, was preserved religiously in the temple of that idol. The emperor Constantine having ordered it to be removed into the church of Alexandria, the Egyptians spread a report, that the Nile would rise no more by reason of the wrath of Serapis; but the river overflowed and increased as usual the following years. Julian the apostate, a zealous protector of idolatry, caused this pillar to be replaced in the same temple, out of which it was again removed by the command of Theodosius.

6. The Canals of the Nile and Spiral Pumps.

Divine Providence, in giving so beneficent a river to Egypt, did not thereby intend that the inhabitants of it should be idle, and enjoy so great a blessing without taking any pains. One may naturally suppose, that as the Nile could not of itself cover the whole country, great labor was to be used to facilitate the overflowing of the lands; and numberless canals cut, in order to convey the waters to all parts. The villages, which stand very thick on the banks of the Nile on eminences, have each their canals, which are opened at proper times, to let the water into the country. The more distant villages have theirs also, even to the extremities of the kingdom. Thus the waters are successively conveyed to the most remote places. Persons are not permitted to cut the trenches to receive the waters, till the river is at a certain height; nor to open them all at once; because otherwise some lands would be too much overflowed, and others not covered enough. They begin with opening them in Upper, and afterwards in Lower Egypt, according to the rules prescribed in a roll or book, in which all the measures are exactly set down. By this means the water is husbanded with such care, that it spreads itself over all the lands. The countries overflowed by the Nile are so extensive, and lie so low, and the number of canals so great, that of all the waters which flow into Egypt during the months of June, July, and August, it is believed that not a tenth part of them reaches the sea.

But as, notwithstanding all these canals, there are still abundance of high lands which cannot receive the benefit of the Nile's overflowing; this want is supplied by spiral pumps, which are turned by oxen, in order to bring the water into pipes, which convey it to these lands. Diodorus⁷ speaks of a similar engine invented by Archimedes in his travels into Egypt, which is called *Cochlea Egyptia*.

7. The fertility caused by the Nile.

There is no country in the world where the soil is more fruitful than in Egypt; which is owing en-

¹ Herod. l. ii. c. 19. Diod. l. i. p. 32.

² Justum incrementum est cubitorum xvi. Minores aquae non omnia rigant: ampliores tardius recedendo. Hæserendi tempora absumunt solo madente; ille non dant nitescere. Utrumque res; stat provincia. In duodecim cubitis famem sentit, in tredecim etiamnum esurit; quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem effertur, quindecim securitatem, sexdecim delicias. Plin. l. v. c. 9.

³ Jul. Epist. 50.

⁴ Diod. l. i. p. 33.

⁵ Lib. xvii. p. 817. ⁶ Socrat. l. i. c. 13. Sosom. l. v. c. 3.

⁷ Lib. l. p. 30. and Lib. v. p. 213.

tirely to the Nile.¹ For whereas other rivers, when they overflow lands, wash away and exhaust their vivific moisture; the Nile, on the contrary, by the excellent slime it brings along with it, fattens and enriches them in such a manner, as sufficiently compensates for what the foregoing harvest had impaired. The husbandman, in this country, never tires himself with holding the plough, or breaking the clods of earth. As soon as the Nile retires, he has nothing to do but to turn up the earth, and temper it with a little sand, in order to lessen its rankness; after which he sows it with great ease, and with little or no expense. Two months after it is covered with all sorts of corn and pulse. The Egyptians generally sow in October and November, according as the waters draw off; and their harvest is in March and April.

The same land bears, in one year, three or four different kinds of crops. Lettuces and cucumbers are sown first; then corn; and, after harvest, several sorts of pulse which are peculiar to Egypt. As the sun is extremely hot in this country, and rains fall very seldom in it, it is natural to suppose that the earth would soon be parched, and the corn and pulse burnt up by so scorching a heat, were it not for the canals and reservoirs with which Egypt abounds; and which, by the drains from thence, amply supply wherever with water and refresh the fields and gardens.

The Nile contributes no less to the nourishment of cattle, which is another source of wealth to Egypt. The Egyptians begin to turn them out to grass in November, and they graze till the end of March. Words could never express how rich their pastures are; and how fat the flocks and herds (which, by reason of the mildness of the air, are out night and day) grow in a very little time. During the inundation of the Nile, they are fed with hay and cut straw, barley and beans, which are their common food.

A man cannot, says Corneille de Bruyn in his Travels,² help observing the admirable providence of God towards this country, who sends at a fixed season such great quantities of rain in Ethiopia, is order to water Egypt, where a shower of rain scarce ever falls; and who, by that means, causes the driest and most sandy soil to become the richest and most fruitful country in the universe.

Another thing to be observed here, is that (as the inhabitants say) in the beginning of June and the four following months the north-east winds blow constantly, in order to keep back the waters, which otherwise would draw off too fast; and to hinder them from discharging themselves into the sea, the entrance to which these winds bar up, as it were, from them. The ancients have not omitted this circumstance.

The same Providence, whose ways are wonderful and infinitely various,³ displayed itself after a quite different manner in Palestine, in rendering it exceeding fruitful: not by rains, which fall during the course of the year, as is usual in other places; nor by a peculiar inundation, like that of the Nile in Egypt; but by sending fixed rains at two seasons, when his people were obedient to him, to make them more sensible of their continual dependence upon him. God himself commands them, by his servant Moses, to make this reflection: *The land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and waterdest it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.*⁴ After

this, God promises to give his people, so long as they shall continue obedient to him, *the former and the latter rain*: the first in spring, to bring up the corn; and the second in the summer and harvest, to make it grow and ripen.

8. The different Prospects exhibited by the Nile.

There cannot be a finer sight than Egypt at two seasons of the year. For if a man ascends some mountain, or one of the largest pyramids of Grand Cairo, in the months of July and August, he beholds a vast sea, in which numberless towns and villages appear, with several causeys leading from place to place; the whole interspersed with groves and fruit-trees, whose tops only are visible; all which forms a delightful prospect. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmost distance the eye can discover, the most beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in winter, that is to say in the months of January and February, the whole country is like one continued scene of beautiful meadows, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the eye. The spectator beholds on every side, flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of blossoms on the orange, lemon and other trees, and is so pure, that a wholesomer or more agreeable is not found in the world; so that nature, being then dead, as it were, in all other climates, seems to be alive only for so delightful an abode.

9. The Canal formed by the Nile, by which a Communication is made between the two Seas.

The canal, by which a communication was made between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, ought to have a place here, as it was not of the least advantages which the Nile procured to Egypt. Sesostris, or, according to others, Psammetichus, first projected the design, and began this work. Necho, successor to the last prince, laid out immense sums upon it, and employed a prodigious number of men. It is said, that above six score thousand Egyptians perished in the undertaking. He gave it over, terrified by an oracle, which told him that he would thereby open a door for Barbarians (for by this name they called all foreigners) to enter Egypt. The work was continued by Darius, the first of that name; but he also desisted from it, upon his being told, that as the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt, it would drown the whole country.

But it was at last finished under the Ptolemies, who, by the help of sluices, opened or shut the canal as there was occasion. It began not far from the Delta, near the town of Bubastus. It was a hundred cubits, that is, twenty-five fathoms broad, so that two vessels might pass with ease; it had depth enough to carry the largest ships; and was about a thousand stadia, that is, above fifty leagues long. This canal was of great service to the trade of Egypt. But it is now almost filled up, and there are scarce any remains of it to be seen.

CHAPTER III

LOWER EGYPT.

I AM now to speak of Lower Egypt. Its shape, which resembles a triangle, or Delta, Δ, gave occasion to its bearing the latter name, which is that of one of the Greek letters. Lower Egypt forms

¹ Cum ceteri annes abluant terras et evaserint; Nilus adeo nihil exedit nec abradit, ut contra adjiciat vires.—Ita juvat agros duabus ex causis, et quod inundat, et quod oblimat. Senec. Nat. Quest. l. iv. c. 2.

² Vol. ii. ³ Multiformis sapientia. Epã. iii. 10.

⁴ Deut. xi. 10—13.

¹ Illa facies pulcherrima est, cum jam se in agros Nilus ingessit. Latent campi, operaque sunt valles: oppida insularum modo extant. Nullum in Mediterraneanis, nisi per navigia, commercium est: majorque est letitia in gentibus, quo minus terrarum suarum vident. Senec. Nat. Quest. l. iv. c. 2.

² Herod. l. ii. c. 153. Strab. l. xvii. p. 504. Plin. l. vi c. 29. Diocl. l. i. p. 29.

a kind of island; it begins at a place where the Nile is divided into two large canals, through which it empties itself into the Mediterranean: the mouth on the right hand is called the Pelusian, on the other the Canopic, from two cities in their neighbourhood, Pelusium and Canopus, now called Danielta and Rosetta. Between these two large branches, there are five others of less note. This is and is the best cultivated, the most fruitful, and the richest part of Egypt. Its chief cities (very anciently) were Heliopolis, Haracleopolis, Naucratis, Sais, Tanis, Canopus, Pelusium; and, in latter times, Alexandria, Nicopolis, &c. It was in the country of Tanis that the Israelites dwelt.

¹There was at Sais a temple dedicated to Minerva, who is supposed to be the same as Isis, with the following inscription: *I am whatever hath been, and is, and shall be: and no mortal hath yet pierced through the veil that shrouds me.*

²Heliopolis, that is, the city of the sun, was so called from a magnificent temple there dedicated to that planet. Herodotus, and other authors after him, relate some particulars concerning the Phoenix and this temple, which, if true, would indeed be very wonderful. Of this kind of birds, if we may believe the ancients, there is never but one at a time in the world. He is brought forth in Arabia, lives five or six hundred years, and is of the size of an eagle. His head is adorned with a shining and most beautiful crest; the feathers of his neck are of a gold color, and the rest of a purple; his tail is white, intermixed with red, and his eyes sparkling like stars. When he is old, and finds his end approaching, he builds a nest with wood and aromatic spices, and then dies. Of his bones and marrow, a worm is produced, out of which another Phoenix is formed. His first care is to solemnize his parent's obsequies, for which purpose he makes up a ball in the shape of an egg, with abundance of perfumes of myrrh, as heavy as he can carry, which he often essays beforehand; then he makes a hole in it, where he deposits his parent's body, and closes it carefully with myrrh and other perfumes. After this, he takes up the precious load on his shoulders, and flying to the altar of the sun, in the city of Heliopolis, he there burns it.

Herodotus and Tacitus dispute the truth of some of the circumstances of this account, but seem to suppose it true in general. Pliny, on the contrary, in the very beginning of his account of it, insinuates plainly enough that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and this is the opinion of all modern authors.

This ancient tradition, though grounded on an evident falsehood, hath yet introduced into almost all languages, the custom of giving the name of phoenix to whatever is singular and uncommon in its kind: *Rara avis in terris*, says Juvenal,³ speaking of the difficulty of finding an accomplished woman in all respects. And Seneca observes the same of a good man.⁴

What is reported of swans, viz. that they never sing but in their expiring moments, and that then they warble very melodiously, is likewise grounded merely on a vulgar error; and yet it is used, not only by the poets, but also by the orators, and even the philosophers. *O multis quoque piscibus donatura cygni si libeat, sonum*, says Horace⁵ to Melpomene. Cicero compares the excellent discourse which Crassus made in the senate, a few days before his death, to the melodious singing of a dying swan: *Illa tanquam cynece fuit divini hominis vox et oratio*. De Orat. l. iii. n. 6. And

Socrates used to say, that good men ought to imitate swans, who, perceiving by a secret instinct, and a sort of divination, what advantage there is in death, die singing and with joy: *Providentes quid in morte boni sit, cum cantu et voluptate moriuntur*. Tusc. Qu. l. i. n. 73. I thought this short digression might be of service to youth; and so return now to my subject.

It was in Heliopolis,⁶ that an ox, under the name of Mnevis, was worshipped as a god. Cambyse, king of Persia, exercised his sacrilegious rage on this city; burning the temples, demolishing the palaces, and destroying the most precious monuments of antiquity in it. There are still to be seen some obelisks which escaped his fury; and others were brought from thence to Rome, to which city they are an ornament even at this day.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, from whom it had its name, vied almost in magnificence with the ancient cities in Egypt. It stands four days' journey from Cairo, and was formerly the chief mart of all the trade of the east. The merchandizes were unloaded at Portus Muris,⁷ a town on the western coast of the Red Sea; from whence they were brought upon camels to a town of Thebais, called Cophat, and afterwards conveyed down the Nile to Alexandria, whither merchants resorted from all parts.

It is well known that the trade of the East has at all times enriched those who carried it on. This was the chief source of the vast treasures that Solomon amassed, and which enabled him to build the magnificent temple of Jerusalem. David, by conquering Idumea,⁸ became master of Elath and Esion-geber, two towns situated on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. From these two ports, Solomon sent fleets to Ophir and Tarshish,⁹ which all ways brought back immense riches.¹⁰ This traffic after having been enjoyed for some time by the Syrians, who regained Idumea, passed from them into the hands of the Tyrians.¹¹ These got all their merchandize conveyed, by the way of Rhinocolura (a seaport town lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine,) to Tyre, from whence they distributed them all over the western world. Hereby the Tyrians enriched themselves exceedingly, under the Persian empire, by the favor and protection of whose monarchs they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies had made themselves masters of Egypt, they soon drew all this trade into their kingdom, by building Berenice and other ports on the western side of the Red Sea, belonging to Egypt; and fixed their chief mart at Alexandria, which thereby rose to be the city of the greatest trade in the world. There it continued for a great many centuries after; and all the traffic which the western parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was discovered, a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to those parts by the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time were masters of this trade; but now it is in a manner engrossed wholly by the English and Dutch. This short account of the East India trade from Solomon's time to the present age, is extracted from Dr. Prideaux.¹²

¹³For the convenience of trade, there was built near Alexandria, in an island called Pharos, a tower which bore the same name. At the top of this tower was kept a fire, to light such ships as sailed

¹ Plutar. de Isid. p. 354.

² Strab. l. xvii. p. 805. Herod. l. ii. c. 73. Plin. l. x. c. 2. Tacit. Ann. l. vi. c. 28.

³ Sat. vi.

⁴ Vir bonus tam cito nec fieri potest, nec intelligi—tanquam Phoenix, semel anno quingentesimo nascitur. Ep. 40.

⁵ Od. iii. l. iv.

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⁶ Strab. l. xvii. p. 805.

⁷ Strab. l. xvi. p. 781.

⁸ Or Myos Hormos. ⁹ 2 Sam. viii. 14. ¹⁰ 1 Kings ix. 26.

¹¹ He got in one voyage 450 talents of gold, 2 Caron. viii. 18; which amounts to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling. *Frid. Conser.* vol. i. ad ann. 740, not.

¹² Strab. l. xvi. p. 481.

¹³ Part I. l. p. 9. ¹⁴ Strab. l. xvii. 791. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 19.

by night near those dangerous coasts, which were full of sands and shelves, from whence all other towers, designed for the same use, have derived their name, as Pharo di Messina, &c. The famous architect Sostratus built it by the order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who expended eight hundred talents upon it.¹ It was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world. Some, through a mistake, have commended that prince, for permitting the architect to put his name in the inscription which was fixed on the tower instead of his own.² It was very short and plain, according to the manner of the ancients. *Sostratus Cnidius Dexiphanis F. Diis Servatoribus pro navigantibus*: i. e. Sostratus the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the protecting deities, for the use of seafaring people. But certainly Ptolemy must have very much undervalued that kind of immortality which princes are generally so fond of, to suffer that his name should not be so much as mentioned in the inscription of an edifice so capable of immortalizing him. What we read in Lucian³ concerning this matter, deprives Ptolemy of a modesty, which indeed would be very ill placed here. This author informs us, that Sostratus, to engross in after times the whole glory of that noble structure to himself, caused the inscription with his own name to be carved in the marble, which he afterwards covered with lime, and thereon put the king's name. The lime soon moulder'd away; and by that means, instead of procuring the architect the honor with which he had flattered himself, served only to discover to future ages his mean fraud and ridiculous vanity.

Riches failed not to bring into this city, as they usually do in all places, luxury and licentiousness; so that the Alexandrian voluptuousness became a proverb.⁴ In this city arts and sciences were also industriously cultivated: witness that stately edifice, surnamed the Museum, where the literati used to meet, and were maintained at the public expense; and the famous library, which was augmented considerably by Ptolemy Philadelphus; and which by the magnificence of the kings his successors, at last contained seven hundred thousand volumes. In Caesar's wars with the Alexandrians,⁵ part of this library (situate in the Bruchion,) which consisted of four hundred thousand volumes, was unhappily consumed by fire.

PART II.

OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

EGYPT was ever considered by all the ancients, as the most renowned school for wisdom and politics, and the source from whence most arts and sciences were derived. This kingdom bestowed its noblest labors and its finest arts on the improvement of mankind; and Greece was so sensible of this, that its most illustrious men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato; even its great legislators, Lycurgus and Solon, with many more whom it is needless to mention, travelled into Egypt, to complete their studies, and draw from that fountain whatever was most rare and valuable in every kind of learning. God himself has given this kingdom a glorious testimony; when praising Moses, he says of him, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.⁶

To give some idea of the manners and customs of Egypt, I shall confine myself principally to these particulars: its kings and government; priests and religions; soldiers and war; sciences, arts and trades.

The reader must not be surpris'd if he sometimes finds, in the customs I take notice of, a kind of contradiction. This circumstance is owing either to the difference of countries and nations, which did not always follow the same usages; or to the different way of thinking of the historians whom I copy.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE KINGS AND GOVERNMENT.

THE Egyptians were the first people who rightly understood the rules of government. A notion so grave and serious immediately perceived, that the true end of politics is, to make life easy, and a people happy.

The kingdom was hereditary; but, according to Diodorus,¹ the Egyptian princes conducted themselves in a different manner from what is usually seen in other monarchies, where the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions than his own arbitrary will and pleasure. But here, kings were under greater restraint from the laws than their subjects. They had some particular ones digested by a former monarch, that composed part of what the Egyptians called the sacred books. Thus every thing being settled by ancient custom, they never sought to live in a different way from their ancestors.

No slave nor foreigner was admitted into the immediate service of the prince; such a post was too important to be intrusted to any persons, except those who were the most distinguished by their birth, and had received the most excellent education; to the end, that as they had the liberty of approaching the king's person day and night, he might, from men so qualified, hear nothing which was unbecoming the royal majesty; nor have any sentiments instilled into him but such as were of a noble and generous kind. For, adds Diodorus, it is very rarely seen that kings fly out into any vicious excess, unless those who approach them approve their irregularities, or serve as instruments to their passions.

The kings of Egypt freely permitted, not only the quality and proportion of what they ate and drank to be prescribed them (a thing customary in Egypt, whose inhabitants were all sober, and whose air inspired frugality,) but even that all their hours, and almost every action, should be under the regulation of the laws.

In the morning at daybreak, when the head is clearest, and the thoughts most unperplexed, they read the several letters they received; to form a more just and distinct idea of the affairs which were to come under their consideration that day.

As soon as they were dressed, they went to the daily sacrifice performed in the temple; where, surrounded with their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high priest, in which he asked of the gods, health and all other blessings for the king, because he governed his people with clemency and justice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The high-priest entered into a long detail of his royal virtues, observing that he was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere; an enemy to falsehood; liberal; master of his passions; punishing crimes with the utmost lenity, but boundless in rewarding merit. He next spoke of the faults which kings might be guilty of; but supposed at the same time, that

¹ Eight hundred thousand crowns, or 180,000*l.* sterling.

² *Magno animo Ptolemæi regis, quod in ea permisit Ptolemy Cnidii architecti structuræ nomen inscribi. Plin.*

³ De scribend. Hist. p. 706.

⁴ Ne Alexandrinis quidem permitienda deliciis. *Quintill.*

⁵ Plut. in Cæs. p. 731. Seneca de tranquill. anim. c. ix.

⁶ A quarter or division of the city of Alexandria.

⁷ Acts vii. 22.

⁸ *Diod. l. i. c. 63. &c.*

they never committed any, except by surprise or ignorance; and loaded with imprecations such of their ministers as gave them ill counsel, and suppressed or disguised the truth. Such were the methods of conveying instruction to their kings. It was thought that reproaches would only sour their tempers; and that the most effectual method to inspire them with virtue, would be to point out to them their duty in praises conformable to the sense of the laws, and pronounced in a solemn manner before the gods. After the prayers and sacrifices were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the sacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predecessors and their subjects so happy.

I have already observed, that the quantity as well as quality of what he ate or drank were prescribed, by the laws, to the king: his table was covered with nothing but the most common food; because eating in Egypt was designed, not to tickle the palate, but to satisfy the cravings of nature. One would have concluded, (observes the historian,) that these rules had been laid down by some able physician, who was attentive only to the health of the prince, rather than by a legislator. The same simplicity was seen in all other things: and we read in Plutarch¹ of a temple in Thebes, which had one of its pillars inscribed with imprecations against that king who first introduced profusion and luxury into Egypt.

The principal duty of kings, and their most essential function, is the administering justice to their subjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt cultivated more immediately this duty; convinced that on this depended not only the ease and comfort of individuals, but the happiness of the state; which would be a herd of robbers rather than a kingdom, should the weak be unprotected, and the powerful enabled by their riches and influence to commit crimes with impunity.

Thirty judges were selected out of the principal cities, to form a body for dispensing justice through the whole kingdom. The prince, in filling these vacancies, chose such as were most renowned for their honesty; and put at their head, him who was most distinguished for his knowledge and love of the laws, and was had in the most universal esteem. They had revenues assigned them, to the end that, being freed from domestic cares, they might devote their whole time to the execution of the laws. Thus honorably maintained by the generosity of the prince, they administered gratuitously to the people that justice to which they have a natural right, and which ought to be equally open to all; and, in some sense, to the poor more than the rich, because the latter find a support within themselves; whereas the very condition of the former exposes them more to injuries, and therefore calls louder for the protection of the laws. To guard against surprise, affairs were transacted by writing in the assemblies of these judges. That false eloquence was dreaded, which dazzles the mind, and moves the passions. Truth could not be expressed with too much plainness, as it alone was to have the sway in judgments; because in that alone the rich and poor, the powerful and weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and security. The president of this senate wore a collar of gold set with precious stones, at which hung a figure represented blind, this being called the emblem of truth. When the president put this collar on, it was understood as a signal to enter upon business. He touched the party with it who was to gain his cause, and this was the form of passing sentence.

The most excellent circumstance in the laws of the Egyptians, was, that every individual, from his

infancy, was nurtured in the strictest observance of them. A new custom in Egypt was a kind of miracle.² All things there ran in the old channel; and the exactness with which little matters were adhered to, preserved those of more importance; and consequently no nation ever retained their laws and customs longer than the Egyptians.

Willful murder was punished with death, whatever might be the condition of the murdered person, whether he was free born or otherwise. In this the humanity and equity of the Egyptians were superior to that of the Romans, who gave the master an absolute power of life and death over his slave.³ The emperor Adrian, indeed abolished this law; from an opinion, that an abuse of this nature ought to be reformed, let its antiquity of authority be ever so great.

Perjury was also punished with death,⁴ because that crime attacks both the gods, whose majesty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a false oath; and men by breaking the strongest tie of human society, viz. sincerity and veracity.

The false accuser was condemned to undergo the punishment which the person accused was to have suffered, had the accusation been proved.⁵

He who had neglected or refused to save a man's life when attacked, if it was in his power to assist him, was punished as rigorously as the assassin;⁶ but if the unfortunate person could not be succoured, the offender was at least to be impeached; and penalties were decreed for any neglect of this kind. Thus the subjects were a guard and protection to one another; and the whole body of the community united against the designs of the bad.

No man was allowed to be useless to the state;⁷ but every one was obliged to enter his name and place of abode in a public register, that remained in the hands of the magistrate, and to describe his profession, and his means of support. If he gave a false account of himself, he was immediately put to death.

To prevent borrowing of money, the parent of sloth, frauds, and chicanes,⁸ king Asychis made a very judicious law. The wisest and best regulated states, as Athens and Rome, ever found insuperable difficulties, in contriving a just medium, to restrain, on the one hand, the cruelty of the creditor in the exaction of his loan; and on the other, the knavery of the debtor, who refused or neglected to pay his debts. Now Egypt took a wise course on this occasion; and, without doing any injury to the personal liberty of its inhabitants, or ruining their families, pursued the debtor with incessant fears of infamy in case, he were dishonest. No man was permitted to borrow money without pawning to the creditor the body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with great care, and kept reverentially in his house (as will be observed in the sequel,) and therefore might be easily moved from one place to another. But it was equally impious and infamous not to redeem soon so precious a pledge; and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honors paid to the dead.⁹

Diodorus¹⁰ remarks an error committed by some of the Grecian legislators. They forbid, for instance, the taking away (to satisfy debts) the horses, ploughs, and other implements of husbandry

¹ Plat. in Tim. p. 656.

² Pag. 69.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Herod. l. ii. c. 136.

⁵ This law put the whole sepulchre of the debtor into the

power of the creditor, who removed to his own house the body of the father: the debtor refusing to discharge his obligation, was to be deprived of burial, either in his father's sepulchre or any other; and whilst he lived, he was not permitted to bury any person descended from him.

Μὴδὲ εὖ τοι ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῶνδε, ἵνα, τὰς τῶνδε κερσεύωνται, ἄλλοι μὲν τὸν αὐτοῦ κηρσεύωνται ἐν ψῆνι. Herod.

¹⁰ Diod. l. i. p. 71.

employed by peasants; judging it inhuman to reduce, by this security, these poor men to an impossibility of discharging their debts, and getting their bread: but at the same time, they permitted the creditor to imprison the peasants themselves, who alone were capable of using these implements; which exposed them to the same inconveniences, and at the same time deprived the government of persons who belong, and are necessary to it; who labor for the public emolument, and over whose person no private man has any right.

Polygamy was allowed in Egypt,¹ except to the priests, who could marry but one woman. Whatever was the condition of the woman, whether she was free or a slave, her children were deemed free and legitimate.

One custom that was practised in Egypt,² shows the profound darkness into which such nations as were most celebrated for their wisdom have been plunged; and this in the marriage of brothers with their sisters, which was not only authorized by the laws, but even, in some measure, originated from their religion, from the example and practice of such of their gods, as had been the most anciently and universally adored in Egypt, that is, Osiris and Isis.

A very great respect was there paid to old age.³ The young were obliged to rise up for the old; and on every occasion to resign to them the most honorable seat. The Spartans borrowed this law from the Egyptians.

The virtue in the highest esteem among the Egyptians was gratitude. The glory which has been given them of being the most grateful of all men, shows that they were the best formed of any nation for social life. Benefits are the band of concord, both public and private. He who acknowledges favors, loves to confer them; and in banishing ingratitude, the pleasure of doing good remains so pure and engaging, that it is impossible for a man to be insensible of it. But it was particularly towards their kings that the Egyptians prided themselves on evincing their gratitude. They honored them whilst living, as so many visible representations of the Deity; and after their death lamented for them as the fathers of their country. These sentiments of respect and tenderness proceeded from a strong persuasion, that the Divinity himself had placed them upon the thrones, as he distinguished them so greatly from all other mortals; and that kings bore the most noble characteristics of the Supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others were united in their persons.

CHAPTER II.

CONCERNING THE PRIESTS AND RELIGION OF THE EGYPTIANS.

PRIESTS in Egypt held the second rank to kings. They had great privileges and revenues; their lands were exempted from all imposts; of which some traces are seen in Genesis, where it is said, *Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part, except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.*⁴

The prince usually honored them with a large share in his confidence and government, because they, of all his subjects, had received the best education, had acquired the greatest knowledge, and were most strongly attached to the king's person and the good of the public. They were at one and the same time the depositaries of religion and of the sciences; and to this circumstance was owing the great respect which was paid them by the natives as well as foreigners, by whom they were alike consulted upon the most sacred things rela-

ting to the mysteries of religion, and the most profound subjects in the several sciences.

The Egyptians pretend to be the first institutors of festivals and processions in honor of the gods.⁵ One festival was celebrated in the city of Bubastos, whither persons resorted from all parts of Egypt, and upwards of seventy thousand, besides children, were seen at it. Another, surnamed the feast of the lights, was solemnized at Sais. All persons, throughout Egypt, who did not go to Sais, were obliged to illuminate their windows.

Different animals were sacrificed in different countries; but one common and general ceremony was observed in all sacrifices, viz. the laying of hands upon the head of the victim, loading it at the same time with imprecations; and praying the gods to divert upon that victim all the calamities which might threaten Egypt.

It is to Egypt that Pythagoras owed his favorite doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.⁷ The Egyptians believed, that at the death of men their souls transmigrated into other human bodies; and that if they had been vicious, they were imprisoned in the bodies of unclean, or ill-conditioned beasts, to expiate in them their past transgressions; and that after a revolution of some centuries, they again animated other human bodies.

The priests had the possession of the sacred books, which contained, at large the principles of government, as well as the mysteries of divine worship. Both were commonly involved in symbols and enigmas,⁸ which, under these veils, made truth more venerable, and excited more strongly the curiosity of men. The figure of Harpocrates in the Egyptian sanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, seemed to intimate, that mysteries were there enclosed, the knowledge of which was revealed to very few. The sphinxes, placed at the entrance of all temples, implied the same. It is very well known, that pyramids, obelisks, pillars, statues, in a word, all public monuments were usually adorned with hieroglyphics, that is, with symbolical writings; whether these were characters unknown to the vulgar, or figures of animals, under which was couched a hidden and parabolical meaning. Thus, by a hare, was signified a lively and piercing attention,⁹ because this creature has a very delicate sense of hearing. The statue of a judge without hands, and with eyes fixed upon the ground symbolized the duties of those who were to exercise the judiciary functions.¹⁰

It would require a volume to treat fully of the religion of the Egyptians. But I shall confine myself to two articles, which form the principal part of it; and these are, the worship of the different deities, and the ceremonies relating to funerals.

SECTION. I.—THE WORSHIP OF THE VARIOUS DEITIES.

NEVER were any people more superstitious than the Egyptians: they had a great number of gods, of different orders and degrees, which I shall omit, because they belong more to fable than to history. Among the rest, two were universally adored in that country, and these were Osiris and Isis, which are thought to be the sun and moon: and in deed the worship of those planets gave rise to idolatry.

Besides these gods, the Egyptians worshipped a great number of beasts; as the ox, the dog, the wolf, the hawk, the crocodile, the ibis,¹¹ the cat &c. Many of these beasts were the objects of the superstition only of some particular cities: and whilst one people worshipped one species of animals as gods, their neighbors held the same ani-

¹ Diod. lib. i. p. 72.

² Herod. l. ii. c. 20.

³ Ibid. p. 22.

⁴ Gen. xlvii. 26.

⁵ Herod. l. ii. c. 60.

⁶ Ibid. c. 39.

⁷ Diod. l. i. p. 88.

⁸ Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 354.

⁹ Plut. Sympos. l. iv. p. 670.

¹⁰ Id. de Isid. p. 355.

¹¹ Or Egyptian stork.

males in abomination. This was the source of the continual wars which were carried on between one city and another; and this was owing to the false policy of one of their kings, who, to deprive them of the opportunity and means of conspiring against the state, endeavoured to draw off their attention, by engaging them in religious contests. I call this a false and mistaken policy; because it directly thwarts the true spirit of government, the aim of which is, to unite all its members in the strictest ties, and to make all its strength consist in the perfect harmony of its several parts.

Every nation had a great zeal for their gods. Among us, says Cicero,¹ it is very common to see temples robbed, and statues carried off; but it was never known, that any person in Egypt ever abused a crocodile, an ibis, or cat; for its inhabitants would have suffered the most extreme torments, rather than be guilty of such sacrilege. It was death for any person to kill one of these animals voluntarily;² and even a punishment was decreed against him who should have killed an ibis, or cat, with or without design. Diodorus³ relates an incident, to which he himself was an eye-witness during his stay in Egypt;—A Roman having inadvertently, and without design, killed a cat, the exasperated populace ran to his house; and neither the authority of the king, who immediately detached a body of his guards, nor the terror of the Roman name, could rescue the unfortunate criminal. And such was the reverence which the Egyptians had for these animals, that in an extreme famine they chose to eat one another, rather than feed upon their imagined deities.

Of all these animals, the bull Apis, called Epaphus by the Greeks, was the most famous.⁴ Magnificent temples were erected to him; extraordinary honors were paid him while he lived, and still greater after his death. Egypt went then into a general mourning. His obsequies were solemnized with such pomp as is hardly credible. In the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the bull Apis dying of old age,⁵ the funeral pomp, besides the ordinary expenses, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand French crowns.⁶ After the last honors had been paid to the deceased god, the next care was to provide him a successor; and all Egypt was sought through for that purpose. He was known by certain signs, which distinguished him from all other animals of that species; upon his forehead was to be a white spot, in form of a crescent; on his back, the figure of an eagle; upon his tongue that of a beetle. As soon as he was found, mourning gave place to joy; and nothing was heard, in all parts of Egypt, but festivals and rejoicings. The new god was brought to Memphis, to take possession of his dignity, and there installed with a great number of ceremonies. The reader will find hereafter, that Cambyzes, at his return from his unfortunate expedition against Ethiopia, finding all the Egyptians in transports of joy for the discovery of their new god Apis, and imagining that this was intended as an insult upon his misfortunes, killed, in the first impulse of his fury, the young bull, who by that means had but a short enjoyment of his divinity.

It is plain, that the golden calf set up near mount Sinai by the Israelites, was owing to their abode in Egypt, and an imitation of the god Apis: as well as those which were afterwards set up by Jeroboam (who had resided a considerable time in Egypt) in the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel.

The Egyptians, not contented with offering incense to animals, carried their folly to such an excess, as to ascribe a divinity to the pulse and roots of their gardens. For this they are ingeniously reproached by the satirist:

Who has not heard where Egypt's realms are named
What monster-gods her frantic sons have framed?
Here Ibis gorged with well-grown serpents, there
The Crocodile commands religious fear.
Where Memnon's statue magic strings inspire
With vocal sounds, that emulate the lyre;
And Thebes, (such, Fate, are thy disastrous turns),
Now prostrate o'er her pompous ruins mourn;
A monkey-god, prodigious to be told!
Strikes the beholder's eye with burnished gold.
To godship here blue Triton's scaly herd,
The river-progeny is there preferred:
Through towns Diana's power neglected lies,
Where to her dogs aspiring temples rise:
And should you leeks or onions eat, no time
Would expiate the sacrilegious crime.
Religious nations sure, and blest abodes,
Where every orchard is o'er-run with gods.

It is astonishing to see a nation which boasted its superiority above all others with regard to wisdom and learning, thus blindly abandon itself to the most gross and ridiculous superstitions. Indeed, to read of animals and vile insects, honored with religious worship, placed in temples, and maintained with great care at an extravagant expense;⁷ to read that those who murdered them were punished with death, and that these animals were embalmed, and solemnly deposited in tombs assigned them by the public; to hear, that this extravagance was carried to such lengths, as that leeks and onions were acknowledged as deities; were invoked in necessity, and depended upon for succor and protection; are absurdities which we, at this distance of time, can scarce believe; and yet they have the evidence of all antiquity. You enter, says Lucian,⁸ into a magnificent temple, every part of which glitters with gold and silver. You there look attentively for a god, and are cheated with a stork, an ape, or a cat; a just emblem, adds that author, of too many palaces, the masters of which are far from being the brightest ornaments of them.

Several reasons are assigned for the worship paid to animals by the Egyptians.

The first is drawn from fabulous history. It is pretended that the gods, in a rebellion made against them by men, fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves under the form of different animals; and that this gave birth to the worship which was afterwards paid to those animals.

The second is taken from the benefit which these several animals procure to mankind.⁹ Oxen by their labor; sheep by their wool and milk; dogs by their service in hunting, and guarding houses whence the god Anubis was represented with a dog's head: the ibis, a bird very much resembling a stork, was worshipped, because he put to flight the winged serpents, with which Egypt would otherwise have been grievously infested; the crocodile, an amphibious creature, that is, living alike upon land and water, of a surprising strength and

Quis nescit, Volus: Bithynice, qualis demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc; illa pavet saturnum serpentibus Ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea Coropitheci.
Dimidio magis resonant ubi Memnone chorde
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
Illic ceruleos, hic pisces fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porrum et capre nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!

Juven. Satir. xv

⁷ Diodorus affirms, that in his time the expense amounted to no less than one hundred thousand crowns, or 22,500 sterling. Lib. i. p. 76 ⁸ Imag. ⁹ Diod. l. i. p. 77, &c.

¹⁰ Ipsi quod irridentur Ægyptii, nullam bellum nisi ex aliquam utilitatem, quam ex ea caperent consecraverat. Cic. lib. i. De natura Deor. n. 101.

¹ De nat. Deor. l. i. n. 82. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 78.

² Herod. l. ii. c. 63.

³ Diod. l. i. p. 74, 75.

⁴ Herod. l. iii. c. 27, &c. Diod. l. i. p. 76. Plin. l. viii. c. 46.

⁵ Pliny affirms, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain term of years; and was drowned in the priest's well.

Nun est fas eum certis vite excedere annos, mersumque in æcerdotum fonte euenti.—Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 46.

⁶ Above 11,250l. sterling.

size, was worshiped, because he defended Egypt from the incursions of the wild Arabs; the ichneumon was adored, because he prevented the too great increase of crocodiles, which might have proved destructive to Egypt. Now the little animal in question does this service to the country two ways. First, it watches the time when the crocodile is absent, and breaks his eggs, but does not eat them. Secondly, when the crocodile is asleep upon the banks of the Nile, (and he always sleeps with his mouth open,) the ichneumon, which lies concealed in the mud, leaps at once into his mouth; gets down to his entrails, which he gnaws; then piercing his belly, the skin of which is very tender, he escapes with safety; and thus, by his address and subtilty, returns victorious over so terrible an animal.

Philosophers, not satisfied with reasons which were too trifling to account for such strange absurdities as dishonored the heathen system, and at which themselves secretly blushed, have, since the establishment of Christianity supposed a third reason for the worship which the Egyptians paid to animals; and declared, that it was not offered to the animals themselves, but to the gods, of whom they are symbols. Plutarch,² in his treatise where he examines professedly the pretensions of Isis and Osiris, the two most famous deities of the Egyptians, says as follows: *Philosophers honor the image of God wherever they find it, even in inanimate beings, and consequently more in those which have life. We are therefore to approve, not the worshippers of these animals, but those who, by their means, ascend to the Deity; they are to be considered as so many mirrors, which nature holds forth, and in which the Supreme Being displays himself in a wonderful manner; or, as so many instruments, which he makes use of to manifest outwardly, his incomprehensible wisdom. Should men, therefore, for the embellishing of statues, amass together all the gold and precious stones in the world, the worship must not be referred to the statues; for the Deity does not exist in colors artfully disposed, nor in frail matter destitute of sense and motion. Plutarch says in the same treatise,³ that as the sun and moon, heaven, earth, and the sea, are common to all men, but have different names according to the difference of nations and languages; in like manner, though there is but one Deity, and one Providence which governs the universe, and which has several subaltern ministers under it, men give to this Deity, which is the same, different names, and pay it different honors, according to the laws and customs of every country.*

But were these reflections, which offer the most rational vindication that can be suggested of idolatrous worship, sufficient to cover the absurdity of it; and could it be called a raising of the divine attributes in a suitable manner, to direct the worshiper to admire and seek for the image of them in beasts of the most vile and contemptible kinds, as crocodiles, serpents, and cats? Was not this rather degrading and debasing the Deity, of whom even the most stupid usually entertain a much greater and more august idea?

And even these philosophers were not always so just as to ascend from sensible beings to their invisible Author. The Scriptures tell us, that these pretended sages deserved, on account of their pride and ingratitude, to be given over to a reprobate mind; and whilst they professed themselves wise, to become fools, for having changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.⁴ To show what man is when

left to himself, God permitted that very nation, which had carried human wisdom to its greatest height, to be the theatre in which the most ridiculous and absurd idolatry was acted. And, on the other side, to display the almighty power of his grace, he converted the frightful deserts of Egypt into a terrestrial paradise; by peopling them, in the time appointed by his providence, with numberless multitudes of illustrious hermits, whose fervent piety and rigorous penance have done so much honor to the Christian religion. I cannot forbear giving here a famous instance of it: and I hope the reader will excuse this kind of digression.

The great wonder of Lower Egypt, says Abb Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History,⁵ was the city of Oxyrinchus, peopled with monks, both within and without, so that they were more numerous than its other inhabitants. The public edifices and idol-temples had been converted into monasteries, and these likewise were more in number than the private houses. The monks lodged even over the gates and in the towers. The people had twelve churches to assemble in, exclusive of the oratories belonging to the monasteries. There were twenty thousand virgins, and ten thousand monks in this city, every part of which echoed night and day with the praises of God. By order of the magistrates, sentinels were posted at the gates, to take notice of all strangers and poor who came into the city; and the inhabitants vied with each other who should first receive them, in order to have an opportunity of exercising their hospitality towards them.

SECTION II. THE CEREMONIES OF THE EGYPTIAN FUNERALS.

I SHALL now give a concise account of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The honors which have been paid in all ages and nations to the bodies of the dead, and the religious care which has always been taken of sepulchres, seem to insinuate a universal persuasion, that bodies were lodged in sepulchres merely as a deposit or trust.

We have already observed, in our mention of the pyramids, with what magnificence sepulchres were built in Egypt; for, besides that they were erected as so many sacred monuments, destined to transmit to future times the memory of great princes; they were likewise considered as the mansions where the body was to remain during a long succession of ages: whereas common houses were called inns,⁶ in which men were to abide only as travelers, and that during the course of a life which was too short to engage their affections.

When any person in a family died, all the kindred and friends quitted their usual habits, and put on mourning; and abstained from baths, wine, and dainties of every kind. This mourning continued forty or seventy days; probably according to the quality of the person.

Bodies were embalmed three different ways.⁷ The most magnificent was bestowed on persons of distinguished rank, and the expense amounted to a talent of silver, or three thousand French livres.⁸

Many hands were employed in this ceremony.⁹ Some drew the brain through the nostrils, by an instrument made for that purpose. Others emptied the bowels and intestines, by cutting a hole in the side, with an Ethiopian stone that was as sharp as a razor; after which the cavities were filled with perfumes and various odoriferous drugs. As this evacuation (which was necessarily attended with some dissections) seemed in some measure cruel and inhuman; the persons employed fled as soon as the operation was over, and were pursued

¹ When, according to Herodotus is more than seventeen cubits in length. Lib. ii. c. 68.
² P. 382. ³ P. 377, 378. ⁴ Rom. i. 22, 23

⁵ Tom. v. p. 25, 26.

⁶ Diad. l. i. p. 47.

⁷ Herod. l. ii. c. 85, &c.

⁸ About 1374 lls. sterling

⁹ Diad. l. i. p. 81.

with stones by the standers-by. But those who embalmed the body were honorably treated. They filled it with myrrh, cinnamon, and all sorts of spices. After a certain time, the body was swathed in lwna filets, which were glued together with a kind of very thin gum, and then crusted over with the most exquisite perfumes. By this means, it is said, that the entire figure of the body, the very lineaments of the face, and even the hairs on the lids and eye-brows, were preserved in their natural perfection. The body thus embalmed was delivered to the relations, who shut it up in a kind of open chest, fitted exactly to the size of the corpse; then they placed it upright against the wall, either in their sepulchres (if they had any) or in their houses. These embalmed bodies are what we now call Mummies, which are still brought from Egypt, and are found in the cabinets of the curious. This shows the care which the Egyptians took of their dead. Their gratitude to their deceased relations was immortal. Children, by seeing the bodies of their ancestors thus preserved, recalled to mind those virtues for which the public had honored them; and were excited to a love of those laws which such excellent persons had left for their security. We find that part of these ceremonies were performed in the funeral honors paid to Joseph in Egypt.

I have said that the public recognised the virtues of deceased persons, because that, before they could be admitted into the sacred asylum of the tomb, they underwent a solemn trial. And this circumstance in the Egyptian funerals, is one of the most remarkable to be found in ancient history.

It was a consolation among the heathens, to a dying man, to leave a good name behind him; and they imagined that this is the only human blessing of which death cannot deprive us. But the Egyptians would not suffer praises to be bestowed indiscriminately on all deceased persons. This honor was to be obtained only from the public voice. The assembly of the judges met on the other side of a lake, which they crossed in a boat. He who sat at the helm was called Charon, in the Egyptian language; and this first gave the hint to Orpheus, who had been in Egypt, and after him to the other Greeks, to invent the fiction of Charon's boat. As soon as a man was dead, he was brought to his trial. The public accuser was heard. If he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of burial. The people admired the power of the laws, which extended even beyond the grave; and every one, struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonor on his own memory and his family. But if the deceased person was not convicted of any crime, he was interred in an honorable manner.

A still more astonishing circumstance, in this public inquest upon the dead, was, that the throne itself was no protection from it. Kings were spared during their lives, because the public peace was concerned in this forbearance; but their quality did not exempt them from the judgment passed upon the dead, and even some of them were deprived of sepulture. This custom was imitated by the Israelites. We see, in Scripture, that bad kings were not interred in the monuments of their ancestors. This practice suggested to princes, that if their majesty placed them out of the reach of men's judgment while they were alive, they would at last be liable to it, when death should reduce them to a level with their subjects.

When therefore a favorable judgment was pronounced on a deceased person, the next thing was to proceed to the ceremonies of interment. In his panegyric, no mention was made of his birth, because every Egyptian was deemed noble. No praises were considered as just or true, but such as

related to the personal merit of the deceased. He was applauded for having received an excellent education in his younger years; and in his more advanced age, for having cultivated piety towards the gods, justice towards men, gentleness, modesty, moderation, and all other virtues which constitute the good man. Then all the people besought the gods to receive the deceased into the assembly of the just, and to admit him as partaker with them of their everlasting felicity.

To conclude this article of the ceremonies of funerals, it may not be amiss to observe to young pupils, the different manners in which the bodies of the dead were treated by the ancients. Some, as we observed of the Egyptians, exposed them to view after they had been embalmed, and thus preserved them to after ages: others, as the Romans, burnt them on a funeral pile; and others, again laid them in the earth.

The care to preserve bodies without lodging them in tombs, appears injurious to human nature in general, and to those persons in particular to whom respect is designed to be shown by this custom; because it exposes too visibly their wretched state and deformity; since whatever care may be taken, spectators see nothing but the melancholy and frightful remains of what they once were. The custom of burning dead bodies has something in it cruel and barbarous, in destroying so hastily the remains of persons once dear to us. That of interment is certainly the most ancient and religious. It restores to the earth what had been taken from it; and prepares our belief of a second restitution of our bodies, from that dust of which they were at first formed.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS AND WAR.

THE profession of arms was in great repute among the Egyptians. After the sacerdotal families, the most illustrious, as with us, were those devoted to a military life. They were not only distinguished by honors, but by ample liberalities. Every soldier was allowed twelve *Aroure*; that is, a piece of arable land very near answering to half a French acre,¹ exempt from all tax or tribute. Besides this privilege, each soldier received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of flesh, and a quart of wine.² This allowance was sufficient to support part of their family. Such an indulgence made them more affectionate to the person of their prince, and the interests of their country, and more resolute in the defence of both; and as Diodorus³ observes, it was thought inconsistent with good policy, and even common sense, to commit the defence of a country to men who had no interest in its preservation.

Four hundred thousand soldiers were kept in continual pay; all natives of Egypt, and trained up in the exactest discipline. They were inured to the fatigues of war, by a severe and rigorous education. There is an art of forming the body as well as the mind. This art, lost by our sloth, was well known to the ancients, and especially to the Egyptians. Foot, horse, and chariot-races, were performed in Egypt with wonderful agility, and the world could

¹ Twelve *Aroure*. An Egyptian *Aroure* was 10,000 square cubits, equal to three roods, two perches, 55½ square feet of our measure.

² The Greek is, *δύο τρισεπτα σπορτρικ*, which some have made to signify a determinate quantity of wine, or any other liquid: others, regarding the etymology of the word *σπορτρικ*, have translated it by *kanatram*, a bucket, as Lucretius, lib. v. 51; others by *hausus*, a draught, or sup. Herodotus says, this allowance was given only to the two thousand guards, who attended annually on the king. Lib. ii. c. 168.

³ Lib. i. p. 67.

⁴ Herod. i. ii. c. 164 168.

not show better horsemen than the Egyptians. The Scripture in several places¹ speaks advantageously of their cavalry.

Military laws were easily preserved in Egypt, because sons received them from their fathers; the profession of war, as all others, being transmitted from father, to son. Those who fled in battle, or discovered any signs of cowardice, were only distinguished by some particular mark of ignominy;² it being thought more advisable to restrain them by motives of honor, than by the terrors of punishment.

But notwithstanding this, I will not pretend to say, that the Egyptians were a warlike people. It is of little advantage to have regular and well-paid troops; to have armies exercised in peace, and employed only in mock fights: it is war alone, and real combats, which form the soldier. Egypt loved peace, because it loved justice, and maintained soldiers only for its security. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had no ambitious dreams of conquest. The Egyptians extended their reputation in a very different manner, by sending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them laws and politeness. They triumphed by the wisdom of their counsels, and the superiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind appeared more noble and glorious to them, than that which is achieved by arms and conquest. But, nevertheless, Egypt has given birth to illustrious conquerors, as will be observed hereafter, when we come to treat of its kings.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THEIR ARTS AND SCIENCES.

THE Egyptians had an inventive genius, but directed it only to useful projects. Their Mercuries filled Egypt with wonderful inventions, and left it scarcely ignorant of any thing which could contribute to accomplish the mind, or procure ease and happiness. The discoverers of any useful invention received, both living and dead, rewards worthy of their profitable labors. It is this which consecrated the books of their two Mercuries, and stamped them with a divine authority. The first libraries were in Egypt; and the titles they bore inspired an eager desire to enter them, and dive into the secrets they contained. They were called the *remedy for the diseases of the soul*,³ and that very justly, because the soul was there cured of ignorance, the most dangerous, and the parent of all other maladies.

As their country was level, and the sky always serene and unclouded, the Egyptians were among the first who observed the courses of the planets. These observations led them to regulate the year⁴ from the course of the sun; for, as Diodorus observes, their year, from the most remote antiquity, was composed of three hundred sixty five days and six hours. To adjust the property of their lands, which were every year covered by the overflowing of the Nile, they were obliged to have recourse to surveys: and this first taught them geometry. They were great observers of nature, which, in a climate so serene, and under so intense a sun, was vigorous and fruitful.

¹ Cant. i. 9. Isa. xxxvi. 9.

² Diod. p. 76.

³ Ψυχῆς ἰατρικόν.

⁴ It will not seem surprising that the Egyptians, who were the most ancient observers of the celestial motions, should have arrived to this knowledge, when it is considered that the lunar year, made use of by the Greeks and Romans, though it appears so inconvenient and irregular, supposed nevertheless a knowledge of the solar year, such as Diodorus Siculus ascribes to the Egyptians. It will appear at first sight, by calculating their intercalations, that those who first divided the year in this manner, were not ignorant, that to three hundred sixty-five days some hours were to be added, to keep pace with the sun. Their only error lay in the supposition that only six hours were wanting: whereas an addition of almost eleven minutes more was requisite.

By this study and application they invented or improved the science of physic. The sick were not abandoned to the arbitrary will and caprice of the physician. He was obliged to follow fixed rules, which were the observations of old and experienced practitioners, and written in the sacred books. While these rules were observed, the physician was not answerable for the success; otherwise, a miscarriage cost him his life. This law checked, indeed, the temerity of empirics; but then it might prevent new discoveries, and keep the art from attaining to its just perfection. Every physician, if Herodotus⁵ may be credited, confined his practice to the cure of one disease only; one was for the eyes, another for the teeth, and so on.

What we have said of the pyramids, the labyrinth, and that infinite number of obelisks, temples, and palaces, whose precious remains still strike the beholder with admiration, and in which the magnificence of the princes who raised them, the skill of the workmen, the riches of the ornaments diffused over every part of them, and the just proportion and beautiful symmetry of the parts, in which their greatest beauty consisted, seemed to vie with each other: works, in many of which the liveliness of the colors remains to this day, in spite of the rude hand of time, which commonly deadens or destroys them: all this, I say, shows the perfection to which architecture, painting, sculpture, and all other arts, had arrived in Egypt.

The Egyptians entertained but a mean opinion of those gymnastic exercises, which did not contribute to invigorate the body, or improve health;⁶ as well as of music,⁷ which they considered as a diversion not only useless but dangerous, and only fit to enervate the mind.

CHAPTER V.

OF THEIR HUSBANDMEN, SHEPHERDS, AND ARTIFICERS.

HUSBANDMEN, shepherds, and artificers, formed the three classes of lower life in Egypt, but were nevertheless had in very great esteem, particularly husbandmen and shepherds.⁸ The body politic requires a superiority and subordination of its several members; for as, in the natural body, the eye may be said to hold the first rank yet its lustre does not draw contempt upon the feet, the hands, or even on those parts which are less honorable. In like manner, among the Egyptians, the priests, soldiers, and scholars, were distinguished by particular honors; but all professions, to the meanest, had their share in the public esteem, because the despising any man, whose labors, however mean, were useful to the state, was thought a crime.

A better reason than the foregoing might have inspired them at the first with these sentiments of equity and moderation, which they so long preserved. As they all descended from Cham,⁹ their common father, the memory of their still recent origin occurring to the minds of all in those first ages, established among them a kind of equality, and stamped, in their opinion, a nobility on every person derived from the common stock. Indeed, the difference of conditions, and the contempt with which persons of the lowest rank are treated, are owing merely to the distance from the common root; which makes us forget that the meanest plebeian, when his descent is traced back to the source, is equally noble with those of the most elevated rank and titles.

Be that as it will, no profession in Egypt was considered as grovelling or sordid. By this means arts were raised to their highest perfection. The

⁵ Lib. ii. c. 84.

⁶ Diod. l. i. p. 73.

⁷ Τὸν δὲ μουσικὸν νόμον ἔχουσαν οὐ μόνον ἀχρεΐστον ἀνθρώπον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐίδεν, ὅς ἐκ ἐκείνου οὐσάν τῃς τῶν ἀιδῶν ψυχῆς.

⁸ Diod. l. i. p. 67, 68.

⁹ Or Ham

honor which cherished them mixed with every thought and care for their improvement. Every man had his way of life assigned him by the laws, and it was perpetuated from father to son. Two professions at one time, or a change of that which a man was born to, were never allowed. By this means, men became more able and expert in employments which they had always exercised from their infancy; and every man adding his own experience to that of his ancestors, was more capable of attaining perfection in his particular art. Besides, this wholesome institution, which had been established anciently throughout Egypt, extinguished all irregular ambition; and taught every man to sit down contented with his condition, without aspiring to one more elevated, from interest, vain-glory, or levity.

From this source flowed numberless inventions for the improvements of all the arts, and for rendering life more commodious, and trade more easy. I once could not believe that Diodorus¹ was in earnest, in what he relates concerning the Egyptian industry, viz. that this people had found out a way, by an artificial fecundity, to hatch eggs without the sitting of the hen; but all modern travelers declare it to be the fact, which certainly is worthy of our investigation, and is said to be practised also in Europe. Their relations inform us, that the Egyptians stow eggs in ovens, which are heated to such a temperament, and with such just proportion to the natural warmth of the hen, that the chickens produced by these means are as strong as those which are hatched the natural way. The season of the year proper for this operation is, from the end of December to the end of April; the heat in Egypt being too violent in the other months. During these four months, upwards of three hundred thousand eggs are laid in these ovens, which, though they are not all successful, nevertheless produce vast numbers of fowls at an easy rate. The art lies in giving the ovens a due degree of heat, which must not exceed a fixed proportion. About ten days are bestowed in heating these ovens, and very near as much time in hatching the eggs. It is very entertaining, say these travelers, to observe the hatching of these chickens, some of which show at first nothing but their heads, others but half their bodies, and others again come quite out of the egg: these last, the moment they are hatched, make their way over the unhatched eggs, and form a diverting spectacle. Corneille le Bruyn, in his Travels,² has collected the observations of other travelers on this subject. Pliny³ likewise mentions it; but it appears from him, that the Egyptians, anciently, employed warm dung, not ovens, to hatch eggs.

I have said, that husbandmen particularly, and those who took care of flocks, were in great esteem in Egypt, some parts of it excepted, where the latter were not suffered.⁴ It was, indeed, to these two professions that Egypt owed its riches and plenty. It is astonishing to reflect what advantages the Egyptians by their art and labor, drew from a country of no great extent, but whose soil was made wonderfully fruitful by the inundations of the Nile, and the laborious industry of the inhabitants.

It will be always so with every kingdom, whose governors direct all their actions to the public welfare. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, will be an inexhaustible fund of wealth in all countries, where, as in Egypt, these profitable callings are supported and encouraged by maxims of state and policy: and we may consider it as a misfortune, that they are at present fallen into so general a disesteem; though it is from them that

the most elevated ranks (as we esteem them) are furnished, not only with the necessities, but even the luxuries, of life. For, says Abbé Fleury, in his admirable work, *Of the Manners of the Israelites*, where the subject I am upon is thoroughly examined, it is the peasant who feeds the citizen, the magistrate, the gentleman, the ecclesiastic: and whatever artifice and craft may be used to convert money into commodities, and these back again into money; yet all must ultimately be owned to be received from the products of the earth, and the animals which it sustains and nourishes. Nevertheless, when we compare men's different stations of life together, we give the lowest place to the husbandman; and with many people a wealthy citizen, enervated with sloth, useless to the public, and void of all merit, has the preference, merely because he has more money, and lives a more easy and delightful life.

But let us imagine to ourselves a country where so great difference is not made between the several conditions; where the life of a nobleman is not made to consist in idleness, and doing nothing, but in a careful preservation of his liberty; that is, in a due subjection to the laws and the constitution; by a man's subsisting upon his estate without a dependence on any one, and being contented to enjoy a little with liberty, rather than a great deal at the price of mean and base compliances: a country, whose sloth, effeminacy, and the ignorance of things necessary for life, are held in just contempt; and where pleasure is less valued than health and bodily strength: in such a country, it will be much more for a man's reputation to plough and keep flocks, than to waste all his hours in sauntering from place to place, in gaming and expensive diversions.

But we need not have recourse to Plato's commonwealth, for instances of men who have led these useful lives. It was thus that the greatest part of mankind lived during near four thousand years; and that not only the Israelites, but the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, that is to say, nations the most civilized, and most renowned for arms and wisdom. They all inculcate the regard which ought to be paid to agriculture, and the breeding of cattle: one of which (without saying anything of hemp and flax, so necessary for our clothing) supplies us by corn, fruits and pulse, with not only a plentiful but delicious nourishment; and the other, besides its supply of exquisite meats to cover our tables, almost alone gives life to manufactures and trade, by the skins and stuffs it furnishes.

Princes are commonly desirous, and their interest certainly requires it, that the peasant who, in a literal sense, sustains the heat and burden of the day, and pays so great a proportion of the national taxes, should meet with favor and encouragement. But the kind and good intentions of princes are too often defeated by the insatiable and merciless avarice of those who are appointed to collect their revenues. History has transmitted to us a fine saying of Tiberius on this head:—A prefect of Egypt having augmented the annual tribute of the province, and doubtless, with the view of making his court to the emperor, remitted to him a sum much larger than was customary; that prince, who, in the beginning of his reign, thought, or at least spoke justly, answered, *That it was his design not to slay, but to shear his sheep.*⁵

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE FERTILITY OF EGYPT.

UNDER this head, I shall treat only of some plants peculiar to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn which it produced.

¹ Xiphilin. in apophthegm. Tib. Cæs. Κρητὴς μὲν τὰ προβάτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξυρίσκει βουλάμην.

¹ Diod. l. i. p. 67. ² Tom. ii. p. 64. ³ Lib. x. c. 54. ⁴ Swineherds, in particular, had a general ill name throughout Egypt, as they had the care of so impure an animal. *Herodotus* (l. ii. c. 47.) tells us, that they were not permitted to enter the Egyptian temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage.

Papyrus. This is a plant from the root of which shoot out a great many triangular stalks, to the height of six or seven cubits. The ancients¹ writ at first upon palm-leaves; next on the inside of the bark of trees, from whence the word *liber*, or book, is derived; after that, upon tables covered over with wax, on which the characters were impressed with an instrument called *Stylus*, sharp-pointed at one end to write with, and flat at the other, to efface what had been written: which gave occasion to the following expression of Horace:

*Sæpe stylum veritas, iterum quæ digna legi sint
Scripturas: Sat. lib. i. x. ver. 72.*

Of turn your style, if you desire to write
Things that will bear a second reading—

The meaning of which is, that a good performance is not to be expected without many erasures and corrections. At last the use of paper² was introduced, and this was made of the bark of Papyrus, divided into thin flakes or leaves, which were very proper for writing: and this Papyrus was likewise called Byblus:

*Nondum fluminea Memphis contexere bybos
Noverat.—Lacon.*

Memphis as yet knew not to form in leaves
The watery bybos.

Pliny calls it a wonderful invention,³ so useful to life, that it preserves the memory of great actions, and immortalizes those who achieved them. Varro ascribes this invention to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria; but he had only the merit of making paper more common, for the invention was of much greater antiquity. The same Pliny adds, that Eumenes, king of Pergamus, substituted parchment instead of paper; in emulation of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose library he was ambitious to excel by this invention, which had the advantage over paper. Parchment is the skin of a sheep, dressed and made fit to write upon. It was called Pergamenum from Pergamus, whose kings had the honor of the invention. All the ancient manuscripts are either upon parchment or vellum, which is calf-skin, and a great deal finer than the common parchment. It is very curious to see white fine paper wrought out of filthy rags, picked up in the streets. The plant Papyrus was useful likewise for sails, tackling, clothes, coverlets,⁴ &c.

Linum. Flax is a plant whose bark, full of fibres or strings, is useful in making fine linen. The method of making this linen in Egypt was wonderful, and carried to such perfection, that the threads which were drawn out of them, were almost too small for the observation of the sharpest eye. Priests were always habited in linen, and never in woollen; and all persons of distinction generally wore linen clothes. This flax formed a considerable branch of the Egyptian trade, and great quantities of it were exported into foreign countries. The manufacture of flax employed a great number of hands in Egypt, especially of the women, as appears from that passage of Isaiah, in which the prophet menaces Egypt with a drought of so terrible a nature, that it should interrupt every kind of labor: *Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net-works, shall be confounded.*⁵ We likewise find in Scripture, that one effect of the plague of hail, called down by Moses upon Egypt,⁶ was the destruction of all the flax which was then boiled. This storm was in March.

Byssus. This was another kind of flax⁷ extremely fine and delicate, which often received a

purple dye. It was very dear; and none but rich and wealthy persons could afford to wear it. Pliny, who gives the first place to the Asbeston or Asbestinum (i. e. the incombustible flax,) places the Byssus in the next rank; and says, that the dress and ornaments of the ladies were made of it.⁸ It appears from the Holy Scriptures, that it was chiefly from Egypt that cloth made of this fine flax was brought: *Fine linen with brodered work from Egypt.*⁹

I take no notice of the Lotus, a very common plant, and in great request among the Egyptians, of whose berries in former times they made bread. There was another Lotus in Africa which gave its name to the Lotophagi, or Lotus eaters; because they lived upon the fruit of this tree, which had so delicious a taste, if Homer may be credited, that it made those who ate it forget all the sweets of their native country, as Ulysses found to his cost in his return from Troy.¹⁰

In general it may be said, that the Egyptian pulse and fruits were excellent; and might, as Pliny observes,¹¹ have sufficed singly for the nourishment of the inhabitants; such was their excellent quality, and so great their plenty. And indeed working men lived then almost upon nothing else, as appears from those who were employed in building the pyramids.

Besides these rural riches, the Nile, from its fish, and the fatness it gave to the soil for the feeding of cattle, furnished the tables of the Egyptians with the most exquisite fish of every kind, and the most succulent flesh. This it was which made the Israelites so deeply regret the loss of Egypt, when they found themselves in the wilderness. *Who, say they, in a plaintive and at the same time seditious tone, shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the flesh which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick.*¹² *We sat by the flesh pots, and we did eat bread to the full.*¹³

But the great and matchless wealth of Egypt arose from its corn, which, even in an almost universal famine, enabled it to support all the neighboring nations, as it particularly did under Joseph's administration. In later ages it was the resource and most certain granary of Rome and Constantinople. It is a well known story, how a calumny raised against St. Athanasius, viz. of his having threatened to prevent in future the importation of corn into Constantinople from Alexandria, incensed the emperor Constantine against that holy bishop, because he knew that his capital city could not subsist without the corn which was brought to it from Egypt. The same reason induced all the emperors of Rome to take so great a care of Egypt, which they considered as the nursing-mother of the world's metropolis.

Nevertheless, the same river which enabled this province to subsist the two most populous cities in the world, sometimes reduced even Egypt itself to the most terrible famine; and it is astonishing that Joseph's wise foresight, which in fruitful years had made provisions for seasons of sterility, should not

¹ Proximus Byssino mulierum maxime deliciis gentis inventum jam est etiam [scilicet Linum] quod ignibus non absumetur, ritum id vocant, ardentisque in focis conrivitur igne eo vidimus mappas, sordibus crustis splendentes igitur maxis quon possent aquis: i. e. A flax is now found out, which is proof against the violence of fire; it is called living flax; and we have seen table napkins of it glowing in the fires of our dining-rooms, and receiving a lustre and a cleanliness from flames which no water could have given it.

² Ezek. xxvii. 7.

³ Τὸν δὲ στίχον ταῖς τοῖς μελίσσιν κρητὸν, οὐκ ἐστὶ ἀπαγγέλλει πάλιν ὑδρίαν, ὑδρὶ νεύειται, Μη τὴ τις λυτὸς φανῶν, νοστίς λαβὴν τε.

Odys. i. c. ver. 94, 95, 102.

¹¹ Ægyptus frugum quidem fertilissima, sed et propria his currere possit, tanta est ciborum ex herbis abundantia. Plin. l. xxi. c. 15.

¹² Num. xi. 4, 5.

¹³ Exod. xvi. 3.

¹ Plin. l. xiii. c. 11.

² The papyrus was divided into thin flakes (into which it naturally parted,) which being laid on a table, and moistened with the glutinous waters of the Nile, were afterwards pressed together, and dried in the sun.

³ Postea promiscue patuit usus rei, quæ constat immortalitatis hominum. . . . Chartæ usum maxime humanitas constat in memoria. Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

⁴ Isaiah xix. 9. Exod. ix. 31. Plin. lib. xix. c. 1.

have taught these so much-boasted politicians, to adopt similar precautions against the changes and inconstancy of the Nile. Pliny, in his panegyric upon Trajan, paints with wonderful strength the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine under that prince's reign, and his generous relief of it. The reader will not be displeased to read here an extract of it, in which a greater regard will be had to Pliny's thoughts than to his expressions.

The Egyptians, says Pliny, who gloried that they needed neither rain nor sun to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently contest the prize of plenty with the most fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to an unexpected drought, and a fatal sterility, from the greatest part of their territories being deserted and left unwatered by the Nile, whose inundation is the source and sure standard of their abundance. They then implored that assistance from their prince, which they had been accustomed to expect only from their river.¹ The delay of their relief was no longer than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined, that this misfortune had befallen them only to display, with greater lustre, the generosity and goodness of Cæsar. It was an ancient and general opinion,² that our city could not subsist without provisions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boasted, that, though conquered, they nevertheless fed their conquerors; that by means of their river, either abundance or scarcity were entirely in their own disposal. But we now have returned the Nile his own harvest, and given him back the provisions he sent us. Let the Egyptians be then convinced, by their own experience, that they are not necessary to us, and are only our vassals. Let them know that their ships do not so much bring us the provision we stand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us. And let them never forget, that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. This most fruitful province had been ruined, had it not worn the Roman chains. The Egyptians, in their sovereign, found a deliverer, and a father. Astonished at the sight of their granaries, filled without any labor of their own, they were at a loss to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people, though at such a distance from us, yet so speedily stopped, served only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The Nile may, in other times, have diffused more plenty on Egypt, but never more glory upon us.³ May heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience and the prince's generosity, restore forever back to Egypt its ancient fertility!

Pliny's reproach to the Egyptians, for their vain and foolish pride with regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their most peculiar characteristics, and recalls to my mind a fine passage of Ezekiel, where God thus speaks to Pharaoh, one of their kings: *Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself.*⁴ God perceived an insupportable pride in the heart of this prince: a sense of security and confidence in the inundations of the Nile, independent entirely on the influence of heaven; as though the happy effects of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labor,

or those of his predecessors: *The river is mine, and I have made it.*

Before I conclude this second part, which treats of the manners of the Egyptians, I think it incumbent on me to bespeak the attention of my readers to different passages scattered in the history of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, which confirm and illustrate part of what we meet with in profane authors upon this subject. They will there observe the perfect polity which reigned in Egypt, both in the court and the rest of the kingdom; the vigilance of this prince, who was informed of all transactions, had a regular counsel, a chosen number of ministers, armies ever well maintained and disciplined, both of horse, foot, and armed chariots; intendants in all the provinces; overseers or guardians of the public granaries; wise and exact dispensers of the corn lodged in them; a court composed of great officers of the crown, a captain of his guards, a chief cup-bearer, a master of his pantry; in a word, all things that compose a prince's household, and constitute a magnificent court. But above all these, the readers will admire the fear in which the threatenings of God were held,⁵ the inspector of all actions and the judge of kings themselves; and the horror the Egyptians had for adultery, which was acknowledged to be a crime of so heinous a nature, that it alone was capable of bringing destruction on a nation.

PART III.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

No part of ancient history is more obscure or uncertain, than that of the first kings of Egypt. This proud nation, fondly conceited of its antiquity and nobility, thought it glorious to lose itself in an abyss of infinite ages, which seemed to carry its pretensions backward to eternity. According to its own historians,⁶ first gods, and afterwards demi-gods or heroes, governed it successively, through a series of more than twenty thousand years. But the absurdity of this vain and fabulous claim is easily discovered.

To gods and demi-gods, men succeeded as rulers or kings in Egypt, of whom Manetho has left us thirty dynasties or principalities. This Manetho was an Egyptian high priest, and keeper of the sacred archives of Egypt, and had been instructed in the Grecian learning; he wrote a history of Egypt, which he pretended to have extracted from the writings of Mercurius and other ancient memoirs, preserved in the archives of the Egyptian temples. He drew up this history under the reign, and at the command, of Ptolemy Philadelphus. If his thirty dynasties are allowed to be successive, they make up a series of time of more than five thousand three hundred years, to the reign of Alexander the Great; but this is a manifest forgery. Besides, we find in Eratosthenes,⁷ who was invited to Alexandria by Ptolemy Evergetes, a catalogue of thirty eight kings of Thebes, all different from those of Manetho. The clearing up of these difficulties has put the learned to a great deal of trouble and labor. The most effectual way to reconcile such contradictions, is to suppose, with almost all the modern writers upon this subject, that the kings of these different dynasties did not reign successively after one another, but many of them at the same time, and in different countries of Egypt. There were in Egypt four principal dynasties; that of Thebes, of Thin, of Memphis, and of Tanis. I shall not here give my readers a list of the kings who have reigned in Egypt, of most of whom we have only the names transmitted to us. I shall only take notice of what seems to me most

¹ Inundationes, id est, uberata regio fraudata, sic opem Cæsaris invocavit, ut solvi annuum suum.

² Percrebuerat antiquitus urlem nostram nisi opibus Ægypti ali sustentarique non posse. Superbiebat ventosa et inoleas nutio, quod victorem quidem populum pasceret æmon, quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset. Refudinus Nilo sua copias. Recrepti frumenta quæ miserat, deportatasque messes rexit.

³ Nilus Ægypto quidem sepe, sed glorie nostræ nunguam largior fluxit.

⁴ Ezek. xxix. 3. 9.

⁵ Gen. xii. 10—20.

⁶ Diad. l. i. p. 41.

⁷ An historian of Cyrene.

proper, to give youth the necessary light into this part of history, for whose sake principally I engaged in the undertaking; and I shall confine myself chiefly to the memoirs left us by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, concerning the Egyptian kings, without even scrupulously preserving the exactness of succession, at least in the early part of the monarchy, which is very obscure; and without pretending to reconcile these two historians. Their design, especially that of Herodotus, was not to lay before us an exact series of the kings of Egypt, but only to point out those princes whose history appeared to them most important and instructive. I shall follow the same plan, and hope to be forgiven, for not having involved either myself or my readers in a labyrinth of almost inextricable difficulties, from which the most able can scarce disengage themselves, when they pretend to follow the series of history, and reduce it to fixed and certain dates. The curious may consult the learned pieces,¹ in which this subject is treated in all its extent.

I am to premise, that Herodotus, upon the credit of the Egyptian priests whom he had consulted, gives us a great number of oracles and singular incidents, all which, though he relates them as so many facts, the judicious reader will easily discover to be what they really are: I mean, fictions.

The ancient history of Egypt comprehends 2158 years, and is naturally divided into three periods.

The first begins with the establishment of the Egyptian monarchy, by Menes or Misraim, the son of Cham,² in the year of the world 1816; and ends with the destruction of that monarchy by Cambyses, king of Persia, in the year of the world 3479. This first period contains 1663 years.

The second period is intermixed with the Persian and Grecian history, and extends to the death of Alexander the Great, which happened in the year 3681, and consequently includes 202 years.

The third period is that in which a new monarchy was formed in Egypt by the Lagide, or Ptolemies, descendants from Lagus; to the death of Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, in 3974; and this last comprehends 293 years.

I shall now treat only of the first period, reserving the two others for the eras to which they belong.

The Kings of Egypt.

A. M. 1816. MENES. Historians are unanimously agreed, that Menes was the first king of Egypt. It is pretended, and not without foundation, that he is the same with Misraim, the son of Cham.

Cham was the second son of Noah. When the family of the latter, after the extravagant attempt of building the tower of Babel, dispersed themselves into different countries, Cham retired to Africa; and it doubtless was he who afterwards was worshipped as a god, under the name of Jupiter Ammon. He had four children, Chus,³ Misraim, Phut, and Canaan. Chus settled in Ethiopia; Misraim in Egypt, which generally is called in Scripture after his name, and by that of Cham⁴ his father; Phut took possession of that part of Africa, which lies westward of Egypt; and Canaan of the country which afterwards bore his name. The Canaanites are certainly the same people who are called almost always Phœnicians by the Greeks, of which foreign name no reason can be given, any more than of the oblivion of the true one.

I return to Misraim. He is allowed⁵ to be the same with Menes, whom all historians declare to

be the first king of Egypt, the institutor of the worship of the gods, and of the ceremonies of the sacrifices.

BUSIRIS, some ages after him, built the famous city of Thebes, and made it the seat of his empire. We have elsewhere taken notice of the wealth and magnificence of this city. This prince is not to be confounded with Busiris, so infamous for his cruelties.

OSYMANDIAS. Diodorus⁶ gives a very particular description of many magnificent edifices, raised by this king; one of which was adorned with sculptures and paintings of exquisite beauty, representing his expedition against the Bactrians, a people of Asia, whom he had invaded with four hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. In another part of the edifice was exhibited an assembly of the judges, whose president wore, on his breast, a picture of Truth, with her eyes shut, and himself was surrounded with books; an emphatic emblem, denoting that judges ought to be perfectly versed in the laws, and impartial in the administration of them.

The king likewise was painted here, offering to the gods gold and silver, which he drew every year from the mines of Egypt, amounting to the sum of sixteen millions.⁷

Not far from hence was seen a magnificent library, the oldest mentioned in history. Its title or inscription on the front was, *The office, or treasury, of remedies for the diseases of the soul.* Near it were placed statues, representing all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the king made suitable offerings: by which he seemed to be desirous of informing posterity that his life and reign had been crowned with piety to the gods, and justice to men.

His mausoleum displayed uncommon magnificence: it was encompassed with a circle of gold, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference; each of which showed the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and the rest of the planets. For, so early as this king's reign, the Egyptians divided the year into twelve months, each consisting of thirty days;⁸ to which they added every year five days and six hours. The spectator did not know which to admire most in this stately monument, whether the richness of its materials, or the genius and industry of the artists.

UCHOREUS, one of the successors of Osymandias, built the city of Memphis.⁹ This city was 150 furlongs, or more than seven leagues in circumference, and stood at the point of the Delta, in that part where the Nile divides itself into several branches, or streams. Southward from the city, he raised a lofty mole. On the right and left he dug very deep moats to receive the river. These were faced with stone, and raised, near the city, by strong causeys; the whole designed to secure the city from the inundations of the Nile, and the incursions of the enemy. A city so advantageously situated, and so strongly fortified, that it was almost the key of the Nile, and, by this means, commanded the whole country, became soon the usual residence of the Egyptian kings. It kept possession of this honor, till Alexandria was built by Alexander the Great.

MERIS. This king made the famous lake which went by his name, and whereof mention has been already made.

Egypt had long been governed by its native princes, when A. M. 1920. strangers, called Shepherd-kings Ant. J. C. 2084. (Hyksos in the Egyptian language,) from Arabia or Phenicia, invaded and seized a great part of Lower Egypt, and Memphis itself; but Upper Egypt remained unconquered, and the kingdom of Thebes existed till the reign of Sesostris. These foreign princes governed about 260 years.

¹ Sir John Marsham's Canon Chronic.; Father Pezron: the Discretions of F. Tournemine, and Abbe Sevin, &c.
² Or Ham. ³ Or Cush, Gen. x. 6.

⁴ The footsteps of its old name (Misraim) remain to this day among the Arabians, who call it Mesre; by the testimony of Plutarch it was called *Mezer*, Chemia, by an easy corruption of Chomia, and this for Cham, or Ham.

⁵ Herod. l. ii. p. 99. Diod. l. i. p. 43.

⁶ Diod. l. i. p. 44, 45.

⁷ Three thousand two hundred myriads of mine.

⁸ See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, p. 30. ⁹ Diod. p. 46.

A. M. 2084.
Ant. J. C. 1929.

Under one of these princes, called Pharaoh in Scripture¹ (a name common to all the kings of Egypt,) Abraham arrived there with his wife Sarah, who was exposed to great hazard, on account of her exquisite beauty, which reaching the prince's ear, she was taken by him from Abraham, upon the supposition that she was not his wife, but only his sister.

A. M. 2170.
Ant. J. C. 1825.

THETHMOSIS, or Amosis, having expelled the Shepherd-kings, reigned in Lower Egypt.

A. M. 2276.
Ant. J. C. 1728.

Long after his reign, Joseph was brought a slave into Egypt, by some Ishmaelitic merchants; sold to Potiphar; and by a series of wonderful events, enjoyed the supreme authority, by his being raised to the chief employment of the kingdom. I shall pass over his history, as it is so universally known. But I must take notice of a remark of Justin (the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius,² an excellent historian of the Augustan age,) viz. that Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's children, whom his brethren, through envy, had sold to foreign merchants, being endowed from heaven with the interpretation of dreams,³ and a knowledge of futurity, preserved, by his uncommon prudence, Egypt from the famine with which it was menaced, and was extremely caressed by the king.

Jacob also went into Egypt with his whole family, which met Ant. J. C. 1706.

with the kindest treatment from the Egyptians, whilst Joseph's important services were fresh in their memories. But after his death, say the Scriptures, *there arose up a new king, which knew not Joseph.*⁴

A. M. 2427.
Ant. J. C. 1577.

RAMSES—MIAMUM, according to arch-bishop Usher, was the name of this king, who is called Pharaoh in Scripture. He reigned sixty-six years, and oppressed the Israelites in a most grievous manner. *He set over them task-masters to afflict them with their burdens, and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities. Pithom and Raamses;⁵ and the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigor; and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service wherein they made them serve, was with rigor.*⁶ This king had two sons, Amenophis and Busris.

A. M. 2494.
Ant. J. C. 1510.

AMENOPHIS, the eldest, succeeded him. He was the Pharaoh, under whose reign the Israelites departed out of Egypt, and was drowned in passing the Red Sea.

A. M. 2513.
Ant. J. C. 1491.

Father Tournemine makes Sesostris, of whom we shall speak immediately, the Pharaoh who raised the persecution against the Israelites, and oppressed them with the most painful toils. This is exactly agreeable to the account given, by Diodorus, of this prince, who employed in his Egyptian works only foreigners; so that we may place the memorable event of the passage of the Red Sea, under his son Pheron;⁷ and the characteristic of impiety ascribed to him by Herodotus, greatly strengthens the probability of this conjecture. The plan I have proposed to follow in this history excuses me from entering into chronological discussions. Diodorus,⁸ speaking of the Red Sea, has made

¹ Gen. xii. 10—20.

² Lib. xxxvi. c. 2.

³ Justin ascribes this gift of heaven to Joseph's skill in magical arts: *Cum magica ibi artes* (Egypti sc.) *solerti ingenio percepisset, &c.*

⁴ Exod. i. 8.

⁵ Heb. *urbes thesaurorum*. LXX. *urbes munitas*. These cities were appointed to preserve, as in a storehouse, the corn, oil, and other products of Egypt. *Vatab.*

⁶ Exod. i. 11. 13. 14.

⁷ This name bears a great resemblance to Pharaoh, which was common to the Egyptian kings.

⁸ Lib. iii. p. 74.

one remark very worthy our observation: A tradition (says that historian) has been transmitted through the whole nation, from father to son, for many ages, that once an extraordinary ebb dried up the sea, so that its bottom was seen; and that a violent flow immediately after brought back the waters to their former channel.—It is evident that the miraculous passage of Moses over the Red Sea is here hinted at; and I make this remark, purposely to admonish young students, not to slip over, in their perusal of authors, these precious remains of antiquity; especially when they bear, like this passage, any relation to religion.

Archbishop Usher says, that Amenophis left two sons, one called Sesothis, or Sesostris, and the other Armais. The Greeks call him Belus, and his two sons Egyptus and Danaus.

SEOSTRIS⁹ was not only one of the most powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greatest conquerors that antiquity boasts of.

His father, whether by inspiration, caprice, or, as the Egyptians say, by the authority of an oracle, formed a design of making his son a conqueror. This he set about after the Egyptian manner, that is, in a great and noble way. All the male children, born the same day with Sesostris, were, by the king's order, brought to court. Here they were educated as if they had been his own children, with the same care bestowed on Sesostris, with whom they were brought up. He could not possibly have given him more faithful ministers, nor officers who more zealously desired the success of his arms. The chief part of their education was, the inuring them, from their infancy, to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of sustaining with ease the toils of war. They were never suffered to eat, till they had run, on foot or horseback, a considerable race. Hunting was their most common exercise.

Ælian remarks,¹⁰ that Sesostris was taught by Mercury, who instructed him in politics, and the art of government. This Mercury is he whom the Greeks called Trismegistus, i. e. thrice great. Egypt, his native country, owes to him the invention of almost every art. The two books, which go under his name, bear such evident characters of novelty that the forgery is no longer doubted. There was another Mercury, who was also very famous among the Egyptians for his rare knowledge, and of much greater antiquity than he of whom we have been speaking. Jamblicus, a priest of Egypt, affirms, that it was customary with the Egyptians to fix the name of Hermes, or Mercury, to all the new books or inventions that were offered to the public.

When Sesostris was more advanced in years his father sent him against the Arabians, in order to acquire military knowledge. Here the young prince learned to bear hunger and thirst; and subdued a nation which till then had never been conquered. The youths educated with him attended him in all his campaigns.

Accustomed by this conquest to martial toils, he was next sent by his father to try his fortune westward. He invaded Libya, and subdued the greatest part of that vast country.

SEOSTRIS. During this expedition his father died, and left A. M. 2513. him capable of attempting the Ant. J. C. 1491. greatest enterprises. He formed no less a design than that of the conquest of the world. But before he left his kingdom, he provided for his domestic security, in winning the hearts of his subjects by his generosity, justice, and a popular and obliging behavior. He was no less studious to gain the affection of his officers and soldiers, whom he wished to be ever ready to share the last drop of their blood in his service; persua

⁹ Herod. l. ii. cap. 102. 110. Diod. l. i. p. 49. 54.

¹⁰ Τα νεμετάτα εκχυροσθηνα, lib. xii. c. 4.

ded that his enterprises would all be unsuccessful, unless his army should be attached to his person by all the ties of esteem, affection, and interest. He divided the country into thirty-six governments (called *Nomi*), and bestowed them on persons of merit, and the most approved fidelity.

In the mean time he made the requisite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of the greatest bravery and reputation, and these were taken chiefly from among the youths who had been educated with him. He had seventeen hundred of these officers, who were all capable of inspiring his troops with resolution, a love of discipline, and a zeal for the service of their prince. His army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty-four thousand horse, besides twenty-seven thousand armed chariots.

He began his expedition by invading Ethiopia, situated on the south of Egypt. He made it tributary; and obliged the nations of it to furnish him annually with a certain quantity of ebony, ivory and gold.

He had fitted out a fleet of four hundred sail, and ordering it to advance to the Red Sea, made himself master of the isles and cities lying on the coasts of that sea. He himself heading his land army, overran and subdued Asia with amazing rapidity, and advanced farther into India than Hercules, Bacchus, and in aftertimes Alexander himself had ever done; for he subdued the countries beyond the Ganges, and advanced as far as the ocean. One may judge from hence how unable the more neighboring countries were to resist him. The Scythians, as far as the river Tanais, as well as Armenia and Cappadocia, were conquered. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchus, situated to the east of the Black Sea, where the Egyptian customs and manners have been ever since retained. Herodotus saw in Asia Minor, from one sea to the other, monuments of his victories. In several countries was read the following inscription engraven on pillars: *Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms*. Such pillars were found even in Thrace, and his empire extended from the Ganges to the Danube. In his expeditions, some nations bravely defended their liberties, and others yielded them up without making the least resistance. This disparity was denoted by him in hieroglyphical figures, on the monuments erected to perpetuate the remembrance of his victories, agreeably to the Egyptian practice.

The scarcity of provisions in Thrace stopped the progress of his conquests and prevented his advancing farther in Europe. One remarkable circumstance is observed in this conqueror, who never once thought, as others had done, of preserving his acquisitions; but contenting himself with the glory of having subdued and despoiled so many nations; after having made wild havoc up and down the world for nine years, he confined himself almost within the ancient limits of Egypt, a few neighboring provinces excepted; for we do not find any traces or footsteps of this new empire, either under himself or his successors.

He returned therefore laden with the spoils of the vanquished nations, dragging after him a numberless multitude of captives, and covered with greater glory than any of his predecessors; that glory I mean which employs so many tongues and pens in its praise; which consists in invading a great number of provinces in a hostile way, and is often productive of numberless calamities. He rewarded his officers and soldiers with a truly royal magnificence, in proportion to their rank and merit. He made it both his pleasure and duty, to put the companions of his victory in such a condition as might enable them to enjoy, during the remainder of their days, a calm and easy repose, the just reward of their past toils.

With regard to himself, for ever careful of his own reputation, and still more of making his power advantageous to his subjects, he employed the repose which peace allowed him, in raising works that might contribute more to the enriching of Egypt, than the immortalizing his name; works, in which the art and industry of the workmen were more admired, than the immense sums which had been expended on them.

A hundred famous temples, raised as so many monuments of gratitude to the tutelar gods of all the cities, were the first, as well as the most illustrious, testimonies of his victories; and he took care to publish in the inscriptions on them, that these mighty works had been completed without burdening any of his subjects. He made it his glory to be tender of them, and to employ only captives in these monuments of his conquests. The scriptures take notice of something like this, where they speak of the buildings of Solomon.¹ But he prided himself particularly in adorning and enriching the temple of Vulcan at Pelusium, in acknowledgment of the protection which he fancied that god had bestowed on him, when, on his return from his expeditions, his brother had a design of destroying him in that city, with his wife and children, by setting fire to the apartment where he then lay.

His great work was, the raising, in every part of Egypt, a considerable number of high banks, or moles, on which new cities were built, in order that these might be a security for men and beasts during the inundations of the Nile.

From Memphis, as far as the sea, he cut, on both sides of the river, a great number of canals, for the convenience of trade, and the conveying of provisions, and for the settling an easy correspondence between such cities as were most distant from one another. Besides the advantages of traffic, Egypt was, by these canals, made inaccessible to the cavalry of its enemies, which before had so often harassed it by repeated incursions.

He did still more. To secure Egypt from the inroads of its nearer neighbors, the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified all the eastern coast from Pelusium to Heliopolis, that is, for upwards of seven leagues.²

Sesostris might have been considered as one of the most illustrious and most boasted heroes of antiquity, had not the lustre of his warlike actions, as well as his pacific virtues, been tarnished by a thirst of glory, and a blind fondness for his own grandeur, which made him forget that he was a man. The kings and chiefs of the conquered nations came, at stated times, to do homage to their victor, and pay him the appointed tribute. On every other occasion, he treated them with sufficient humanity and generosity. But when he went to the temple, or entered his capital, he caused these princes to be harnessed to his car, four abreast, instead of horses; and valued himself upon his being thus drawn by the lords and sovereigns of other nations. What I am most surprised at, is, that Diodorus should rank this foolish and inhuman vanity among the most shining actions of this prince.

Being grown blind in his old age, he died by his own hands, after having reigned thirty-three years and left his kingdom infinitely rich. His empire, nevertheless, did not reach beyond the fourth generation. But there still remained, so low as the reign of Tiberius, magnificent monuments, which showed the extent of Egypt under Sesostris,³ and the immense tributes which were paid to it.⁴

¹ 2 Chron. viii. 9: But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work.

² 150 stadia, about 18 miles English.

³ Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 60.

⁴ *Legebantur indicia gentibus tributa—haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubetur*—Inscribed on pillars, were read the tributes imposed on vanquished nations, which were not inferior to those now paid to the Parthian and Roman powers.

I now go back to some facts which took place in this period, but which were omitted, in order that I might not break the thread of the history, and now I shall but barely mention them.

A. M. 2448. About the era in question, the Egyptians settled themselves in divers parts of the earth. The colony, which Cecrops led out of Egypt, built twelve cities, or rather as many towns of which he composed the kingdom of Athens.

We observed that the brother of Sesostris, called by the Greeks Danaus, had formed a design to murder him, on his return to Egypt, after his conquest.

But being defeated in his horrid project, he was obliged to fly. He thereupon retired to Peloponnesus, where he seized upon the kingdom of Argos, which had been founded about four hundred years before by Inachus.

BUSIRIS, brother of Amenophis, so infamous among the ancients for his cruelties, exercised his tyranny at that time on the banks of the Nile; and barbarously murdered all foreigners who landed in this country: this was probably during the absence of Sesostris.

About the same time Cadmus **A. M. 2549.** brought from Syria into Greece the invention of letters. Some pretend that these characters or letters were Egyptian, and that Cadmus himself was a native of Egypt, and not of Phœnicia; and the Egyptians, who ascribe to themselves the invention of every art, and boast a greater antiquity than any other nation, give to their Mercury the honor of inventing letters. Most of the learned agree,¹ that Cadmus carried the Phœnician or Syrian letters into Greece, and those letters were the same as the Hebrew; the Hebrews who formed but a small nation, being comprehended under the general name of Syrians. Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the Chronicon of Eusebius, proves that the Greek letters, and those of the Latin alphabet formed from them, derive their original from the ancient Phœnician letters, which are the same with the Samaritan, and were used by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity. Cadmus carried only sixteen letters into Greece,² eight others being added afterwards.

I return to the history of the Egyptian kings, whom I shall hereafter rank in the same order as Herodotus has assigned to them.

A. M. 2547. **PHERON** succeeded Sesostris in his kingdom, but not in his glory. **Ant. J. C. 1457.** Herodotus³ relates but one action of his, which shows how greatly he had degenerated from the religious sentiments of his father. In an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, this prince, enraged at the wild havoc which was made by it, threw a javelin at the river, as if he intended thereby to chastise its insolence; but was himself immediately punished for his impiety, if the historian may be credited, with the loss of sight.

A. M. 2800. **PROTEUS**,⁴ He was of Memphis, where, in Herodotus's time, his temple was still standing, in which was a chapel dedicated to

Venus the stranger. It is conjectured that this Venus was Helen. For in the reign of this monarch, Paris the Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had stolen, was driven by a storm into one of the mouths of the Nile, called Canopic; and from thence was conducted to Proteus at Memphis, who reproached him in the strongest terms for his base perfidy and guilt, in stealing the wife of his host, and with her all the effects in his house. He added, that the only reason why he did not punish him with death (as his crime deserved) was, because the Egyptians were careful not to imbrue their hands in the blood of strangers: that he would keep Helen, with all the riches that were brought with her, in order to restore them to their lawful owner: that as for himself (Paris,) he must either quit his dominions in three days or expect to be treated as an enemy. The king's order was obeyed. Paris continued his voyage, and arrived at Troy, whither he was closely pursued by the Grecian army. The Greeks summoned the Trojans to surrender Helen, and with her all the treasures of which her husband had been plundered. The Trojans answered, that neither Helen nor her treasures, were in the city. And indeed, was it at all likely, says Herodotus, that Priam, who was so wise an old prince, should choose to see his children and country destroyed before his eyes, rather than give the Greeks the just and reasonable satisfaction they desired? But it was to no purpose for them to affirm with an oath that Helen was not in their city; the Greeks being firmly persuaded that they were trifled with, persisted obstinately in their unbelief: the deity, continues the same historian, being resolved that the Trojans, by the total destruction of their city and empire, should teach the affrighted world this lesson.⁵ THAT GREAT CRIMES ARE ATTENDED WITH AS GREAT AND SIGNAL PUNISHMENTS FROM THE OFFENDED GODS. Menelaus, on his return from Troy, called at the court of king Proteus, who restored him Helen, with all her treasure. Herodotus proves, from some passages in Homer, that the voyage of Paris to Egypt was not unknown to this poet.

RHAMPESINITUS. What is related by Herodotus⁶ concerning the treasury built by this king, who was the richest of all his predecessors, and his descent into hell, has so much the air of romance and fiction, as to deserve no mention here.

Till the reign of this king, there had been some shadow, at least, of justice and moderation in Egypt; but in the two following reigns, violence and cruelty usurped their place.

CHEOPS and **CEPHREN.** These two princes,⁷ who were truly brothers by the similitude of their manners, seemed to have vied with each other which of them should distinguish himself most, by a barefaced impiety towards the gods, and a barbarous inhumanity to men. Cheops reigned fifty years, and his brother Cephren fifty-six years after him. They kept the temples shut during the whole time of their long reigns; and forbid the offering of sacrifices under the severest penalties. On the other hand, they oppressed their subjects by employing them in the most grievous and use-

consequently have began in the year of the world 2513, and continued till the year 2547, since it lasted thirty-three years. Should we allow fifty years to the reign of Pheron his son, there would still be an interval of above two hundred years between Pheron and Proteus, who, according to Herodotus, was the immediate successor of the former; since Proteus lived at the time of the siege of Troy, which, according to Usher, was taken A. M. 2520. I know not whether his almost total silence on the Egyptian kings after Sesostris, was owing to his sense of this difficulty. I suppose a long interval to have occurred between Pheron and Proteus; accordingly Diodorus (lib. i. p. 54.) fills it up with a great many kings: and the same must be said of some of the following kings.

¹ ὅτι τὸν μεγάλον ἀνικητὸν μεγίστην δύσιν καὶ οἱ τιμωρεῖται παρὰ τὸν ὄνον. Lib. ii. c. 121. 123.

² Herod. l. ii. c. 124. 128. Diod. l. i. p. 57.

¹ The reader may consult, on this subject, two learned dissertations of Abbe Renaudot, inserted in the second volume of the History of the Academy of Inscriptions.

² The sixteen letters brought by Cadmus into Greece, α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. Palamedes, at the siege of Troy, i. e. upwards of two hundred and fifty years lower than Cadmus, added the four following, φ, χ, ψ, ω, and Simonides, a long time after, invented the four others, namely, ρ, σ, ω, ζ, ψ. Herod. l. ii. c. 111. Diod. l. i. p. 54.

³ Herod. l. ii. c. 112. 120.

⁴ I do not think myself obliged to enter here into a discussion, which would be attended with very perplexing difficulties, should I pretend to reconcile the series, or succession of the kings, as given by Herodotus, with the opinion of archbishop Usher. This last supposes, with many other earned men, that Sesostris is the son of that Egyptian king who was drowned in the Red Sea, whose reign took

less words; and sacrificed the lives of numberless multitudes of men, merely to gratify a senseless ambition of immortalizing their names by edifices of an enormous magnitude and a boundless expense. It is remarkable, that those stately pyramids, which have so long been the admiration of the whole world, were the effect of the irreligion and merciless cruelty of those princes.

MYCERINUS. He was the son of Cheops,¹ but of a character opposite to that of his father. So far from walking in his steps, he detested his conduct, and pursued quite different measures. He again opened the temples of the gods, restored the sacrifices, did all that lay in his power to comfort his subjects, and make them forget their past miseries; and believed himself set over them for no other purpose but to exercise justice, and to make them taste all the blessings of an equitable and peaceful administration. He heard their complaints, dried their tears, alleviated their misery, and thought himself not so much the master as the father of his people. This procured him the love of them all. Egypt resounded with his praises, and his name commanded veneration in all places.

One would naturally conclude, that no prudent and humane a conduct must have drawn down on Mycerinus the protection of the gods. But it happened far otherwise. His misfortunes began from the death of a darling and only daughter, in whom his whole felicity consisted. He ordered extraordinary honors to be paid to her memory, which were still continued in Herodotus's time. This historian informs us, that in the city of Saïs, exquisite odors were burnt, in the day-time, at the tomb of this princess; and that during the night a lamp was kept constantly burning.

He was told by an oracle, that his reign would continue but seven years. And as he complained of this to the gods, and inquired the reason, why so long and prosperous a reign had been granted to his father and uncle, who were equally cruel and impious, whilst his own, which he had endeavored so carefully to render as equitable and mild as it was possible for him to do, should be so short and unhappy; he was answered, that these were the very causes of it, it being the will of the gods to oppress and afflict Egypt during the space of one hundred and fifty years, as a punishment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was to have been like those of the preceding monarchs, of fifty years' continuance, was shortened on account of his too great lenity. Mycerinus likewise built a pyramid, but much inferior in dimensions to that of his father.

ASYCHIS. He enacted the law relating to loans,² which forbade a son to borrow money, without giving the dead body of his father by way of security for it. The law added, that in case the son took no care to redeem his father's body by restoring the loan, both himself and his children should be deprived for ever of the rites of sepulture.

He valued himself for having surpassed all his predecessors, by the building a pyramid of brick, more magnificent, if this king was to be credited, than any hitherto seen. The following inscription, by its founder's order, was engraved upon it: **COMPARE ME NOT WITH PYRAMIDS BUILT OF STONE: WHICH I AS MUCH EXCEL AS JUPITER DOES ALL THE OTHER GODS.**³

If we suppose the six preceding reigns (the exact duration of some of which is not fixed by Herodotus) to comprise one hundred and seventy years, there will remain an interval of near three hundred years to the reign of Sabachus the Ethiopian. In this interval I place a few circumstances related in Holy Scripture.

PHARAOH, king of Egypt, gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon king of Israel;⁴ who received her in that part of Jerusalem called the city of David, till he had built her a palace

A. M. 2391
Ant. J. C. 1013

SESACH or **SHISAK**, otherwise called **Sesonchis**.

A. M. 3026.
Ant. J. C. 978

It was to him that Jeroboam fled,⁵ to avoid the wrath of Solomon, who intended to kill him. He abode in Egypt till Solomon's death, and then returned to Jerusalem, when, putting himself at the head of the rebels, he won from Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, ten tribes, over whom he declared himself king.

This Sesach, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, marched against Jerusalem, because the Jews had transgressed against the

A. M. 3033.
Ant. J. C. 971.

Lord. He came with twelve hundred chariots of war and sixty thousand horse.⁶ He had brought numberless multitudes of people, who were all Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians.⁷ He made himself master of all the strongest cities of Judah, and advanced as far as Jerusalem. Then the king and the princes of Egypt having humbled themselves, and implored the protection of the God of Israel; God told them, by his prophet Shemaiah, that, because they humbled themselves, he would not utterly destroy them as they had deserved; but that they should be the servants of Sesach: in order that they might know the difference of his service and the service of the kingdoms of the country.⁸ Sesach retired from Jerusalem, after having plundered the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house; he carried off every thing with him, and even also the 300 shekels of gold which Solomon had made.

ZERAH, king of Ethiopia, and doubtless of Egypt at the same time, made war upon Asa, king of Judah.⁹

A. M. 3063.
Ant. J. C. 941

His army consisted of a million of men, and three hundred chariots of war Asa marched against him, and drawing up his army in order of battle, in full reliance on the God whom he served: *Lord, says he, it is nothing for thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power. Help us, O Lord our God, for we rest on thee, and in thy name we go against this multitude; O Lord, thou art our God, let not man prevail against thee.* A prayer offered up with such strong faith was heard. God struck the Ethiopians with terror; they fled, and all were irrevocably defeated, being destroyed before the Lord, and before his host.

ANYSIS. He was blind,¹⁰ and under his reign **SABACHUS**, king of Ethiopia, being encouraged by an oracle, entered Egypt with a numerous army, and possessed himself of it. He reigned with great clemency and justice. Instead of putting to death such criminals as had been sentenced to die by the judges, he made them repair the causeys on which the respective cities to which they belonged were situated. He built several magnificent temples, and among the rest, one in the city of Bubastus, of which Herodotus gives a long and elegant description. After a reign of fifty years, which was the time appointed by the oracle, he retired voluntarily to his old kingdom of Ethiopia; and left the throne of Egypt to Anysis, who, during this time, had concealed himself in the fens. It is believed that this Sabachus was the same with SO, whose aid was implored by Hosea, king of Israel, against Salmanser king of Assyria.¹¹

A. M. 3279.
Ant. J. C. 725

¹ Herod. l. ii. p. 130. 140. Diod. p. 58. ² Herod. l. ii. c. 136

³ The remainder of the inscription, as we find it in Herodotus, is—*for men plunging long poles down to the bottom of the lake, drew bricks, (περὶ τοὺς ἑρμῶν) out of the mud which stuck to them, and gave me this form.*

⁴ 1 Kings, iii. 1.

⁵ 2 Chron. xii. 1—9.

⁶ The English version of the Bible says, The Lubims, the Sukkims, and the Ethiopians.

⁷ Or, of the kingdoms of the earth. ⁸ 2 Chron. xiv. 9—13

⁹ Herod. i. cap. 137. Diod. l. i. p. 39. ¹⁰ 2 Kings, xvii 4

¹¹ 1 Kings, xi. 40. and xii.

A. M. 3285. **SETHON.** He reigned fourteen years. He is the same with Sevechus, the son of Sabacon or So the Ethiopian, who reigned so long over Egypt. This prince, so far from discharging the functions of a king, was ambitious of those of a priest; causing himself to be consecrated high-priest of Vulcan. Abandoning himself entirely to superstition, he neglected to defend his kingdom by force of arms; paying no regard to military men, from a firm persuasion that he should never have occasion for their assistance; he therefore was so far from endeavouring to gain their affections that he deprived them of their privileges, and even dispossessed them of the revenues of such lands as his predecessors had given them.

He was soon made sensible of their resentment in a war that broke out suddenly, and from which he delivered himself solely by a miraculous protection, if Herodotus may be credited, who intermixes his account of this war with a great many fabulous particulars. Sennacherib (so Herodotus calls this prince,) king of the Arabians and Assyrians, having entered Egypt with a numerous army, the Egyptian officers and soldiers refused to march against him. The high-priest of Vulcan, being thus reduced to the greatest extremity, had recourse to his god, who bid him not despond, but march courageously against the enemy with the few soldiers he could raise. Sethon obeyed. A small number of merchants, artificers, and others, who were the dregs of the populace, joined him; and with this handful of men, he marched to Pelusium, where Sennacherib had pitched his camp. The night following, a prodigious multitude of rats entered the camp of the Assyrians, and gnawing all their bowstrings, and the thongs of their shields, rendered them incapable of making the least defence. Being disarmed in this manner, they were obliged to fly; and they retreated with the loss of great part of their forces. Sethon, when he returned home, ordered a statue of himself to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his right hand a rat, and these words to be inscribed thereon; **LET THE MAN WHO BEHOLDS ME LEARN TO REVERENCE THE GODS.**¹

It is very obvious that this story, as related here from Herodotus, is an alteration of that which is told in the Second Book of Kings.² We there see, that Sennacherib king of the Assyrians, having subdued all the neighbouring nations, and made himself master of all the other cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Hezekiah in Jerusalem, his capital city. The ministers of this holy king, in spite of his opposition, and the remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them, in God's name, a sure and certain protection, provided they would trust in him only, sent secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem at the time appointed, and were met and vanquished by the Assyrians in a pitched battle. He pursued them into Egypt and entirely laid waste the country. At his return from thence, the very night before he was to have given a general assault to Jerusalem, which then seemed lost to all hopes, the destroying angel made dreadful havoc in the camp of the Assyrians; destroyed a hundred fourscore and five thousand men by fire and sword; and proved evidently, that they had great reason to rely, as Hezekiah had done, on the promise of the God of Israel.

This is the real fact. But as it was no ways honourable to the Egyptians, they endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage, by disguising and corrupting the circumstances of it. Nevertheless, the footsteps of this history, though so much defaced, ought yet to be highly valued, as coming from an historian of so great antiquity and authority as Herodotus.

The prophet Isaiah had foretold, at several times, that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted, seemingly, with such prudence, conducted with the greatest skill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united, in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no service to Jerusalem, but even destructive to Egypt itself, whose strongest

cities would be taken, its territories plundered, and its inhabitants of all ages and sexes led into captivity. See the 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31st, &c. chapters of his prophecy.

Archbishop Usher and Dean Prideaux suppose that it was at this period, that the ruin of the famous city No-Amou,³ spoken of by the prophet Nahum, happened. That prophet says, that she was carried away—that her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets—that the enemy cast lots for her honourable men, and that all her great men were bound in chains.⁴ He observes, that all these misfortunes befel that city, when Egypt and Ethiopia were her strength; which seems to refer clearly enough to the time of which we are here speaking, when Tharaca and Sethon had united their forces. However, this opinion is not without some difficulties, and is contradicted by some learned men. It is sufficient for me, to have hinted to the reader.

Till the reign of Sethon,⁵ the Egyptian priests computed three hundred and forty-one generations of men; which make eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; allowing three generations to a hundred years. They counted the like number of priests and kings. The latter, whether gods or men, had succeeded one another without interruption, under the name of Promis, an Egyptian word signifying good and virtuous. The Egyptian priests showed Herodotus three hundred and forty-one wooden colossal statues of these Promis, all ranged in order in a great hall. Such was the folly of the Egyptians, to lose themselves as it were in a remote antiquity, to which no other people could dare to pretend.

THARACA. He it was who joined Sethon, with an Ethiopian army, to relieve Jerusalem.⁶ After the death of Sethon, who had sitten fourteen years on the throne, Tharaca ascended it, and reigned eighteen years. He was the last Ethiopian king who reigned in Egypt.

After his death, the Egyptians, not being able to agree about the succession, were two years in a state of anarchy, during which there were great disorders and confusions among them.

Twelve Kings.

At last, twelve of the principal noblemen, conspiring together, seized upon the kingdom, and divided it amongst themselves into as many parts.⁷ It was agreed by them, that each should govern his own district with equal power and authority, and that no one should attempt to invade or seize the dominions of another. They thought it necessary to make this agreement, and to bind it with the most dreadful oaths, to elude the prediction of an oracle, which had foretold that he among them who should offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen bowl, should gain the sovereignty of Egypt. They reigned together fifteen years in the utmost harmony; and, to leave a famous monument of their concord to posterity, they jointly, and at a common expense, built the famous labyrinth, which was a pile of building consisting of twelve large palaces, with as many edifices under ground as appeared above it. I have spoken elsewhere of this labyrinth.

One day, as the twelve kings were assisting at a solemn and periodical sacrifice offered in the temple of Vulcan, the priests having presented each of them a golden bowl for the libation, one was wanting; when Psammeticus,⁸ without any design, supplied the

¹ The Vulgate calls that city Alexandria, to which the Hebrew gives the name of No-Amou: because Alexandria was afterwards built in the place where this stood. Dean Prideaux, after Bochart, thinks that it was Thebes, surnamed Diospolis. Indeed, the Egyptian Amou is the same with Jupiter. But Thebes is not the place where Alexandria was since built. Perhaps there was another city there, which was also called No-Amou.

² Nahum, iii. 8. 10.

³ Herod. i. ii. cap. 142.

⁴ Afric. apud Syncell. p. 74. Diod. i. l. p. 59.

⁵ Herod. i. ii. cap. 147. 132.

⁶ He was one of the twelve.

⁷ *Et dixit eis egredere, circumdare terram.*

• Chap. xix.

want of this owl with his brazen helmet (for each wore one), and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident struck the rest of the kings, and recalled to their memory the prediction of the oracle above-mentioned. They thought it therefore necessary to secure themselves from his attempts, and therefore, with one consent, banished him into the fenny parts of Egypt.

After Psammeticus had passed some years there, waiting a favourable opportunity to revenge himself for the affront which had been put upon him, a courier brought him advice, that brazen men were landed in Egypt. These were Grecian soldiers, Carians and Ionians, who had been cast upon the coasts of Egypt by a storm; and were completely covered with helmets, cuirasses, and other arms of brass. Psammeticus immediately called to mind the oracle, which had answered him, that he should be succoured by brazen men from the sea-coast. He did not doubt but the prediction was now fulfilled. He therefore made a league with these strangers; engaged them with great promises to stay with him; privately levied other forces; and put these Greeks at their head; when giving battle to the eleven kings, he defeated them, and remained sole possessor of Egypt.

PSAMMETICUS. As this prince owed his preservation to the Ionians and Carians,¹ he settled them in Egypt (from which all foreigners hitherto had been excluded); and by assigning them sufficient lands and fixed revenues, he made them forget their native country. By his order, Egyptian children were put under their care to learn the Greek tongue; and on this occasion, and by this means, the Egyptians began to have a correspondence with the Greeks; and from that era, the Egyptian history, which till then had been intermixed with pompous fables, by the artifice of the priests, begins, according to Herodotus, to speak with greater truth and certainty.

As soon as Psammeticus was settled on the throne, he engaged in war against the king of Assyria, on the subject of the boundaries of the two empires. This war was of long continuance. Ever since Syria had been conquered by the Assyrians, Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of continual discord; and as afterwards it was between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. They were eternally contending for it, and it was alternately won by the stronger. Psammeticus, seeing himself the peaceable possessor of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government,² thought it high time for him to look to his frontiers, and to secure them against the Assyrian, his neighbour, whose power increased daily. For this purpose he entered Palestine at the head of an army.

Perhaps we are to refer to the beginning of this war, an incident related by Diodorus,³ that the Egyptians, provoked to see the Greeks posted on the right wing by the king himself, in preference to them, quitted the service, to the number of upwards of two hundred thousand men, and retired into Ethiopia, where they met with an advantageous settlement.

Be this as it will, Psammeticus entered Palestine,⁴ where his career was stopped by Azotus, one of the principal cities of the country, which gave him so much trouble, that he was forced to besiege it twenty-nine years before he could take it. This is the longest siege mentioned in ancient history.

This was anciently one of the five capital cities of the Philistines. The Egyptians having seized it some time before, had fortified it with such care, that it was their strongest bulwark on that side. Nor could Sennacherib enter Egypt, till he had first made himself master of this city, which was taken by Tartan, one of his generals.⁵ The Assyrians had possessed it hitherto; and it was not till after the long siege just now mentioned, that the Egyptians recovered it.

In this period,⁶ the Scythians, leaving the banks of the Palus Maeotis, made an inroad into Media, defeated Cyaxares the king of that country, and deprived him of all Upper Asia, of which they kept possession during twenty-eight years. They pushed their conquests in Syria, as far as to the frontiers of Egypt. But Psammeticus, marching out to meet them, prevailed so far, by his presents and entreaties, that they advanced no farther, and by that means delivered his kingdom from these dangerous enemies.

Till his reign,⁷ the Egyptians had imagined themselves to be the most ancient nation upon earth. Psammeticus was desirous to prove this himself, and he employed a very extraordinary experiment for this purpose. He commanded (if we may credit the relation) two children, newly born of poor parents, to be brought up (in the country) in a hovel, that was to be kept continually shut. They were committed to the care of a shepherd (others say, of nurses, whose tongues were cut out), who was to feed them with the milk of goats; and who was commanded not to suffer any person to enter into this hut, nor himself to speak even a single word in the hearing of these children. At the expiration of two years, as the shepherd was one day coming into the hut to feed these children, they both cried out, with hands extended towards their foster-father, *beccos, beccos*. The shepherd surprised to hear a language that was quite new to him, but which they repeated frequently afterwards, sent advice of this to the king, who ordered the children to be brought before him, in order that he himself might be a witness to the truth of what was told him: and accordingly both of them began, in his presence, to stammer out the sounds above-mentioned. Nothing now was wanting, but to ascertain what nation it was that used this word; and it was found, that the Phrygians called bread by this name. From this time they were allowed the honour of antiquity, or rather of priority, which the Egyptians themselves, notwithstanding their jealousy of it, and the many ages they had possessed this glory, were obliged to resign to them. As goats were brought to these children, in order that they might feed upon their milk, and historians do not say that they were deaf; some are of opinion that they might have learnt the word *bec*, or *beccos*, by mimicking the cry of those creatures.

Psammeticus died in the 24th year of Josias king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Nechao.

NECHAO.⁸ This prince is often mentioned in Scripture under the name of Pharaoh-Necho. A. M. 3388. Ant. J. C. 616.

He attempted to join the Nile to the Red Sea, by cutting a canal from one to the other. The distance which separates them is at least a thousand stadia.⁹ After a hundred and twenty thousand workmen had lost their lives in this attempt, Nechao was obliged to desist; the oracle which had been consulted by him having answered, that this new canal would open a passage to the Barbarians (for so the Egyptians called all other nations) to invade Egypt.

Necho was more successful in another enterprise.¹⁰ Skilful Phœnician mariners, whom he had taken into his service, having sailed from the Red Sea in order to discover the coasts of Africa, went successfully round it, and the third year after their setting out, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a very extraordinary voyage, in an age when the compass was not known. It was made twenty-one centuries before Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese (by discovering the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1497), found out the very same way to sail to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians had come from thence into the Mediterranean.

The Babylonians and Medes¹¹ having destroyed

¹ Herod. l. i. c. 105.

² Herod. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

³ Herod. l. ii. c. 158.

⁴ Allowing 625 feet (or 125 geometrical paces) to each stadium, the distance will be 119 English miles and a little above one third of a mile. Herodotus says, that this design was afterwards put in execution by Darius the Persian.

B. ii. c. 158.

¹⁰ Herod. l. iv. c. 42.

¹¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 6. 2 Kings, xxiii. 29, 30. Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

¹ Herod. l. ii. c. 153, 154.

² This revolution happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh king of Judah.

³ Job. i. p. 61.

⁴ Herod. l. ii. c. 157.

⁵ Isa. xx. 1.

Nineveh, and with it the empire of the Assyrians, were thereby become so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Nechao, alarmed at the danger, advanced to the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, in order to check their progress. Josiah, king of Judah, so famous for his uncommon piety, observing that he took his route through Judea, resolved to oppose his passage. With this view, he raised all the forces of his kingdom and posted himself in the valley of Megiddo (a city on this side Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, and called Magdolis by Herodotus.) Nechao informed him by a herald, that his enterprise was not designed against him; that he had other enemies in view; and that he had undertaken this war in the name of God, who was with him; that for this reason he advised Josiah not to concern himself with this war, for fear lest it otherwise should turn to his disadvantage. However, Josiah was not moved by these reasons: he was sensible that the bare march of so powerful an army through Judea would entirely ruin it. And besides, he feared that the victor, after the defeat of the Babylonians, would fall upon him, and dispossess him of part of his dominions. He therefore marched to engage Nechao; and was not only overthrown by him, but unfortunately received a wound, of which he died at Jerusalem, whither he had ordered himself to be carried.

Nechao, animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemish, a large city in that country; and securing to himself the possession of it by a strong garrison, returned to his own kingdom, after having been absent from it three months.

Being informed in his march homeward, that Jehoahaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Jerusalem, without first asking his consent, he commanded him to meet him at Riblah in Syria.¹ The unhappy prince was no sooner arrived there, than he was put in chains by Nechao's order, and sent prisoner to Egypt, where he died. From thence pursuing his march he came to Jerusalem, where he placed Eliakim (called by him Jehoakim), another of Josiah's sons, upon the throne, in the room of his brother; and imposed an annual tribute on the land, of a hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold.² This being done he returned in triumph to Egypt.

Herodotus,³ mentioning this king's expedition and the victory gained by him at Magdolis⁴ (as he calls it), says that he afterwards took the city Cadytis, which he represents as situated in the mountains of Palestine, and equal in extent to Sardis, the capital at that time not only of Lydia, but of all Asia Minor: this description can suit only Jerusalem, which was situated in the manner above described, and was then the only city in those parts that could be compared to Sardis. It appears beside from Scripture, that Nechao, after his victory, made himself master of this capital of Judea; for he was there in person, when he gave the crown to Jehoakim. The very name Cadytis, which in Hebrew signifies the Holy, clearly denotes the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by the learned Dean Prideaux.⁵

¹ 2 Kings xxii. 33. 35. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1. 3. 4.

² The Hebrew silver talent, according to Dr. Cumber-
land, is equivalent to 350*l*. 1*l*s. 10*s*. 4*d*. so } 35,350*l*. 7 6*d*.
that 100 talents, English money, make }
the gold talent, according to the same 5075 15 7*d*

The amount of the whole tribute. 40,435 3 1*d*

³ Lib. ii. c. 159.

⁴ Megiddo.

⁵ From the time that Solomon, by means of his temple, had made Jerusalem the common place of worship to all Israel, it was distinguished from the rest of the cities by the epithet Holy, and in the Old Testament was called *Air Hakkodesh*, i. e. the city of holiness, or the holy city. It bore this title upon the coins, and the shekel was inscribed *Jerusalem Kadosha*, i. e. Jerusalem the holy. At length Jerusalem, for brevity's sake was omitted, and only *Kadosha* reserved. The Syriac being the prevailing language, in Herodotus's time, *Kadosha*, by a change in that dialect of *sh* into *th*, was made *Kedutha*; and Herodotus giving it a Greek termination, it was writ *Keduria*, or *Cadytis*. *Prideaux's Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, vol. i. part i. p. 90, 81. 8vo. edit.

Nabopolasser, king of Babylon, observing that, since the taking of A. M. 3397.
Carchemish by Nechan, all Syria and Ant. J. C. 607.
Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him; and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march against the rebels in person, he therefore associated his son Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, with him in the empire, and sent him at the head of an army into those countries. This young prince vanquished the army of Nechao near the river Euphrates, recovered Carchemish and reduced the revolted provinces to their allegiance, as Jeremiah⁶ had foretold. Thus he dispossessed the Egyptians of all that belonged to them,⁷ from the little river⁸ of Egypt⁹ to the Euphrates, which comprehended all Syria and Palestine.

Nechao dying after he had reigned sixteen years left the kingdom to his son.

PSAMMIS. His reign was but of A. M. 3404.
six years' duration;¹⁰ and history Ant. J. C. 600.
has left us nothing memorable concerning him except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia.

It was to this prince that the Eleans sent a splendid embassy, after having instituted the Olympic games. They had established all the regulations, and arranged every circumstance relating to them, with such care, that in their opinion, nothing seemed wanting to their perfection, and envy itself could not find any fault with them. However they did not desire so much to have the opinion, as to gain the approbation, of the Egyptians,¹¹ who were looked upon as the wisest and most judicious people in the world. Accordingly the king assembled the sages of his nation. After every thing had been heard which could be said in favour of this institution, the Eleans were asked, whether citizens and foreigners were admitted indifferently to these games; to which answer was made, that they were open to every one. To this the Egyptians replied, that the rules of justice would have been more strictly observed, had foreigners only been admitted to these combats; because it was very difficult for the judges in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow-citizens.

APRIES, in Scripture¹² he is called A. M. 3410.
Pharaoh-Hophra. He succeeded Ant. J. C. 594.
his father Psammis, and reigned twenty-five years.

During the first year of his reign,¹³ he was as fortunate as any of his predecessors. He turned his arms against the island of Cyprus; he besieged the city of Sidon by sea and land; took it, and made himself master of all Phœnicia and Palestine.

So rapid a success elated his heart to a prodigious degree, and as Herodotus informs us, swelled him with so much pride and insatiation, that he boasted, it was not in the power of the gods themselves to dethrone him; so great was the idea he had formed to himself of the firm establishment of his own power. It was with a view to these arrogant notions, that Ezekiel put the vain and impious words following into his mouth: *My river is my own, and I have made it for myself*.¹⁴ But the true God proved to him afterwards that he had a master, and that he was a mere man; and he had threatened him long before, by his prophets, with all the calamities he was resolved to bring upon him in order to punish him for his pride.

Shortly after Hophra had ascended the throne, Zekekiah king of Judah sent an embassy,¹⁵ and concluded an alliance with him; and the year following, breaking the oath of fidelity which he had taken

⁶ Jer. xvi. 2.

⁷ 2 Kings, xxiv. 7.

⁸ This little river of Egypt, so often mentioned in Scripture, as the boundary of Palestine towards Egypt, was not the Nile, but a small river, which running through the desert that lay betwixt those two nations, was anciently the common boundary of both. So far the land which had been promised to the posterity of Abraham, and divided among them by lot, extended. Gen. xv. 18. Josh. xv. 4.

⁹ A river Egypt.

¹⁰ Herod. i. ii. c. 160.

¹¹ C. 160.

¹² Jer.

¹³ Herod. i. ii. c. 161. Diod. i. i. p. 62.

¹⁴ Ezek. xxx. 2.

¹⁵ Chap. xvii. 15

to the king of Babylon, he rebelled openly against him.

Notwithstanding God had so often forbidden his people to have recourse to the Egyptians, or to put any confidence in that people; notwithstanding the repeated calamities which had ensued upon the various attempts which they had made to procure assistance from them; they still thought this nation their most sure refuge in danger, and accordingly could not forbear applying to it. This they had already done in the reign of the holy king Hezekiah; which gave occasion to God's message to his people by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah: *Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses and trust in chariots, because they are many; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord. The Egyptians are men, and not God: and their horses flesh, not spirit: when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is helped shall fall down, and they shall fail together.* But neither the prophet nor the king was heard; and nothing but the most fatal experience could open their eyes, and make them see evidently the truth of God's threatenings.

The Jews behaved in the very same manner on this occasion. Zedekiah, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, resolved to conclude an alliance with the Egyptian monarch; who, puffed up with the success of his arms, and confident that nothing could resist his power, declared himself the protector of Israel, and promised to deliver it from the tyranny of Nabuchodonosor. But God, offended that a mortal had dared to intrude himself into his place, thus declared himself to another prophet: *Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt. Speak and say, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws,² &c. And, after comparing him to a reed, which breaks under the man who leans upon it, and wounds his hand, adds, Behold, I will bring a sword upon thee, and cut off man and beast out of thee: the land of Egypt shall be desolate, and they shall know that I am the Lord; because he hath said, The river is mine and I have made it.³ The same prophet in several succeeding chapters,⁴ continues to foretell the calamities with which Egypt was going to be overwhelmed.*

Zedekiah was far from giving credit to these predictions. When he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army, and saw Nabuchodonosor raise the siege of Jerusalem, he fancied that his deliverance was completed, and anticipated a triumph. His joy, however, was but of short duration; for the Egyptians seeing the Chaldeans advancing, did not dare to encounter so numerous and well disciplined an army.

They therefore marched back into their own country and left the unfortunate Zedekiah exposed to all the dangers of a war,⁵ in which they themselves had involved him. Nabuchodonosor again sat down before Jerusalem; took and burnt it, as Jeremiah had prophesied.

Many years after,⁶ the chastisements with which God threatened Ant. J. C. 574. Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra) began to fall upon him. For the Cyrenians, a Greek colony, which had settled in Africa, between Libya and Egypt, having seized upon and divided among themselves a great part of the country belonging to the Libyans, forced these nations, who were thus dispossessed by violence, to throw themselves into the arms of this prince and implore his protection. Immediately Apries sent a mighty army into Libya, to oppose the Cyrenians; but this army being defeated and almost cut to pieces, the Egyptians imagined that Apries had sent it into Libya, only to get it destroyed;

and by that means to attain the power of governing his subjects without check or control. This reflection prompted the Egyptians to shake off the yoke of a prince whom they now considered as their enemy. But Apries, hearing of the rebellion, despatched Amasis one of his officers, to suppress it, and force the rebels to return to their allegiance. But the moment Amasis began to address them, they placed a helmet upon his head, in token of the exalted dignity to which they intended to raise him, and proclaimed him king. Amasis having accepted the crown, stayed with the mutineers and confirmed them in their rebellion.

Apries, more exasperated than ever at this news, sent Patarbenis, another of his great officers, and one of the principal lords of his court, to put Amasis under an arrest and bring him before him; but Patarbenis not being able to carry off Amasis from the midst of the rebel army, by which he was surrounded, was treated by Apries at his return, in the most ignominious and inhuman manner; for his nose and ears were cut off by the command of that prince, who never considered that only his want of power had prevented his executing his commission. So barbarous an outrage, committed upon a person of such high distinction, exasperated the Egyptians so much, that the greatest part of them joined the rebels, and the insurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he supported himself some years, during which Amasis made himself master of the rest of his dominions.

The troubles which thus distracted Egypt, afforded Nabuchodonosor a favourable opportunity to invade that kingdom; and it was God himself who inspired him with the resolution. This prince who was the instrument of God's wrath (though he did not know himself to be so) against a people whom he was resolved to chastise, had just before taken Tyre, where himself and his army had laboured under incredible difficulties. To recompense their toils, God abandoned Egypt to their arms. It is wonderful to hear the Creator himself revealing his designs on this subject. There are few passages in Scripture more remarkable than this or which give a clearer idea of the supreme authority which God exercises over all the princes and kingdoms of the earth: *Son of man (says the Almighty to his prophet Ezekiel,) Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled;⁷ yet had he no wages, nor his army, for the service he had served against it.⁸ Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour, wherewith he served against it, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord God. Says another prophet:⁹ He shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment, and he shall go forth from thence in peace. Thus shall he load himself with booty, and thus cover his own shoulders and those of his fold, with all the spoils of Egypt. Noble expressions! which show the ease with which all the power and riches of a kingdom are carried away, when God appoints the revolution; and shift, like a garment, to a new owner, who has no more to do but to take it, and clothe himself with it.*

² Chap. xxix. 18—20.

³ The baldness of the heads of the Babylonians was owing to the pressure of their helmets; and their peeled shoulders to their carrying baskets of earth and large pieces of timber to join Tyre to the continent. Baldness was itself a badge of slavery; and joined to the peeled shoulders, shows that the conqueror's army sustained even the most servile labours in this memorable siege.

⁴ For the better understanding of this passage, we are to know that Nabuchodonosor sustained incredible hardships at the siege of Tyre; and that when the Tyrians saw themselves closely attacked, the nobles conveyed themselves and their richest effects on ship board, and retired into other islands. So that when Nabuchodonosor took the city, he found nothing to recompense the toil which he had undergone in this siege. S. Jerom.

⁵ Jer. xlii. 12

¹ Chap. xxxi. 1. 3.

² Chap. xxix. 2—4.

³ Chap. xxxi. 8, 9.

⁴ Ezek. xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii.

⁵ Jer. xxxviii.

⁶ Herod. l. ii. c. 161. &c. Diod. l. i. p. 62.

The king of Babylon, taking advantage therefore of the intestine divisions which the rebellions of Amasis had occasioned in that kingdom, marched thither at the head of his army. He subdued Egypt from Migdol, or Magdol, a town on the frontiers of the kingdom, as far as Syene, in the opposite extremity, where it borders on Ethiopia. He made a horrible devastation wherever he came, killed a great number of the inhabitants, and made such dreadful havoc in the country, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. Nabuchodonosor, having loaded his army with spoils and conquered the whole kingdom, came to an accommodation with Amasis; and leaving him as his viceroy there, returned to Babylon.

APRIES (Pharaoh-Hophra) now leaving the place where he had concealed himself, advanced towards the sea coast (probably on the side of Libya);¹ and hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched against Amasis, to whom he gave battle near Memphis; but being overcome, Apries was taken prisoner, carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace.

The Almighty had given by the mouth of his prophets, an astonishing relation of the several circumstances of this mighty event. It was He who had broken the power of Apries, which was once so formidable, and put the sword into the hand of Nabuchodonosor, in order that he might chastise and humble that haughty prince. *I am, said he, against Pharaoh king of Egypt, and will break his arms, which were strong, but now are broken; and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.—² But I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon, and put my sword into his hand. And they shall know that I am the Lord.*

He enumerates the towns which were to fall a prey to the victors: ³ Pathros, Zoan, No, (called in the Vulgate Alexandria), Sin, Aven, Pibeseth, &c.⁴

He takes notice particularly of the unhappy end of the king, who was to be delivered up to his enemies. *Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, the king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life.⁵*

Lastly he declares, that during forty years the Egyptians shall be oppressed with every species of calamity, and be reduced to so deplorable a state, *That there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt.⁶* The event verified this prophecy, which was gradually accomplished. Soon after the expiration of these forty years, Egypt was made a province of the Persian empire, to which its kings though natives of the country, were tributary; and thus the accomplishment of the prediction began. It was completely fulfilled on the death of Nectanebus the last king of Egyptian extraction, A. M. 3654. Since that time Egypt has constantly been governed by foreigners. For since the ruin of the Persian monarchy, it has been subject successively to the Macedonians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Mamelukes, and lastly to the Turks, who possess it to this day.

God was not less punctual in the accomplishment of his prophecies, with regard to such of his own people as had retired, contrary to his prohibition, into Egypt, after the taking of Jerusalem, and had forced Jeremiah along with them.⁷ The instant they had reached Egypt, and were arrived at Tahpanhes (or Tanis), the Prophet after having hid in their presence (by God's command) stones in a grotto, which was near the king's palace, declared to them, that Nabuchodonosor should soon arrive in Egypt, and that God would establish his throne in that very place; that this prince would lay waste the whole kingdom, and carry fire and sword into all places; that themselves should fall into the hand of these cruel enemies, when one

part of them would be massacred, and the rest led captive to Babylon; that only a very small number should escape the common desolation, and be at last restored to their country. All these prophecies had their accomplishment in the appointed time.

AMASIS. After the death of Apries, Amasis became peaceable A. M. 3435. possessor of Egypt, and reigned Ant. J. C. 569. over it forty years. He was, according to Plato,¹⁰ a native of the city of Sais.

As he was but of mean extraction,¹¹ he met with no respect in the beginning of his reign, but was only contemned by his subjects: he was not insensible of this; but nevertheless thought it his interest to subdue their tempers by management and address, and win their affections by gentleness and reason. He had a golden cistern, in which himself and those persons who were admitted to his table, used to wash their feet; he melted it down, and had it cast into a statue, and then exposed the new god to public worship. The people hastened in crowds to pay their adoration to the statue. The king having assembled the people informed them of the vile uses to which this statue had once been put, which nevertheless was now the object of their religious prostrations; the application was easy, and had the desired success; the people thenceforward paid the king all the respect that is due to majesty.

He always used to devote the whole morning to public business,¹² to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce sentence, and hold his councils; the rest of the day was given to pleasure: and as Amasis, in hours of diversion, was extremely gay, and seemed to carry his mirth beyond due bounds, his courtiers took the liberty to represent to him the unsuitableness of such a behaviour; when he answered, that it was as impossible for the mind to be always serious and intent upon business as for a bow to continue always bent.

It was this king who obliged the inhabitants of every town to enter their names in a book, kept by the magistrate for that purpose, with their profession, and manner of living. Solon inserted this custom among his laws.

He built many magnificent temples, especially at Sais, the place of his birth. Herodotus admired especially a chapel there, formed of one single stone, which was twenty cubits¹³ in front, fourteen in depth, and eight in height; its dimensions within were not quite so large: it had been brought from Elephantina; and two thousand men had employed three years in conveying it along the Nile.

Amasis had a great esteem for the Greeks. He granted them large privileges; and permitted such of them as were desirous of settling in Egypt to live in the city of Naucratis, so famous for its harbour. When the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, which had been burnt, was debated on, and the expense was computed at three hundred talents,¹⁴ Amasis furnished the Delphians with a very considerable sum towards discharging their quota, which was the fourth part of the whole charge.

He made an alliance with the Cyrenians, and married a wife from among them.

He is the only king of Egypt who conquered the island of Cyprus, and made it tributary.

Under his reign Pythagoras came into Egypt, being recommended to that monarch by the famous Poly-crates, tyrant of Samos, who had contracted a friendship with Amasis, and will be mentioned hereafter Pythagoras, during his stay in Egypt, was initiated in all the mysteries of the country; and instructed by the priests in whatever was most abstruse and important in their religion. It was here he imbibed his doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

In the expedition in which Cyrus conquered to great a part of the world, Egypt doubtless was subdued, like the rest of the provinces; and Xenophon positively declares this in the beginning of his Cyropæ-

¹ Herod. l. ii. c. 163. 169. Diod. l. i. p. 62.

² Ezek. xxx. 22.

³ Ver. 24.

⁴ Jer. 25.

⁵ Ver. 14—17.

⁶ The names of these towns are given as they stand in our English version. In the margin are printed against Zoan, Tanis; against Sin, Pelusium; against Aven, Heliopolis; against Pibeseth, Bubastum: and by these last names they are mentioned in the original French of M. Rollin.

⁷ Jer. xlv. 30.

⁸ Ezek. xxx. 13.

⁹ Jer. xliii. xlv.

¹⁰ In Tim.

¹¹ Herod. l. ii. c. 173.

¹² Id. l. ii. c. 73.

¹³ The cubit is one foot and almost ten inches. *Id.*

supra.

¹⁴ Or, 58, 1237 stæliag.

dia, or institution of that prince.¹ Probably, after that the forty years of desolation, which had been foretold by the prophet, were expired, Egypt beginning gradually to regain in strength, Amasis shook off the yoke, and recovered his liberty.

Accordingly, we find, that one of the first cares of Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus, after he had ascended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt. On his arrival there, Amasis was just dead, and succeeded by his son Psammenitus.

A. M. 3479. PSAMMENITUS. Cambyzes, after
Ant. J. C. 525. having gained a battle, pursued the enemy to Memphis; besieged the city, and soon took it: however,

¹ Ἐπὶ τῇ δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τὰν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, κατὰ δὲ ἐνὶ ἑλάντων, καὶ Κορυβίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, p. 5. edit. Hutchinsoni

he treated the king with clemency, granted him his life, and assigned him an honorable pension; but being informed that he was secretly concerting measures to re-ascend his throne, he put him to death. Psammenitus reigned but six months: all Egypt submitted immediately to the victor. The particulars of this history will be related more at large, when I come to that of Cambyzes.

Here ends the succession of the Egyptian kings. From this era the history of this nation, as was before observed, will be blended with that of the Persians and Greeks, till the death of Alexander. At that period, a new monarchy will arise in Egypt, founded by Ptolemy the son of Lagos, which will continue to Cleopatra, that is, for about three hundred years. I shall treat each of these subjects, in the several periods to which they belong.

THE

HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

BOOK II.

I shall divide the following history of the Carthaginians into two parts. In the first, I shall give a general idea of the manners of that people, their character, government, religion, power, and riches. In the second, after relating in few words, by what steps Carthage established and enlarged its power, I shall give an account of the wars by which it became so famous.

PART I.

CHARACTER, MANNERS, RELIGION, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

SECTION I. CARTHAGE FORMED AFTER THE MODEL OF TYRE, OF WHICH THAT CITY WAS A COLONY.

The Carthaginians were indebted to the Tyrians, not only for their origin, but for their manners, language, customs, laws, religion, and their great application to commerce, as will appear from every part of the sequel. They spoke the same language with the Tyrians, and these the same with the Canaanites and Israelites; that is, the Hebrew tongue, or at least a language, which was entirely derived from it. Their names had commonly some particular meaning: Thus *Hanno* signified *gracious, bountiful*; *Dido*, *amiable, or well-beloved*; *Sophonisba*, *one who keeps faithfully her husband's secrets*.¹ From a spirit of religion, they likewise joined the name of God to their own, conformably to the genius of the Hebrews. *Hannibal*, which answers to *Hananias*, signifies *Baal [or the Lord] has been gracious to me*. *Asdrubal* answering to *Azarias*, implies, *the Lord will be our succour*. It is the same with other names, *Adherbal*, *Maharbal*, *Mastanabal*, &c. The word *Poeni*, from which *Punic* is derived, is the same with *Phœni*, or

Phœnicians, because they came originally from Phœnicia. In the *Pœnulus* of Plautus is a scene written in the Punic tongue, which has very much exercised the learned.²

But the strict union which always subsisted between the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, is still more remarkable. When Cambyzes had resolved to make war upon the latter, the Phœnicians, who formed the chief strength of his fleet, told him plainly, that they could not serve him against their countrymen;³ and this declaration obliged that prince to lay aside his design. The Carthaginians, on their side, were never forgetful of the country from whence they came, and to which they owed their origin. They sent regularly every year to Tyre,⁴ a ship freighted with presents, as a quit-rent or acknowledgment paid to their ancient country; and an annual sacrifice was offered to the tutelar gods of Tyre by the Carthaginians, who considered them as their protectors likewise. They never failed to send thither the first fruits of their revenues; nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to *Herules*, one of the principal gods of Tyre and Carthage. The Tyrians, to secure from Alexander (who was then besieging their city) what they valued above all things, I mean their wives and children, sent them to Carthage; where, though at a time when the inhabitants of the latter were involved in a furious war, they were received and entertained with such a kindness and generosity as might be expected from the most tender and opulent parents. Such uninterrupted testimonies of a warm and sincere gratitude, do a nation more honour, than the greatest conquests and the most glorious victories.

¹ The first scene of the fifth act, translated into Latin by Petit, in the second book of his *Miscellanias*.

² Herod. l. iii. c. 17—19.

³ Polyb. 944. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2. 3.

⁴ Bochart, part ii. l. ii. c. 16

SECTION II. THE RELIGION OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

It appears from several passages of the history of Carthage, that its generals looked upon it as an indispensable duty, to begin and end all their enterprises with the worship of the gods. Hamilcar,¹ father of the great Hannibal, before he entered Spain in a hostile manner, offered up a sacrifice to the gods; and his son, treading in his steps, before he left Spain, and marched against Rome, went as far as Cadiz in order to pay the vows which he had made to Hercules, and to offer up new ones, in case that god should be propitious to him. After the battle of Cannæ,² when he acquainted the Carthaginians with the joyful news, he recommended to them above all things, the offering up a solemn thanksgiving to the immortal gods, for the several victories he had obtained. *Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse grates diis immortalibus agi haberique.*

Neither did individuals alone pride themselves upon displaying, on every occasion, this religious care to honour the deity; but it evidently was the genius and disposition of the whole nation.

Polybius³ has transmitted to us a treaty of peace concluded between Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians, in which the great respect and veneration of the latter for the deity, and their inherent persuasion that the gods engage in, and preside over, human affairs, and particularly over the solemn treaties made in their name and presence, are strongly displayed. Mention is therein made of five or six different orders of deities; and this enumeration appears very extraordinary in a public instrument, such as a treaty of peace concluded between two nations. I will here present my reader with the very words of the historian, as it will give some idea of the Carthaginian theology. *This treaty was concluded in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the demon or genius (δαίμων) of the Carthaginians, of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the confederate gods of the Carthaginians; and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, meads, and waters; in the presence of all those gods who possess Carthage.* What should we now say to an instrument of this kind, in which the tutelary angels and saints of a kingdom should be introduced?

The Carthaginians had two deities to whom they paid a more particular worship, and who deserve to have some mention made of them in this place.

The first was the goddess Cælestis, called likewise Urania, the same with the Moon, who was invoked in great calamities, and particularly in droughts, in order to obtain rain: That very virgin Cælestis, says Tertullian,⁴ the promiser of rain, *Ista ipsa Virgo Cælestis pluviarum pollicitatrix.* Tertullian, speaking of this goddess and of Esculapius, makes the heathens of that age a challenge, which is bold indeed, but at the same time very glorious to the cause of Christianity; declaring, that any Christian who may first come, shall oblige these false gods to confess publicly, that they are but devils; and consenting that this Christian shall be immediately killed, if he does not extort such a confession from the mouth of these gods. *Nisi se demones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audent, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite.* St. Austin likewise makes frequent mention of this deity. *What is now, says he,⁵ become of Cælestis, whose empire was once so great in Carthage?* This was doubtless the same deity, whom Jeremiah⁶ calls the queen of heaven; and who was held in so much reverence by the Jewish women, that, they addressed their vows, burnt incense, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes for her with their own hands, *ut facient placentias reginæ calii;* and from whom they boasted their having received all manner of blessings, whilst they regularly paid her this worship; whereas, since they had failed in it, they had been oppressed with misfortunes of every kind.

The second deity particularly adored by the Carthaginians, and in whose honour human sacrifices were offered, was Saturn, known in Scripture by the name of Moloch; and this worship had passed from Tyre to Carthage. Philo quotes a passage from Sanchoniathon, which shows that the kings of Tyre, in great dangers, used to sacrifice their sons to appease the anger of the gods; and that one of them, by this action, procured himself divine honours, and was worshipped as a god, under the name of the planet Saturn, to this doubtless was owing the fable of Saturn's devouring his own children. Private persons, when they were desirous of averting any great calamity, took the same method; and, in imitation of their princes, were so very superstitious, that such as had no children, purchased those of the poor, in order that they might not be deprived of the merit of such a sacrifice. This custom prevailed long among the Phœnicians and Canaanites, from whom the Israelites borrowed it, though forbidden expressly by Heaven. At first, these children were inhumanly burnt, either in a fiery furnace, like those in the valley of Hinnom, so often mentioned in Scripture; or enclosed in a flaming statue of Saturn. The cries of these unhappy victims were drowned by the uninterrupted noise of drums and trumpets.⁷ Mothers⁸ made it a merit, and a part of their religion, to view this barbarous spectacle with dry eyes, and without so much as a groan; and if a tear or a sigh stole from them, the sacrifice was less acceptable to the deity, and all the effects of it were entirely lost. This strength of mind,⁹ or rather savage barbarity, was carried to such excess, that even mothers would endeavour, with embraces and kisses, to hush the cries of their children; lest, had the victim been offered with an unbecoming grace, and in the midst of tears, it should be displeasing to the god: *Blanditiis et oculis comprimebant gemitum, ne flebilis hostia immolaretur.*¹⁰ They afterwards contented themselves with making their children pass through the fire, as appears from several passages of Scripture; in which they frequently perished.

The Carthaginians retained the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to their gods, till the ruin of their city:¹¹ an action which ought to have been called a sacrilege rather than a sacrifice. *Sacrilegium variis quàm sacrum.* It was suspended only for some years, from the fear they were under of drawing upon themselves the indignation and arms of Darius I. king of Persia, who forbade them the offering up of human sacrifices, and the eating the flesh of dogs:¹² but they soon resumed this horrid practice; since, in the reign of Xerxes, the successor of Darius, Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, having gained a considerable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily, among other conditions of peace which he enjoined them, inserted this article; *viz. That no more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn.* And, doubtless, the practice of

¹ Plut. de superst. p. 171.

² *ἱεραρχοῦντες δὲ ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώπων, &c.* The cruel and pitiless mother stood by as an unconcerned spectator; a groan or a tear falling from her, would have been punished by a fine; and still the child must have been sacrificed. Plut. de superstitione.

³ Tertul. in Apolog.

⁴ Minut. Felix.

⁵ Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 5.

⁶ It appears from Tertullian's Apology, that this barbarous custom prevailed in Africa long after the ruin of Carthage. *Infantes penes Africanam Saturno immolabantur pælum usque ad præconsulatam Tiberii, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbratricibus scelerosum votivis crucibus expositis, teste militiæ patriæ nostræ quæ id ipsum minus illi præconsuli functa est, i. e. Children were publicly sacrificed to Saturn, down to the præconsulatam of Tiberius, who hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temple, as on so many crosses, raised to expiate their crimes, of which the militia of our country are witnesses, who were the actors of this execution at the command of this præconsul. Tertull. Apolog. c. 9.* Two learned men are at variance about the præconsul, and the time of his government. Salmassius confesses his ignorance of both; but rejects the authority of Scaliger, who, for præconsulatam, reads præconsulem Tiberii, and thinks Tertullian, when he wrote his Apology, had forgot his name. However this be, it is certain that the memory of the incident here related by Tertullian was then recent, and probably the witnesses of it had not been long dead.

⁷ Plut. de sera vindic. decorum, p. 332.

¹ Liv. x. xxi. n. 1. Ibid. n. 21.

² Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11.

³ Liv. p. 502.

⁴ Apolog. c. xxiii.

⁵ In Psalm xxviii.

⁶ Jer. vii. 18. and cliv. 17—25.

the Carthaginians, on this very occasion, made Gelon use this precaution. For during the whole engagement,¹ which lasted from morning till night, Hamilcar, the son of Hanno their general, was perpetually offering up to the gods sacrifices of living men, who were thrown in great numbers on a flaming pile; and seeing his troops routed and put to flight, he himself rushed into it, in order that he might not survive his own disgrace, and to extinguish, says St. Ambrose speaking of this action, with his own blood, this sacrilegious fire, when he found that it had not proved of service to him.²

In times of pestilence³ they used to sacrifice a great number of children to their gods, unmoved with pity for a tender age, which excites compassion in the most cruel enemies; thus seeking a remedy for their evils in guilt itself, and endeavouring to appease the gods by the most shocking barbarity.

Diodorus⁴ relates an instance of this cruelty which strikes the reader with horror. At the time that Agathocles was just going to besiege Carthage, its inhabitants, seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the just anger of Saturn, because that, instead of offering up children nobly born, who were usually sacrificed to him, there had been fraudulently substituted in their stead the children of slaves and foreigners. To atone for this crime, two hundred children of the best families in Carthage were sacrificed to Saturn; besides which, upwards of three hundred citizens, from a sense of their guilt of this pretended crime, voluntarily sacrificed themselves. Diodorus adds, that there was a brazen statue of Saturn, the hands of which were turned downward; so that when a child was laid on them it dropped immediately into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace.

Can this, says Plutarch,⁵ be called worshipping the gods? Can we be said to entertain an honourable idea of them, if we suppose that they are pleased with slaughter, thirsty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting such offerings? Religion,⁶ says this judicious author, is placed between two rocks, that are equally dangerous to man, and injurious to the deity, I mean impiety and superstition. The one, from an affectation of free-thinking, believes nothing; and the other, from a blind weakness, believes all things. Impiety, to rid itself of a terror which galls it, denies the very existence of the gods: whilst superstition, to calm its fears, capriciously forges gods, which it makes not only the friends, but protectors and models of crimes. Had it not been better, says he farther⁷ for the Carthaginians to have had originally a Critias, or a Diagoras, who were open and undisguised atheists, for their lawgivers, than to have established so frantic and wicked a religion? Could the Typhons and the giants (the avowed enemies of the gods,) had they gained a victory over them, have established more abominable sacrifices?

Such were the sentiments which a heathen entertained of this part of the Carthaginian worship. One would indeed scarce believe that mankind were capable of such madness and frenzy. Men do not generally of themselves entertain ideas so destructive of all that nature considers as most sacred, as to sacrifice, to murder, their children with their own hands, and to throw them in cool blood into fiery furnaces! Sentiments so unnatural and barbarous, and yet adopted by whole nations, and even by the most civilized, by the Phenicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, and even the Greeks and Romans, and conse-

crated by custom during a long series of ages, can have been inspired by him only who was a murderer from the beginning; and who delights in nothing but the humiliation, misery, and perdition, of man.

SECTION III.—FORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

The government of Carthage was founded upon principles of the most consummate wisdom: and it is with reason that Aristotle⁸ ranks this republic in the number of those that were had in the greatest esteem by the ancients, and which were fit to serve as a model for others. He grounds his opinion on a reflection, which does great honour to Carthage, by remarking, that from its foundation to his time (that is, upwards of five hundred years,) no considerable sedition had disturbed the peace, nor any tyrant oppressed the liberty of that state. Indeed, mixed governments, such as that of Carthage, where the power was divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are subject to two inconveniences; either of degenerating into an abuse of liberty by the seditions of the populace, as frequently happened in Athens, and in all the Grecian republics; or into the oppression of the public liberty by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuse, Corinth, Thebes, and Rome itself under Sylla and Cæsar. It is therefore giving Carthage the highest praise, to observe, that it had found out the art, by the wisdom of its laws and the harmony of the different parts of its government, to shun, during so long a series of years, two rocks that are so dangerous, and on which others so often split.

It were to be wished, that some ancient author had left us an accurate and regular description of the customs and laws of this famous republic. For want of such assistance, we can only give our readers a confused and imperfect idea of them, by collecting the several passages which lie scattered up and down in authors. Christopher Hendrich has obliged the learned world in this particular; and his work⁹ has been of great service to me.

The government of Carthage,¹⁰ like that of Sparta and Rome, united three different authorities, which counterpoised and gave mutual assistance to one another. These authorities were, that of the two supreme magistrates, called Suffetes;¹¹ that of the senate; and that of the people. There afterwards was added the tribunal of One Hundred, which had great credit and influence in the republic.

The Suffetes.

The power of the Suffetes was only annual, and their authority in Carthage answered to that of the consuls at Rome.¹² In authors they are frequently called kings, dictators, consuls, because they exercise the functions of all three. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. They were empowered to assemble the senate;¹³ in which they presided, proposed subjects for deliberation, and collected the votes;¹⁴ and they likewise presided in all debates on matters of importance. Their authority was not limited to the city, nor confined to civil affairs; they sometimes had the command of the armies. We find, that when their employment of Suffetes expired, they were made prætors, which was a considerable office, since, besides conferring upon them the privilege of presiding in some causes, it also empowered them to propose and enact new laws, and call to account the receivers of the public revenues, as appears from what Livy¹⁵ relates concerning Hannibal on this head and which I shall take notice of in the sequel.

¹ De rep. l. ii. c. 11.

² It is entitled, *Carthago sive Carthageniensium respublica*, &c. Francofurti ad Oderam, ann. 1664.

³ Polyb. l. iv. p. 493.

⁴ This name is derived from a word, which, with the Hebrews and Phenicians, signifies judges.—*Shophetim*.

⁵ Ut Romæ consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bin reges creabantur. Corn. Nep. in vitâ Annibalis, c. 7. The great Hannibal was once one of the Suffetes.

⁶ Senatus itaque Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vacaverunt. Liv. l. xxx. n. 7.

⁷ Cum Suffetes ad jus dicendum consensissent. Id. l. xxiv. n. 62.

⁸ Lib. xxxiii. n. 46 47.

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 167.

² In ipsos quos adolebat sese precipitavit ignes, ut eos vel cruore suo extingueret, quos sibi nihil profuisse cognoverat. S. Amb.

³ Cum peste laborarent, cruenta sacrorum religione et scelere pro remedio usi sunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant, et impuberes (quæ ætas etiam hostium misericordiam provocat) aris admovebant, pacem deorum sanguine eorum exponebant. pro quorum vita dii maxime rogari solent. Justin. l. xviii. c. 6. The Gauls as well as Germans used to sacrifice men, if Dionysius and Tacitus may be credited.

⁴ Lib. xx. p. 756.

⁵ De superstitione, p. 160—171.

⁶ Idem. in Camill. p. 132. ⁷ De superstitione.

The Senate.

The Senate, composed of persons who were venerable or account of their age, their experience, their birth, their riches, and especially their merit, formed the council of state; and were, if I may use that expression, the soul of the public deliberations. Their number is not exactly known: it must, however, have been very great, since a hundred were selected from it to form a separate assembly, of which I shall immediately have occasion to speak. In the Senate, all affairs of consequence were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, and peace or war determined, as is seen on many occasions.

When the sentiments and votes were unanimous,¹ the senate decided supremely, and there lay no appeal from it. When there was a division, and the senate could not be brought to an agreement, the affair was then laid before the people on whom the power of deciding thereby devolved. The reader will easily perceive the great wisdom of this regulation; and how happily it was adapted to crush factions, to produce harmony, and to enforce and corroborate good counsels: such an assembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not easily prevailed upon to let it pass into other hands. Of this we have a memorable instance in Polybius;²—When, after a loss of the battle fought in Africa, at the end of the second Punic war, the conditions of peace offered by the victor were read in the senate; Hannibal, observing that one of the senators opposed them, represented in the strongest terms, that as the safety of the republic lay at stake, it was of the utmost importance for the senators to be unanimous in their resolutions, to prevent such a debate from coming before the people; and he carried his point. This, doubtless, laid the foundation, in the infancy of the republic, of the senate's power, and raised its authority to so great a height. And the same author observes,³ in another place, that whilst the senate had the administration of affairs, the state was governed with great wisdom, and was successful in all its enterprises.

The People.

It appears from every thing related hitherto, that even so low as Aristotle's time, who gives so beautiful a picture, and bestows so noble a eulogium on the government of Carthage, the people spontaneously left the care of public affairs, and the chief administration of them, to the senate: and this it was which made the republic so powerful. But things changed afterwards. For the people, grown insolent by their wealth and conquests, and forgetting that they owed these blessings to the prudent conduct of the senate, were desirous of having a share in the government, and arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period, the public affairs were transacted wholly by cabals and factions: and this Polybius assigns as one of the chief causes of the ruin of Carthage.

The Tribunal of the Hundred.

This was a body composed of a hundred and four persons; though often, for brevity's sake, they are called only the Hundred. These, according to Aristotle, were the same in Carthage, as the Ephori in Sparta; whence it appears, that they were instituted to balance the power of the nobles and senate; but with this difference, that the Ephori were but five in number, and continued in office but a year; whereas these were perpetual, and were upwards of a hundred.

It is believed, that these Centumviri are the same with the hundred judges mentioned by Justin,⁴ who were taken out of the senate, and appointed to inquire into the conduct of their generals. The exorbitant power of Mago's family, which by its engrossing the chief employments both of the state and the army, had thereby the sole direction and management of all affairs gave occasion to this esta-

blishment. It was intended as a curb to the authority of their generals, which, whilst the armies were in the field, was almost boundless and absolute; but, by this institution, it became subject to the laws, by the obligation their generals were under, of giving an account of their actions before these judges on their return from the campaign: *Ut hoc meli iura in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi iudicia legesque respecerent.*⁵ Of these hundred and four judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest; but it is not known how long their authority lasted. This council of five was like the council of ten in the Venetian senate. A vacancy in their number could be filled by none but themselves. They also had the power of choosing those who composed the council of the hundred. Their authority was very great, and for that reason none were elected into this office but persons of uncommon merit: and it was not judged proper to annex any salary or reward to it; the single motive of the public good, being thought a tie sufficient to engage honest men to a conscientious and faithful discharge of their duty. Polybius,⁶ in his account of the taking of New Carthage by Scipio, distinguishes clearly two orders of magistrates established in Old Carthage; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage, were two magistrates belonging to the body or assembly of old men [*ix τῶν ἑταίρων*]; so he calls the council of the hundred; and fifteen of the senate [*ix τῶν Συγκλητῶν*]. Livy⁷ mentions only the fifteen of the senators; but, in another place, he names the old men; and tells us, that they formed the most venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the senate.⁸ *Carthaginenses—Oratores ad pacem petendam militum triginta seniorum principes. Id erat sanctius apud illos concilium, maximeque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.*

Establishments, though constituted with the greatest wisdom and the justest harmony of parts, degenerate, however insensibly, into disorder and the most destructive licentiousness. These judges, who by the lawful execution of their power were a terror to transgressors, and the great pillars of justice, abusing their almost unlimited authority, became so many petty tyrants. We shall see this verified in the history of the great Hannibal, who, during his praetorship, after his return to Africa, employed all his influence to reform so A. M. 3082. horrid an abuse; and made the au- A. Carth. 682. thority of these judges, which before was perpetual, only annual, about two hundred years from the first founding the tribunal of the One Hundred.

Defects in the Government of Carthage.

Aristotle, among other reflections made by him on the government of Carthage, remarks two great defects in it, both which, in his opinion, are repugnant to the views of a wise lawgiver and the maxims of sound policy.

The first of these defects was, the investing the same person with different employments, which was considered at Carthage as a proof of uncommon merit. But Aristotle thinks this practice highly prejudicial to the public welfare. For, says this author, a man possessed but of one employment, is much more capable of acquitting himself well in the execution of it; because affairs are then examined with greater care, and sooner despatched. We never see, continues our author, either by sea or land, the same officer commanding two different bodies, or the same

¹ Justin l. xix. • Lib. x. p. 824. edit. Gronov.
² Lib. xxvi. n. 51. l. xxx. n. 16.

³ M. Rollin might have taken notice of some civil officers who were established at Carthage, with a power like that of the *censors* of Rome, to inspect the manners of the citizens. The chief of these officers took from Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, a beautiful youth, named Asdrubal, on a report that Hamilcar was more familiar with this youth than was consistent with modesty. *Erat preterea cum eo (Amilcare) adolescens illustris et formosus Hadrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius quam par erat, ab Amilcare, loquebantur—Quo factum est ut a prefecto morum Hadrubal cum eo tractaretur esse.* Corn. Nep. in Vita Amilcaris.

⁴ Arist. loc. cit.

⁵ Polyb. l. vi. 491.

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⁶ Lib. xv. p. 706, 707.

⁷ Lib. xix. c. ii.

pilot steering two ships. Besides, the welfare of the state requires that places and preferments should be divided, in order to excite an emulation among men of merit: whereas the bestowing of them on one man, too often dazzles him by so distinguishing a preference; and always fills others with jealousy, discontent, and murmurs.

The second defect taken notice of by Aristotle in the government of Carthage, was, that in order for a man to attain the first posts, a certain income was required (besides merit and noble birth). By which means, poverty might exclude persons of the most exalted merit, which he considers as a great evil in a government. For then, says he, as virtue is wholly disregarded, and money is all-powerful, because all things are attained by it; the admiration and desire of riches seize and corrupt the whole community. Add to this, that when magistrates and judges are obliged to pay large sums for their employments, they seem to have a right to reimburse themselves.

There is not, I believe, one instance in all antiquity to show that employments, either in the state or the courts of justice, were sold. The expense, therefore, which Aristotle talks of here to raise men to preferments in Carthage, must doubtless be understood of the presents that were given in order to procure the votes of the electors; a practice, as Polybius observes, very common at Carthage, where no kind of gain was judged a disgrace.¹ It is, therefore, no wonder, that Aristotle should condemn a practice whose consequences, it is very plain, may prove fatal to a government.

But in case he pretended that the chief employments of a state ought to be equally accessible to the rich and the poor, as he seems to insinuate; his opinion is refuted by the general practice of the wisest republics: for these, without any way demeaning or aspersing poverty, have thought that, on this occasion, the preference ought to be given to riches; because it is to be presumed, that the wealthy have received a better education, have nobler sentiments, are more out of the reach of corruption, and less liable to commit base actions; and that even the state of their affairs makes them more affectionate to the government, more disposed to maintain peace and order in it, and more interested in suppressing whatever may tend to sedition and rebellion.

Aristotle, in concluding his reflections on the republic of Carthage, is much pleased with a custom that prevailed there: *viz.* of sending from time to time colonies into different countries; and in this manner procuring its citizens commodious settlements. This provided for the necessities of the poor, who, equally with the rich, are members of the state; and it disburdened Carthage of multitudes of lazy, indolent people, who were its disgrace, and often proved dangerous to it; it prevented commotions and insurrections, by thus removing such persons as commonly occasion them; and who, being ever discontented under their present circumstances, are always ready for innovations and tumults.

SECTION IV.—TRADE OF CARTHAGE, THE FIRST SOURCE OF ITS WEALTH AND POWER.

COMMERCE, strictly speaking, was the occupation of Carthage, the particular object of its industry, and its peculiar and predominant characteristic. It formed the greatest strength and the chief support of that commonwealth. In a word, we may affirm, that the power, the conquests, the credit, and glory, of the Carthaginians, all flowed from their commerce. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, and stretching out their arms eastward and westward, the extent of their commerce took in all the known world, and wafted it to the coast of Spain, of Mauritania, of Gaul, and beyond the straits and pillars of Hercules. They sailed to all countries, in order to buy at a cheap rate the superfluities of every nation; which, by the wants of others, became necessities; and these they sold to them at the dearest rates. From Egypt the

Carthaginians fetched fine flax, paper, corn, sails, and cables for ships; from the coast of the Red Sea, spices frankincense, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious stones: from Tyre and Phœnicia, purple and scarlet, rich stuffs, tapestry, costly furniture, and divers curious and exquisite works of art: in a word, they fetched from various countries, all things that can supply the necessities, or are capable of contributing to the convenience, the luxury, and the delights of life. They brought back from the western parts of the world, in return for the articles carried thither, iron, tin, lead, and copper; by the sale of these various commodities, they enriched themselves at the expense of all nations; and put them under a kind of contribution, which was so much the surer as it was spontaneous.

In thus becoming the factors and agents of all nations, they had made themselves lords of the sea; the band which held the east, the west, and south together; and the necessary channel of their communication; so that Carthage rose to be the common city, and the centre of the trade, of all those nations which the sea separated from one another.

The most considerable personages of the city were not ashamed of engaging in trade. They applied themselves to it as industriously as the meanest citizens; and their great wealth did not make them less in love with the diligence, patience, and labour, which are necessary to augment it. To this they owed their empire of the sea, the splendour of their republic; their being able to dispute for the superiority with Rome itself; and their exalted pitch of power, which forced the Romans to carry on a bloody and doubtful war, for upwards of forty years, in order to humble and subdue this haughty rival. In short, Rome, even when triumphant, thought Carthage was not to be entirely reduced any other way, than by depriving that city of the resources which it might still derive from its commerce, by which it had so long been enabled to resist the whole strength of that mighty republic.

However, it is no wonder that, as Carthage came in a manner out of the greatest school of traffic in the world, I mean Tyre, she should have been crowned with such rapid and uninterrupted success. The very vessels on which its founders had been conveyed into Africa, were afterwards employed by them in their trade. They began to make settlements upon the coasts of Spain, in those ports where they unloaded their goods. The ease with which they had founded these settlements, and the conveniences they met with inspired them with the design of conquering those vast regions; and some time after, *Nova Carthago*, or New Carthage, gave the Carthaginians an empire in that country, almost equal to that which they enjoyed in Africa.

SECTION V.—THE MINES OF SPAIN, THE SECOND SOURCE OF THE RICHES AND POWER OF CARTHAGE.

DIODORUS² justly remarks, that the gold and silver mines found by the Carthaginians in Spain, were an inexhaustible fund of wealth, that enabled them to sustain such long wars against the Romans. The natives had long been ignorant of these treasures that lay concealed in the bowels of the earth, or at least of their use and value. The Phœnicians took advantage of this ignorance; and by bartering some wares of little value for this precious metal, they amassed infinite wealth. When the Carthaginians had made themselves masters of the country, they dug much deeper into the earth than the old inhabitants of Spain had done, who probably were content with what they could collect on the surface; and the Romans, when they had dispossessed the Carthaginians of Spain, profited by their example, and drew an immense revenue from these mines of gold and silver.

The labour employed to come at these mines, and to dig the gold and silver out of them, was incredible.³ For the veins of these metals rarely appeared on the surface; they were to be sought for and traced through frightful depths, where very often

¹ Περὶ Καρχηδονίου: οὗτον θύοιεν τὸν ἀναβύτων πρὸς τὰς εἰς.—Poly. l. vi p. 407

² Lib. iv. p. 312, &c.

³ Diod. l. iv. p. 312, &c.

floods of water stopped the miners, and seemed to defeat all future pursuits. But avarice is no less patient in undergoing fatigues, than ingenious in finding expedients. By pumps, which Archimedes had invented when in Egypt, the Romans afterwards threw up the water out of these pits, and quite drained them. Numberless multitudes of slaves perished in these mines, which were dug to enrich their masters ; who treated them with the utmost barbarity, forced them by heavy stripes to labour, and gave them no respite either day or night.

Polybius, as quoted by Strabo,¹ says that in his time, upwards of forty thousand men were employed in the mines near *Nova Carthago* ; and furnished the Romans every day with twenty-five thousand drachmas, or 859l. 7s. 6d.²

We must not be surprised to see the Carthaginians, soon after the greatest defeats, sending fresh and numerous armies again into the field ; fitting out mighty fleets and supporting, at a great expense, for many years, wars carried on by them in far-distant countries. But it must appear surprising to us, that the Romans should be capable of doing the same ; they whose revenues were very inconsiderable before those great conquests which subjected to them the most powerful nations ; and who had no resources, either from trade, to which they were absolute strangers, or from gold or silver mines, which were very rarely found in Italy, in case there were any ; and the expenses of which must, for that very reason, have swallowed up all the profit. The Romans, in the frugal and simple life they led, in their zeal for the public welfare, and their love for their country, possessed funds which were not less ready or secure than those of Carthage, but at the same time were far more honourable to their nation.

SECTION VI.—WAR.

CARTHAGE must be considered as a trading, and, at the same time, a warlike republic. Its genius and the nature of its government led it to traffic ; and it became warlike, first, from the necessity the Carthaginians were under of defending themselves against the neighbouring nations, and afterwards from a desire of extending their commerce and empire. This double idea gives us, in my opinion, the true plan and character of the Carthaginian republic. We have already spoken of its commerce.

The military power of the Carthaginians consisted in their alliances with kings ; in tributary nations, from which they drew both men and money ; in some troops raised from among their own citizens ; and in mercenary soldiers purchased of neighbouring states, without being themselves obliged to levy or exercise them, because they were already well disciplined and inured to the fatigues of war ; they making choice, in every country, of such troops as had the greatest merit and reputation. They drew from Numidia a light, bold, impetuous, and indefatigable cavalry, which formed the principal strength of their armies ; from the Balearic isles, the most expert slingers in the world ; from Spain, a steady and invincible infantry ; from the coasts of Genoa and Gaul, troops of acknowledged valour ; and from Greece itself, soldiers fit for all the various operations of war, for the field or the garrisons, for besieging or defending cities.

In this manner the Carthaginians sent out at once powerful armies, composed of soldiers which were the flower of all the armies in the universe, without depopulating either their fields or cities by new levies ; without suspending their manufactures, or disturbing the peaceable artificer ; without interrupting their commerce, or weakening their navy. By venal blood they possessed themselves of provinces and kingdoms ; and made other nations the instruments of their grandeur and glory, with no other expense of their own than their money ; and even this furnished from the traffic they carried on with foreign nations.

If the Carthaginians, in the course of a war, sustained some losses, these were but so many foreign accidents, which only grazed, as it were, over the body of the state, but did not make a deep wound in the bowels or heart of the republic. These losses were speedily repaired, by sums arising out of a flourishing commerce, as from a perpetual sinew of war, by which the government was continually reinforced with new supplies for the purchase of mercenary forces, who were ready at the first summons. And from the vast extent of the coasts which the Carthaginians possessed, it was easy for them to levy, in a very little time, a sufficient number of sailors and rowers for the working of their fleets, and to procure able pilots and experienced captains to conduct them.

But as these parts were fortuitously brought together, they did not adhere by any natural, intimate, or necessary tie. No common and reciprocal interest united them in such a manner, as to form a solid and unalterable body. Not one individual in these mercenary armies was sincerely interested in the success of measures, or in the prosperity of the state. They did not act with the same zeal, nor expose themselves to dangers with equal resolution, for a republic which they considered as foreign, and which consequently was indifferent to them, as they would have done for their native country, whose happiness constitutes that of the several members who compose it.

In great reverses of fortune, the kings³ in alliance with the Carthaginians might easily be detached from their interest, either by that jealousy which the grandeur of a more powerful neighbour naturally excites ; or by the hopes of reaping greater advantages from a new friend ; or by the fear of being involved in the misfortunes of an old ally.

The tributary nations, impatient under the weight and disgrace of a yoke which had been forced upon their necks, generally flattered themselves with the hopes of finding one less galling in changing their masters ; or, in case servitude was unavoidable, the choice was indifferent to them, as will appear from many instances in the course of this history.

The mercenary forces, accustomed to measure their fidelity by the largeness or continuance of their pay, were ever ready, on the least discontent, or the slightest expectation of a more considerable stipend to desert to the enemy with whom they had just before fought, and to turn their arms against those who had invited them to their assistance.

Thus the grandeur of the Carthaginians being sustained only by these foreign supports, was shaken to the very foundation when they were once taken away. And if to this there happened to be added an interruption of their commerce (which was their sole resource), arising from the loss of a naval engagement, they imagined themselves to be on the brink of ruin, and abandoned themselves to despondency and despair ; as was evidently seen at the end of the first Punic war.

Aristotle, in the treatises where he shows the advantages and defects of the government of Carthage, finds no fault with its keeping up none but foreign forces ; it is therefore probable, that the Carthaginians did not fall into this practice till a long time after. But the rebellions which harassed Carthage in its later years, ought to have taught its citizens, that no miseries are comparable to those of a government which is supported only by foreigners ; since neither zeal, security, nor obedience, can be expected from them.

But this was not the case with the republic of Rome. As the Romans had neither trade nor money, they were not able to hire forces, in order to push on their conquests with the same rapidity as the Carthaginians ; but then, as they procured every thing from within themselves, and as all the parts of the state were intimately united ; they had surer resources in great misfortunes than the Carthaginians. And for this reason they never once thought of sa-

¹ Lib. iii. p. 147.

² 25,000 drachmas.—An Attic drachma, according to Dr. Bernard, = 8½d. English money ; consequently, 25,000 = 859l. 7s. 6d.

³ As Syphax and Masinissa.

ing for peace after the battle of Cannæ, as the Carthaginians had done in a less imminent danger.

The Carthaginians, had, besides, a body of troops (which was not very numerous) levied from among their own citizens; and this was a kind of school, in which the flower of their nobility, and those whose talents and ambition prompted them to aspire to the first dignities, learned the rudiments of the art of war. From among these were selected all the general officers, who were put at the head of the different bodies of their forces, and had the chief command in the armies. This nation was too jealous and suspicious to employ foreign generals. But they were not so distrustful of their own citizens as Rome and Athens; for the Carthaginians, at the same time that they invested them with great power, did not guard against the abuse they might make of it in order to oppress their country. The command of armies was neither annual, nor limited to any time, as in the two republics above-mentioned. Many generals held their commissions for a great number of years, either till the war or their lives ended; though they were still accountable to the commonwealth for their conduct; and liable to be recalled, whenever a real fault, a misfortune, or the superior interest of a cabal, furnished an opportunity for it.

SECTION VII.—ARTS AND SCIENCES.

IT cannot be said that the Carthaginians renounced entirely the glory which results from study and knowledge. The sending of Masiussa, son of a powerful king,¹ thither for education, gives us room to believe that Carthage was provided with an excellent school. The great Hannibal,² who, in all respects, was an ornament to that city, was not unacquainted with polite literature, as will be seen hereafter. Mago,³ another very celebrated general, did as much honour to Carthage by his pen as by his victories. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the Roman senate had in such esteem, that after the taking of Carthage, when they presented the African princes with the libraries found there (another proof that learning was not entirely banished from Carthage,) they gave orders to have these books translated into Latin,⁴ though Cato had before written his books on that subject. There is still extant⁵ a Greek version of a treatise drawn up by Hanno in the Punic tongue, relating to a voyage he made (by order of the senate) with a considerable fleet round Africa, for the settling of different colonies in that part of the world. This Hanno is believed to be more ancient than that person of the same name, who lived in the time of Agathocles.

Clitomachus,⁶ called in the Punic language Asdrubal, was a great philosopher. He succeeded the famous Carneades, whose disciple he had been; and maintained in Athens the honour of the Academic sect. Cicero says,⁷ that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study, than the Carthaginians generally are. He wrote several books:⁸ in one of which he composed a piece to console the unhappy citizens of Carthage, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery.

I might rank among, or rather place at the head of, the writers who have adorned Africa, the celebrated Terence; himself singly being capable of reflecting infinite honour on his country by the fame of his productions, if, on this account, Carthage, the place of his birth, ought not to be less considered as his country than Rome, where he was educated, and acquired that purity of style, that delicacy and elegance, which have gained him the admiration of all succeeding

ages. It is supposed,⁹ that he was carried off when an infant, or at least very young, by the Numidians in their incursions into the Carthaginian territories, during the war carried on between these two nations, from the conclusion of the second, to the beginning of the third, Punic war. He was sold for a slave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator; who, after giving him an excellent education, gave him his liberty and called him by his own name, as was then the custom. He was united in a very strict friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, and Lælius; and it was a common report at Rome, that he had the assistance of these two great men in composing his pieces. The poet, so far from endeavouring to stifle a report so disadvantageous to him, made a merit of it. Only six of his comedies are extant. Some authors, on the authority of Suetonius (the writer of his life), say, that in his return from Greece, whither he had made a voyage, he lost a hundred and eight comedies, which he had translated from Menander, and could not survive an accident which must naturally afflict him in a sensible manner: but this incident is not very well founded. Be this as it may, he died in the year of Rome 594, under the consulship of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, at the age of thirty-five years, and consequently he was born *anno* 560.

It must yet be confessed, notwithstanding all we have said, that there ever was a great scarcity of learned men in Carthage, since it hardly furnished three or four writers of reputation in upwards of seven hundred years. Although the Carthaginians held a correspondence with Greece and the most civilized nations, yet this did not excite them to borrow their learning, as being foreign to their views of trade and commerce. Eloquence, poetry, history, seem to have been little known among them. A Carthaginian philosopher was considered as a sort of prodigy by the learned. What then would an astronomer or a geometrician have been thought? I know not in what esteem physic, which is so highly useful to life, was held at Carthage; or jurisprudence, so necessary to society.

As works of wit were generally had in so much disregard, the education of youth must necessarily have been very imperfect and unpolished. In Carthage, the study and knowledge of youth were for the most part confined to writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and the buying and selling goods; in a word, to whatever related to traffic. But polite learning, history and philosophy, were in little repute among them. These were in later years even prohibited by the laws, which expressly forbade any Carthaginian to learn the Greek tongue, lest it might qualify them for carrying on a dangerous correspondence with the enemy, either by letter or word of mouth.¹⁰

Now what could be expected from such a cast of mind? Accordingly there was never seen among them that elegance of behaviour, that ease and complacency of manners, and those sentiments of virtue which are generally the fruits of a liberal education in all civilized nations. The small number of great men which this nation has produced, must therefore have owed their merit to the felicity of their genius, to the singularity of their talents, and a long experience without any great assistance from cultivation and instruction. Hence it was, that the merit of the greatest men of Carthage was sullied by great failings, low vices, and cruel passions; and it is rare to meet with any conspicuous virtue among them without some blemish; with any virtue of a noble, generous,

¹ King of the Massylians in Africa.

² Nepos in vita Annibalis.

³ Cic. l. i. De orat. n. 241. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

⁴ These books were written by Mago in the Punic language, and translated into Greek by Cassius Dionysius of Utica, from whose version, we may probably suppose, the Latin was made.

⁵ Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. iv.

⁶ Plut. de fort. Alex. p. 298. Diog. Laert. in Clitom.

⁷ Clitomachus, homo, et acutus ut Pænus, et valde studiosus ne diligenz. *Academ. Quæst.* l. iv. n. 98.

⁸ Tusc. Quæst. .iii. n. 54.

⁹ Suet. in vit. Terent.

¹⁰ Factum sensus consultum ne quis postea Carthageniensis aut literis Græcis aut sermoni studeat; ne aut loqui cum hoste, aut scribere sine interprete possit. *Justin.* l. xx. c. 5. Justin ascribes the reason of this law to a treasonable correspondence between one Bunian, a powerful Carthaginian, and Dionysius the Tyrant of Sicily; the former, by letters written in Greek (which afterwards fell into the hands of the Carthaginians), having informed the tyrant of the war designed against him by his country, out of hatred to Hanno the general, to who a he was an enemy.

and amiable kind, and supported by enlightened and steady principles, such as is every where found among the Greeks and Romans. The reader will perceive that I here speak only of the heathen virtues, and agreeably to the idea which the Pagans entertained of them.

I meet with as few monuments of their skill in arts of a less noble and necessary kind, as painting and sculpture. I find, indeed, that they had plundered their conquered nations of a great many works in both these kinds: but it does not appear that they themselves had produced many.

From what has been said, one cannot help concluding, that traffic was the predominant inclination, and the peculiar characteristic of the Carthaginians; that it formed in a manner, the basis of the state, the soul of the commonwealth, and the grand spring which gave motion to all their enterprises. The Carthaginians, in general, were skilful merchants; employed wholly in traffic; excited strongly by the desire of gain, and esteeming nothing but riches; directing all their talents, and placing their chief glory, in amassing them; though at the same time they scarce knew the purpose for which they were designed, or how to use them in a noble or worthy manner.

SECTION VIII.—THE CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND QUALITIES OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

In the enumeration of the various qualities which Cicero¹ assigns to different nations, as their distinguishing characteristics, he declares that of the Carthaginians to be craft, skill, address, industry, cunning, *calliditas*; which doubtless appeared in war, but was still more conspicuous in the rest of their conduct, and this was joined to another quality that bears a very near relation to it, and is still less reputable. Craft and cunning lead naturally to lying, duplicity and breach of faith; and these, by accustoming the mind insensibly to be less scrupulous with regard to the choice of the means for compassing its designs, prepare it for the basest frauds and the most perfidious actions. This was also one of the characteristics of the Carthaginians;² and it was so notorious, that to signify any remarkable dishonesty it was usual to call it *Punic faith*, *fides Punica*; and to denote a *knaveish*, *deceitful disposition*, no expression was thought more proper and emphatical than this, a *Carthaginian disposition*, *Punicum ingenium*.

An excessive thirst for amassing wealth, and an inordinate love of gain, generally gave occasion in Carthage to the committing base and unjust actions. One single example will prove this. During a truce, granted by Scipio to the earnest entreaties of the Carthaginians, some Roman vessels, being driven by a storm on the coasts of Carthage, were seized by order of the senate and people,³ who could not suffer so tempting a prey to escape them. They were resolved to get money, though the manner of acquiring it were ever so scandalous. The inhabitants of Carthage, even in St. Austin's time (as that Father informs us), showed, on a particular occasion, that they still retained part of this characteristic.⁴

But these were not the only blemishes and faults

of the Carthaginians.⁵ They had something austere and savage in their disposition and genius, a haughty and imperious air, a sort of ferocity, which in the first transports of passion, was dead to both reason and remonstrances, and plunged brutally into the utmost excesses of violence. The people, cowardly and grovelling under apprehensions, were proud and cruel in their transports: at the same time that they trembled under their magistrates, they were dreaded in their turn by their miserable vassals. In this we see the difference which education makes between one nation and another. The Athenians, whose city was always considered as the centre of learning were naturally jealous of their authority, and difficult to govern; but still, a fund of good nature and humanity made them compassionate the misfortunes of others, and be indulgent to the errors of their leaders. Cimon one day desired the assembly, in which he presided, to break up, because, as he told them, he had a sacrifice to offer, and friends to entertain. The people only laughed at the request, and immediately separated. Such a liberty, says Flutarch, at Carthage, would have cost a man his life.

Livy⁶ makes a like reflection with regard to Terentius Varro. That general, on his return to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, which had been lost by his ill conduct, was met by persons of all orders of the state, at some distance from Rome; and thanked by them, for his not having despaired of the commonwealth; who, says the historian, had he been a general of the Carthaginians must have expected the most severe punishment: *Cui, si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret*. Indeed, a court was established at Carthage, where the generals were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and they all were made responsible for the events of the war. Ill success was punished there as a crime against the state; and whenever a general lost a battle, he was almost sure, at his return, of ending his life upon a gibbet. Such was the furious, cruel, and barbarous disposition of the Carthaginians who were always ready to shed the blood of their citizens as well as of foreigners. The unheard-of tortures which they made Regulus suffer are a manifest proof of this assertion; and their history will furnish us with such instances of it, as are not to be read without horror.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

The interval of time between the foundation of Carthage and its ruin, included seven hundred years and may be divided into two parts. The first, which is much the longest and the least known (as is ordinary with the beginnings of all states), extends to the first Punic war, and takes up five hundred and eighty-two years. The second, which ends at the destruction of Carthage, contains but a hundred and eighteen years.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE, AND ITS AGGRANDIZEMENT TILL THE TIME OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

CARTHAGE in Africa was a colony from Tyre, the most renowned city at that time for commerce in the world. Tyre had long before transplanted into that country another colony, which built Utica,⁷ made famous by the death of the second Cato, who for this reason is generally called Cato Uticensis.

¹ Plot. de gen. Rep. p. 799.

² Lib. xxii. n. 61.

³ Utica et Carthago, ambe inclyte, ambe a Phœnicibus conditæ; illa fœat Catonis insignis, hæc suo. Pompon. Mel. 3. 67. Utica and Carthage, both famous, and both built by Phœnicians; the first renowned by Cato's fate, the last by its own.

Authors disagree very much with regard to the era of the foundation of Carthage.¹ It is a difficult matter, and not very material, to reconcile them; at least, agreeably to the plan laid down by me, it is sufficient to know, within a few years, the time in which that city was built.

Carthage existed a little above seven hundred years.² It was destroyed under the consulate of Cn. Lentulus, and L. Mummius, the 603d year of Rome, 3859th of the world, and 145 before Christ. The foundation of it may therefore be fixed in the year of the world 3158, when Joash was king of Judah, 98 years before the building of Rome, and 846 before our Saviour.

The foundation of Carthage is ascribed to Elisa; Tyrian princess, better known by the name of Dido,³ thobal, king of Tyre, and father of the famous Jerebel, called in Scripture Ethbaal, was her great grandfather. She married her near relation Acerbas, called otherwise Sicharbas and Sichæus, an extremely rich prince, and Pygmalion, king of Tyre, was her brother. This prince having put Sichæus to death, in order that he might have an opportunity of seizing his immense wealth, Dido eluded the cruel avarice of her brother, by withdrawing secretly with all her dead husband's treasures. After having long wandered, she at last landed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the gulf where Utica stood, and in the country of Africa, properly so called, distant almost fifteen miles from Tunis, so famous at this time for its corsairs, and there settled with her few followers, after having purchased some lands from the inhabitants of the country.

Many of the neighbouring people, invited by the prospect of lucre, repaired thither to sell to these new comers the necessaries of life; and shortly after incorporated themselves with them. These inhabitants, who had been thus gathered from different places, soon grew very numerous. The citizens of Utica, considering them as their countrymen, and as descended from the same common stock, deputed envoys with very considerable presents, and exhorted them to build a city in the place where they had first settled. The natives of the country, from the esteem and respect frequently shown to strangers, did as much on their part. Thus all things conspiring with Dido's views, she built her city, which was charged with the payment of an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground it stood upon: and called Carthada,⁴ or Carthage, a name that in the Phœnician and Hebrew tongues (which have a great affinity) signifies the New City. It is said, that when the foundations were dug, a horse's head was found, which was thought a good omen, and a presage of the future warlike genius of that people.⁵

This princess was afterwards courted by Iarbas, king of Getulia, and threatened with a war in case of refusal. Dido, who had bound herself by an oath

not to consent to a second marriage, being incapable of violating the faith she had sworn to Sichæus, desired time for deliberation, and for appeasing the manes of her first husband by sacrifice. Having therefore ordered a pile to be raised, she ascended it; and drawing out a dagger which she had concealed under her robe, stabbed herself with it.⁷

Virgil has made a great alteration in this history by supposing that Æneas, his hero, was contemporary with Dido, though there was an interval of near three centuries between the one and the other; Carthage being built three hundred years after the destruction of Troy. This liberty is very excusable in a poet, who is not tied to the scrupulous accuracy of an historian; and we admire, with great reason, the judgment which he has shown in his plan when, to interest the Romans (for whom he wrote) in his subject, he has the art of introducing into it the implacable hatred which subsisted between Carthage and Rome, and ingeniously deduces the original of it from the very remote foundation of those two rival cities.

Carthage, whose beginnings, as we have observed, were very weak at first, grew larger by insensible degrees, in the country where it was founded. But its dominion was not long confined to Africa. This ambitious city extended her conquests into Europe, invaded Sardinia, made herself mistress of a great part of Sicily, and reduced to her subjection almost the whole of Spain; and having sent out powerful colonies into all quarters, enjoyed the empire of the seas for more than six hundred years; and formed a state which was able to dispute pre-eminence with the greatest empires of the world, by her wealth, her commerce, her numerous armies, her formidable fleets, and, above all, by the courage and ability of her captains. The dates and circumstances of many of these conquests are little known. I shall take but a transient notice of them, in order to enable my readers to form some idea of the countries, which will be often mentioned in the course of this history.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Africa.

The first wars made by the Carthaginians, were to free themselves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans, for the territory which had been ceded to them.⁸ This conduct does them no honour, as the settlement was granted them upon condition of their paying a tribute. One would be apt to imagine, that they were desirous of covering the obscurity of their original, by abolishing this proof of it. But they were not successful on this occasion. The Africans had justice on their side, and they prospered accordingly; the war being terminated by the payment of the tribute.

The Carthaginians afterwards carried their arms against the Moors and Numidians, and gained many conquests over both.⁹ Being now emboldened by these happy successes, they shook off entirely the tribute which gave them so much uneasiness,¹⁰ and possessed themselves of a great part of Africa.

¹ Our countryman *Hovel* endeavours to reconcile the three different accounts of the foundation of Carthage, in the following manner. He says, that the town consisted of three parts, viz. Cothon, or the Port and buildings adjoining to it, which he supposes to have been first built; Megara, built next, and, in respect to Cothon, called the New Town, or Kethada; and Byrsa, or the citadel, built last of all, and probably by Dido.

Cothon, to agree with Appian, was built fifty years before the taking of Troy; Megara, to correspond with Eusebius, was built a hundred and ninety-four years later; Byrsa, to agree with Menander (cited by Josephus), was built a hundred and sixty-six years after Megara.

² Liv. Epit. l. ii.

³ Justin. l. xviii. c. 4-6. App. de bello Pan. p. 1. Strab. l. xvii. p. 832. Patere. l. i. c. 6.

⁴ 120 stadia. Strab. l. xiv. p. 687.

⁵ Kartha Hadath, or Hadatha.

⁶ Effodere loco signum, quod regia Juno Monstrarat, caput æriæ equi; nam sic fore bello Egregium, et facilem victu per secula gentem.

Virg. Æn. l. i. 447

The Tyrians landing near this holy ground, And digging here, a prosperous omen found: From under earth a courser's head they drew, The r growth and future fortune to foreshow. This rated sign their foundress Juno gave, Of a soil fruitful, and a people brave.

Dryden.

⁷ The story, as it is told more at large in Justin (l. xviii. c. 6.), is this: Iarbas, king of the Mauritians, sending for ten of the principal Carthaginians, demanded Dido in marriage, threatening to declare war against her in case of a refusal; the ambassadors being afraid to deliver the message of Iarbas, told her (with Punic honesty) that he wanted to have some person sent him, who was capable of civilizing and polishing himself and his Africans: but that there was no possibility of finding any Carthaginian, who would be willing to quit his native place and kindred, for the conversation of Barbarians, who were as savage as the wildest beasts. Here the queen, with indignation, interrupting them, and asking, if they were not ashamed to refuse living in any manner which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed even their lives? they then delivered the king's message, and bid her set them a pattern, and sacrifice herself to her country's welfare. Dido being thus ensnared, called on Sichæus with tears and lamentations, and answered, that she would go where the fate of her city called her. At the expiration of three months, she ascended the fatal pile; and with her last breath told the spectators, that she was going to her husband, as they had ordered her.

⁸ Justin. l. xix. c. 1.

⁹ Ib. cap. 2.

¹⁰ Afri compulsi stipendium urbis conditi Carthagine-sibus remittere. Justin. l. xix. c. 2.

About this time there arose a great dispute between Carthage and Cyrene, on the subject of their respective limits.¹ Cyrene was a very powerful city, situated on the Mediterranean, towards the greater Syrtis, and had been built by Battus, the Lacedæmonian.

It was agreed on each side, that two young men should set out at the same time, from either city; and that the place of their meeting should be the common boundary of both states. The Carthaginians (these were two brothers named Phileni) made the most haste, and their antagonists pretending that foul play had been used, and that the two brothers had set out before the time appointed, refused to stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers (to remove all suspicion of unfair dealing) would consent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquiesced with the proposal; and the Carthaginians erected on the spot, two altars to their memories, and paid them divine honours in their city; and from that time the place was called the altars of the Phileni, *Aræ Philenorum*,² and served as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, &c.

History does not inform us exactly, either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner in which they got possession of it. This island was of great use to them;³ and, during all their wars, supplied them abundantly with provisions. It is separated from Corsica only by a strait of about three leagues in breadth. The metropolis of the southern and most fertile part of it, was *Caralis* or *Calari*, now called *Cagliari*. On the arrival of the Carthaginians, the natives withdrew to the mountains in the northern parts of the island, which are almost inaccessible, and whence the enemy could not dislodge them.

The Carthaginians seized likewise on the Balearic isles, now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*. Port *Mannon* (*Portus Magonis*), in the latter island, was so called from *Mago*, a Carthaginian general, who first made use of and fortified it. It is not known who this *Mago* was;⁴ but it is very probable that he was Hannibal's brother. This harbour is, at this day, one of the most considerable in the Mediterranean.

These isles furnished the Carthaginians with the most expert slingers in the world, who did them great service in battles and sieges.⁵ They slung large stones of above a pound weight; and sometimes threw leaden bullets,⁶ with so much violence, that they would pierce even the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and were so dexterous in their aim, that they scarce ever missed the mark. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed from their infancy to handle the sling; for which purpose their mothers placed on the bough of a high tree, the piece of bread designed for their children's breakfast, who were not allowed a morsel till they had brought it down with their slings. From this practice, these islands were called *Balleares* and *Gymnasie* by the Greeks;⁷ because the inhabitants used to exercise themselves so early in slinging of stones.⁸

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain.

Before I enter on the relation of these conquests, I think it proper to give my readers some idea of Spain.

Spain is divided into three parts, *Bætica*, *Lusitania* *Tarraconensis*.⁹

Bætica, so called from the river *Bætis*,¹⁰ was the southern division of it, and comprehended the present kingdom of Grenada, *Andalusia*, part of *New Castile*, and *Estremadura*. *Cadiz*, called by the ancients *Gades* and *Gadira*, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of *Andalusia*, about nine leagues from *Gibraltar*. It is well known,¹¹ that *Hercules*, having extended his conquests to this place, halted, from the supposition that he was come to the extremity of the world. He here erected two pillars, as monuments of his victories, pursuant to the custom of that age. The place has always retained the name, though time has quite destroyed these pillars. Authors are divided in opinion, with regard to the place where these pillars were erected. *Bætica* was the most fruitful, the wealthiest, and most populous, part of Spain.¹² It contained two hundred cities, and was inhabited by the *Turdetani*, or *Turduli*. On the banks of the *Bætis* stood three large cities; *Castulo*, towards the source; *Corduba* lower down, the native place of *Lucan* and the two *Senecas*; lastly, *Hispalis*.¹³

Lusitania is bounded on the west by the Ocean, on the north by the river *Durius*,¹⁴ and on the south by the river *Anas*.¹⁵ Between these two rivers is the *Tagus*. *Lusitania* was what is now called *Portugal*, with part of *Old* and *New Castile*.

Tarraconensis comprehended the rest of Spain, that is, the kingdom of *Murcia* and *Valencia*, *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, the *Asturias*, *Gallicia*, the kingdom of *Leon*, and the greatest part of the two *Castiles*. *Tarraco*,¹⁶ a very considerable city, gave its name to this part of Spain. Pretty near it lay *Barcino*.¹⁷ Its name gives rise to the conjecture, that it was built by *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Barca*, father of the great *Hannibal*. The most renowned nations of *Tarraconensis* were, the *Celtiberi*, beyond the river *Iberus*;¹⁸ the *Cantabri*, where *Biscay* now lies; the *Carpetani*, whose capital was *Toledo*; the *Oretani* &c.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and silver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had sufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians, who were more of a mercantile than of a warlike disposition, from the very genius and constitution of their republic. They doubtless knew that their Phœnician ancestors (as *Diodorus*¹⁹ relates), taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards, with regard to the immense riches which were hid in the bowels of their lands, first took from them these precious treasures, in exchange for commodities of little value. They likewise foresaw, that if they could once subdue this country, it would furnish them abundantly with well-disciplined troops for the conquest of other nations, as actually happened.

The occasion of the Carthaginians first landing in Spain, was to assist the inhabitants of *Cadiz*, who

were once their masters. Σφινδοῦνται πρῶτοι λίγονται—ἐξήντο Φοίνικες κατὰ τὸν τῶν νήσων. And this is still more probable, when we consider that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art. The Balearic slings would annoy an enemy either near at hand, or at a distance. Every sling carried three of them in war. One hung from the neck, a second from the waist, and a third was carried in the hand. To this, give me leave to add two more observations (foreign indeed to the present purpose, but relating to these islands), which I hope will not be uninteresting to the reader. The first is, that these islands were once so infested with rabbits, that the inhabitants of it applied to Rome, either for aid against them, or otherwise desired new habitations, ἐκβαλλεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐκ οὐκ τῶν ζώων τούτων, those creatures having ejected them out of their old ones. Vide *Strab.* *Plin.* l. viii. c. 55. The second observation is, that these islanders were not only expert slingers, but likewise excellent swimmers; which they are to this day, by the testimony of our countryman, *Biddulph*, who, in his travels informs us, that being becalmed near these islands, a woman swam to him out of one of them, with a basket of fruit &c. sell.

⁹ *Clover*, l. ii. c. 2.

¹⁰ *Strabo*, l. iii. p. 171.

¹¹ *Seville*.

¹² *Tarragona*.

¹³ *Ebro*.

¹⁴ *Douro*.

¹⁵ *Guadalquivir*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 139—142.

¹⁷ *Guadiana*.

¹⁸ *Barcelona*.

¹⁹ *Lib.* v. p. 312.

¹ *Sallust de bello Jugurth.* n. 77. *Valer. Max.* l. v. c. 6.

² These altars were not standing in *Strabo's* time. Some geographers think *Acadia* to be the city which was anciently called *Philanorum Aræ*; but others believe it was *Naina* or *Tain*, situated a little west of *Acadia*, in the gulf of *Sidra*.

³ *Strab.* l. v. p. 224. *Diod.* l. v. p. 296.

⁴ *Liv.* l. xxviii. n. 37.

⁵ *Diod.* l. v. p. 298. and l. xix. p. 742. *Liv.* loco citato.

⁶ *Liquescit excussa glans funda, et attritu aeris, velut igne, distillat; i. e.* The ball, when thrown from the sling, dissolves; and, by the friction of the air, runs as if it were melted by fire. *Senec. Nat. Quæst.* l. ii. c. 57.

⁷ *Strab.* l. iii. p. 167.

⁸ *Bochart* derives the name of these islands from two Phœnician words, *Baal-jare*, or *master of the art of slinging*. This strengthens the authority of *Strabo*, viz. that the inhabitants learned their art from the Phœnicians, who

were invaded by the Spaniards.¹ That city was a colony from Tyre, as well as Utica and Carthage, and even more ancient than either of them. The Tyrians having built it, established there the worship of Hercules; and erected, in his honour, a magnificent temple, which became famous in after-ages. The success of this first expedition of the Carthaginians made them desirous of carrying their arms into Spain.

It is not exactly known in what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their first conquests. It is probable that these were slow in the beginning, as the Carthaginians had to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great resolution and courage. Nor could they ever have accomplished their design, as Strabo² observes, had the Spaniards (united in a body) formed but one state, and mutually assisted one another. But as every district, every people, were entirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence nor connection with them, the Carthaginians were forced to subdue them one after another. This circumstance occasioned, on one hand, the loss of Spain; but on the other, protracted the war, and made the conquest of the country much more difficult.³ Accordingly it has been observed, that though Spain was the first province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the last they subdued;⁴ and was not entirely subjected to their power, till after having made a vigorous opposition for upwards of 200 years.

It appears from the accounts given by Polybius and Livy, of the wars of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal, in Spain, which will soon be mentioned, that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any considerable progress in that country before that period, and that the greatest part of Spain was then unconquered. But in twenty years' time they completed the conquest of almost the whole country.

At the time that Hannibal set out for Italy,⁵ all the coast of Africa, from the Philenorum Arce, by the great Syrtis to the pillars of Hercules, was subject to the Carthaginians. Passing through the straits, they had conquered all the western coast of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills. The coast which lies on the Mediterranean, had been almost wholly subdued by them; and it was there they had built Carthage; and they were masters of all the country, as far as the river Iberus, which bounded their dominions. Such was, at that time, the extent of their empire. In the centre of the country, some nations had indeed held out against all their efforts and could not be subdued by them.

Conquests of the Carthaginians in Sicily.

The wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily are more known. I shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes, who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily, till the first Punic war. This period includes near two hundred and twenty years; viz. from the year of the world 3520 to 3738. At the breaking out of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus (three brothers who succeeded one another) with the sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy or popular government was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time the two Dionysii, Timoleon and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such was the government of Sicily during the wars of which I am going to treat. They will give us great light with regard to the power of the Carthaginians, at the time that they began to be engaged in war with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in

the Mediterranean. It is of a triangular form, and for that reason was called Trinacria and Triquetra. The eastern side, which faces the Ionian or Grecian sea, extends from cape Pachynum⁶ to Pelorum.⁷ The most celebrated cities on this coast are Syracuse, Taurominium and Messana.⁸ The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from cape Pelorum to cape Lilybæum.⁹ The most noted cities on this coast are Myla, Himera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, Lilybæum.¹⁰ The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from cape Lilybæum to Pachynum. The most remarkable cities on this coast are Selinus, Agrigentum,¹¹ Gela, and Camarina. This island is separated from Italy by a strait, which is not more than a mile and a half over, and called the Faro or strait of Messina, from its contiguity to that city. The passage from Lilybæum to Africa is but 1500 furlongs,¹² that is, about seventy-five leagues.

The period in which the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily is not exactly known.¹³ All we are certain of is, that they were already possessed of some part of it, at the time that they entered into

a treaty with the Romans; the same year that the kings were expelled, and consuls appointed in their room, viz. twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. This treaty, which is the first we find mentioned to have been made between these two nations, speaks of Africa and Sardinia as possessed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions with regard to Sicily, relate only to those parts of the island which were subject to them. By this treaty it is expressly stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory,¹⁴ which was very near Carthage; and that such merchants, as shall resort to this city for traffic, shall pay only certain duties which are settled in it.¹⁵

It appears by the same treaty, that the Carthaginians were particularly careful to exclude the Romans from all the countries subject to them; as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though the Carthaginians, even at that time, had taken umbrage at the rising power of the Romans; and already harboured in their breasts the secret seeds of that jealousy and distrust, that were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and a mutual hatred and animosity, which nothing could extinguish but the ruin of one of the contending powers.

Some years after the conclusion of this first treaty, the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes, king of Persia.¹⁶ This prince, who aimed at nothing less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he considered as his irreconcilable enemies, thought it would be impossible for him to succeed in his enterprise without the assistance of Carthage, whose power was formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who always kept in view the design they entertained of seizing upon the remainder of Sicily, greedily snatched the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for their completing the reduction of it. A treaty was therefore concluded; wherein it was agreed, that the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, those Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, whilst Xerxes should march in person against Greece itself.

⁶ Pachynum.

⁷ Il Faro.

⁸ [Now called Saragosa. Taormina and Messina Saragosa is now a place of little or no importance, and was almost entirely destroyed in the great earthquake of 1693.]

⁹ Cape Boco.

¹⁰ [The city of Lilybæum is now called Marsala.]

¹¹ [Now Girgenti, still a neat and strong town, and the see of a Bishop Suffragan of Palermo. It was ruined by the Saracens, in the tenth century, after a long and vigorous defence.]

¹² Strabo, l. vi. p. 267.

¹³ Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, et seq. edit. Gronov.

¹⁴ The reason of this restraint, according to Polybius was the unwillingness of the Carthaginians to let the Romans have any knowledge of the countries which lay more to the south, in order that this enterprising people might not hear of their fertility. Polyb. l. iii. p. 247. edit. Gronov.

¹⁵ Polyb. l. iii. p. 246.

¹⁶ Diod. l. xi. p. 1. 16. 22.

¹ Justin. l. xlv. c. 5. Diod. l. v. p. 200. ² Lib. iii. p. 152.

³ Such a division of Britain retarded, and at the same time facilitated, the conquest of it to the Romans. *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.* Tacit.

⁴ Hispania, prima Romanis inita Provincia, quæ quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium perdomita est. *Idem.* l. xxviii. n. 13. ⁵ Polyb. l. iii. p. 192. l. i. p. 9.

The preparations for this war lasted three years. The land army amounted to no less than three hundred thousand men. The fleet consisted of two thousand ships of war, and upwards of three thousand small vessels of burden. Hamilcar, the most experienced captain of his age, sailed from Carthage with this formidable army. He landed at Palermo,¹ and, after refreshing his troops, he marched against Himera, a city not far distant from Palermo, and laid siege to it. Theron, who commanded in it, seeing himself very much straitened, sent to Gelon, who had possessed himself of Syracuse. He flew immediately to his relief, with fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse. His arrival infused new courage into the besieged, who, from that time, made a very vigorous defence.

Gelon was an able warrior, and excelled in stratagems. A courier was brought to him, who had been despatched from Selinus, a city of Sicily, with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry which he had demanded of them. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own troops, and sent them from his camp about the time agreed on. These being admitted into the enemy's camp, as coming from Selinus, rushed upon Hamilcar, killed him, and set fire to his ships. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked, with all his forces, the Carthaginians, who at first made a gallant resistance. But when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they saw all their fleet in a blaze, their courage failed them, and they fled. And now a dreadful slaughter ensued: upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand being slain. The rest of the army, having retired to a place where they were in want of every thing, could not make a long defence, and were forced to surrender at discretion. This battle was fought the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, in which three hundred Spartans,² with the sacrifice of their lives, disputed Xerxes's entrance into Greece.

When the sad news was brought to Carthage of the entire defeat of the army, consternation, grief, and despair, threw the whole city into such a confusion and alarm as are not to be expressed. It was imagined that the enemy was already at the gates. The Carthaginians, in great reverses of fortune, always lost their courage, and sunk into the opposite extreme. Immediately they sent a deputation to Gelon, by which they desired peace upon any terms. He heard their envoys with great humanity. The complete victory he had gained, so far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increased his modesty and clemency even towards the enemy. He therefore granted them a peace, without any other condition, than their paying two thousand talents³ towards the expense of the war. He likewise required them to build two temples, where the treaty of this peace should be deposited, and exposed at all times to public view. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchase of a peace that was so absolutely necessary to their affairs, and which they hardly durst hope for. Gisco, the son of Hamilcar, pursuant to the unjust custom of the Carthaginians, of ascribing to the general the ill success of a war, and making him bear the blame of it, was punished for his father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days at Selinus, a city of Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly, unarmed and without his guards, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption than the public testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant, and the oppressor of his country's liberty, he was considered as its bene-

factor and deliverer; all, with a unanimous voice, proclaimed him king; and the crown was bestowed, after his death, on his two brothers.

After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse,⁴ where A. M. 3592. Nicias perished with his whole fleet, A. Carth. 434. the Segestans, who had declared in A. Rom. 336. favour of the Athenians against the Ant. J. C. 412. Syracusans, fearing the resentment of their enemies, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinus, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. At Carthage, the people debated some time, what course it would be proper for them to take, the affair meeting with great difficulties. On one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city which lay so convenient for them; on the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians; and become, by so shining a victory, more formidable than ever. At last, the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised succours.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who at that time was invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the Suffetes. He was grandson to Hamilcar, who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Himera, and son to Gisco who had been condemned to exile. He left Carthage, animated with an ardent desire of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army as well as fleet under his command. He landed at a place called the *Well of Lilybæum*, which gave its name to a city afterwards built on the same spot. His first enterprise was the siege of Selinus. The attack and defence were equally vigorous, the very women showing a resolution and bravery above their sex. The city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most horrid cruelties, without showing the least regard to either age or sex. He permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to continue in the city after it had been dismantled; and to till the lands, on condition of their paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. This city had been built two hundred and forty two years.

Himera, which he next besieged and took likewise by storm, after being more cruelly treated than Selinus, was entirely razed, two hundred and forty years after its foundation. He forced three thousand prisoners to undergo every kind of ignominious punishments; and at last murdered them all on the very spot where his grandfather had been killed by Gelon's cavalry, to appease and satisfy his manes by the blood of these unhappy victims.

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him amidst the most joyful acclamations.

These successes rekindled the desire,⁵ and revived the design, which the Carthaginians had ever entertained of making themselves masters of the whole of Sicily. Three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general a second time; and on his pleading his great age, and refusing the command of this war, they gave him for lieutenant, Imilco, son of Hanno of the same family. The preparations for this war were proportioned to the great design which the Carthaginians had formed. The fleet and army were soon ready, and set out for Sicily. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above six score thousand; and according to Ephorus, to three hundred thousand men. The enemy, on their side, were prepared to give the Carthaginians a warm reception. The Syracusans had sent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them; and to all the cities of Sicily to exhort them to exert themselves vigorously in defence of their liberties.

Agrirentum expected to feel the first fury of the

¹ This city is called in Latin *Panormus*.

² Besides the 300 Spartans, the Theopians, a people of Bœotia, to the number of 700, fought and died with Leonidas in this memorable battle. *Herod. l. vii. c. 202-222.*

³ An *Attic* silver talent, according to Dr. Bernard, is 206*l.* 5*s.*; consequently, 2000 talents is 412,500*l.*

⁴ Vol. I.—11

⁵ Diod. l. xiii. p. 169—171. 179—186.

⁶ Id. l. xiii. p. 201—203; 206—211; 226—231.

enemy This city was prodigiously rich,¹ and strongly fortified. It was situated, as was also Selinus, on that coast of Sicily which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one side, he directed his whole force to that quarter. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls; and made use, on this occasion, of the rubbish and fragments of the tombs standing round the city, which he had demolished, for that purpose. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself. The Carthaginians interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods, who revenged in this manner the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts many fancied they had seen stalking before them in the night. No more tombs were therefore demolished, prayers were ordered to be made according to the practice of Carthage; a child was sacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a most inhuman superstitious custom; and many victims were thrown into the sea, in honour of Neptune.

The besieged, who at first had gained several advantages, were at last so pressed by famine, that all hopes of relief seeming desperate, they resolved to abandon the city. The following night was fixed on for this purpose. The reader will naturally image to himself the grief with which these miserable people must be seized, on their being forced to leave their houses, their rich possessions, and their country; but life was still dearer to them than all these. Never was a more melancholy spectacle seen. To omit the rest, a crowd of women, bathed in tears, were seen dragging after them their helpless infants, in order to secure them from the brutal fury of the victor. But the most grievous circumstance was, the necessity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and sick, who were unable either to fly or to make the least resistance. The unhappy exiles arrived at Gela, which was the nearest city, and there received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced.

In the mean time, Imilco entered the city; and murdered all who were found in it. The plunder was immensely rich, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and had never been besieged, nor consequently plundered before. A numberless multitude of pictures, vases, and statues of all kinds, were found here; the citizens having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull² of Phalaris, which was sent to Carthage.

The siege of Agrigentum had lasted eight months. Imilco made his forces take up their winter-quarters in it, to give them the necessary refreshments; and left this city (after laying it entirely in ruins) in the beginning of the spring. He afterwards besieged Gela, and took it, notwithstanding the succours which were brought by Dionysius the tyrant, who had seized upon the government of Syracuse. Imilco ended the war by a treaty with Dionysius. The conditions of

it were, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the country of the Sicaniens,³ Selinus, Agrigentum, and Himera; as likewise that of Gela and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reside in their respective dismantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage; that the Leontines, the Messenians, and all the Sicilians, should retain their own laws, and preserve their liberty and independence: lastly, that the Syracusans should still continue subject to Dionysius. After this treaty was concluded, Imilco returned to Carthage, where the plague still made dreadful havoc.

Dionysius⁴ had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians with
A. M. 3600.
no other view than to get time to estab- A. Carth. 442.
lish his new authority, and make A. Rom. 344.
the necessary preparations for the war which he meditated against them. As he was very sensible how formidable the power of this state was, he used his utmost endeavours to enable himself to invade them with success; and his design was wonderfully well seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The fame of this prince, the strong desire he had to distinguish himself, the charms of gain, and the prospect of the rewards which he promised those who should show the greatest industry, invited, from all quarters, into Sicily, the most able artists and workmen at that time in the world. All Syracuse now became in a manner an immense workshop, in every part of which men were seen making swords, helmets, shields, and military engines, and preparing all things necessary for building ships and fitting out fleets. The invention of vessels with five benches of oars (or *Quinqueremes*), was at that time very recent; for, till then, those with three alone had been used. Dionysius animated the workmen by his presence, and by the applauses he gave, and the bounty which he bestowed seasonably; but chiefly by his popular and engaging behaviour, which excited, more strongly than any other conduct, the industry and ardour of the workmen;⁵ and he frequently allowed those of them who most excelled in their respective arts the honour to dine with him.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been levied in different countries, he called the Syracusans together, laid his design before them, and represented to them that the Carthaginians were the professed enemies to the Greeks; that they had no less in view than the invasion of all Sicily; the subjecting all the Grecian cities; and that, in case their progress was not checked, the Syracusans themselves would soon be attacked: that the reason why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterprise, and continued inactive, was owing entirely to the dreadful havoc made by the plague among them; which (he observed) was a favourable opportunity, of which the Syracusans ought to take advantage. Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuse, yet the hatred the people bore to Carthaginians prevailed over all other considerations; and every one, guided more by the views of an interested policy than by the dictates of justice, received the speech with applause. Upon this, without the least complaint made, or any declaration of war, Dionysius gave up to the fury of the populace, the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians. Great numbers of them resided at that time in Syracuse, and traded there on the faith of treaties. The common people ran to their houses, plundered their effects, and pretended they were sufficiently authorized to exercise every ignominy, and inflict every kind of punishment on them, for the cruelties they had exercised against the natives of the country. And this horrid example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily. This was the bloody signal of the war which was declared against them. Dionysius having thus begun to do himself justice (in his way), sent deputies to Carthage, to

¹ The very sepulchral monuments showed the magnificence and luxury of this city, being adorned with statues of birds and horses. But the wealth and boundless generosity of Gellian, one of its inhabitants, is almost incredible. He entertained the people with spectacles and feasts; and during a famine, prevented the citizens from dying with hunger: he gave portions to poor maidens, and rescued the unfortunate from want and despair: he had built houses in the city and the country, purposely for the accommodation of strangers, whom he usually dismissed with handsome presents. Five hundred shipwrecked citizens of Gela, applying to him, were bountifully relieved, and every man supplied with a cloak and coat out of his wardrobe. *Diod. . . xlii. Valen. Max. l. iv. c. ult.* Empedocles, the philosopher, born in Agrigentum, has a memorable saying concerning his fellow citizens: *That the Agrigentines squandered their money so excessively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhausted; and built with such solidity and magnificence, as if they thought they should live forever.*

² This bull, with other spoils here taken, was afterwards restored to the Agrigentines by Scipio, when he took Carthage in the third Punic war. *Cic. orat. iv. in Porro.* e. 33

³ The Sicaniens and Sicilians were anciently two distinct people.

⁴ *Tirremon*

⁵ *Diod. l. xiv. p. 262-278.*

⁶ *Huon alit. artes.*

require them to restore all the Sicilian cities to their liberties; and that otherwise, all the Carthaginians found in them should be treated as enemies. This news spread a general alarm in Carthage, especially when they reflected on the sad condition to which they were reduced.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily; and he pushed on the siege with so much vigour, that it was impossible for Imilco, the Carthaginian admiral, to relieve it. He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering rams, advanced to the wall-towers, six stories high (rolled upon wheels), and of an equal height with their houses; and from these he greatly annoyed the besieged with his Catapultæ, an engine then recently invented, which hurled, with great violence, numerous volleys of arrows and stones against the enemy.¹ At last, the city, after a long and vigorous defence, was taken by storm, and all the inhabitants of it put to the sword, those excepted who took sanctuary in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the soldiers; and Dionysius, leaving a strong garrison and a trusting governor in it, returned to Syracuse.

The following year Imilco, being appointed one of the Sufetes, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before.² He landed at Palermo, recovered Motya by force, and took several other cities. Animated by these successes, he advanced towards Syracuse, with design to besiege it; marching his infantry by land, whilst his fleet, under the command of Mago, sailed along the coast.

The arrival of Imilco threw the Syracusans into great consternation. About two hundred ships laden with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a kind of triumph the great harbour, being followed by five hundred barks. At the same time the land army, consisting, according to some authors of three hundred thousand foot,³ and three thousand horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imilco pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter; and the rest of the army encamped at twelve furlongs, or about a mile and a half, from the city. Marching up to it, Imilco offered battle to the inhabitants, who did not care to accept the challenge. Imilco, satisfied at his having extorted from the Syracusans this confession of their own weakness and his superiority, returned to his camp; not doubting that he should soon be master of the city, considering it already as a certain prey which could not possibly escape him. For thirty days together, he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse, and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Achradina and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. To fortify his camp, he beat down the tombs which stood around the city; and among others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was prodigiously magnificent.

But these successes were not lasting. All the splendour of this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says the historian,⁴ that the proudest mortal blasted sooner or later by a superior power, shall be forced to confess his own weakness. Whilst Imilco, now master of almost all the cities of Sicily, expected to crown his conquests by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and made dreadful havoc in it. It was now in the midst of summer, and the heat of that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died, without any possibility of their being relieved. At first care was taken to inter the dead; but the number increasing daily, and the infection spreading very fast, the dead lay unburied, and the sick could have no assistance. This plague was attended with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, burning entrails,

acute pains in every part of the body. The infected were even seized with madness and fury, so that they would fall upon any persons that came in their way and tear them to pieces.

Dionysius did not suffer to escape so favourable an opportunity for attacking the enemy. Being more than half conquered by the plague, they made but a feeble resistance. The Carthaginian ships were almost all either taken or burnt. The inhabitants in general of Syracuse, old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city to behold an event which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, they thanked the tutelary gods of their city, for having avenged the sanctity of the temples and tombs, which had been so brutally violated by these barbarians. Night coming on, both parties retired, when Imilco, taking the opportunity of this short suspension of hostilities, sent to Dionysius, requesting leave to carry back with him the small remains of his shattered army, with an offer of three hundred talents,⁵ which was all the specie he had then left. But this permission could only be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imilco stole away in the night, and left the rest to the mercy of the conqueror.

Such was the condition in which this Carthaginian general, who a few days before had been so proud and haughty, retired from Syracuse. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, and still more that of his country, he, with the most insolent fury, accused the gods as the sole authors of his misfortunes. *The enemy, continued he, may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. We return victorious over the Syracusans, and are defeated by the plague alone. His greatest subject of grief, and that which most keenly distressed him, was his having survived so many gallant soldiers, who had died in arms. But, added he, the sequel shall make it appear, whether it is through fear of death, or from the desire of leading back to their native country the miserable remains of my fellow-citizens, that I have survived the loss of so many brave comrades.* And in fact, on his arrival at Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, he entered his house, shut his doors against the citizens, and even his own children; and then gave himself the fatal stroke, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falsely gave the name of courage, though it was, in reality, no other than a cowardly despair.

But the calamities of this unhappy city did not stop here; for the Africans, who had ever borne an implacable hatred to the Carthaginians, but were now exasperated to fury, because their countrymen had been left behind, and exposed to the murdering sword of the Syracusans, assemble in the most frantic manner, sound the alarm, take up arms, and, after seizing upon Tunis, march directly to Carthage, to the number of more than two hundred thousand men. The citizens now gave themselves up for lost. This new incident was considered by them as the sad effect of the wrath of the gods, which pursued the guilty wretches even to Carthage. As its inhabitants, especially in all public calamities, carried their superstition to the greatest excess, their first care was to appease the offended gods. Ceres and Proserpine were deities, who, till that time, had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been done them in the plundering of their temples, magnificent statues were erected to their honour; priests were selected from among the most distinguished families of the city; sacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual (if I may use that expression), were offered up to them; in a word nothing was omitted which could be thought conducive in any manner to appease and propitiate the angry goddesses. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for the Carthaginians, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body uninformed with a soul, no provisions nor military engines, no discipline, nor subordination was seen among them, every man setting himself up for a general, or claiming an independence on the rest.

¹ The curious reader will find a particular account of it in the second volume of this work, Book XXII.

² Diod. l. xiv. p. 279—285. Justin. l. xix. c. 2, 3.

³ Some authors say but thirty thousand foot, which is the more probable account, as the fleet which blocked up the town by sea was so formidable.

⁴ Diodorus.

⁵ About 61,800*l.* English money.

Divisions therefore arising in this rabble of an army, and the famine increasing daily, the individuals of it withdrew to their respective homes, and delivered Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Carthaginians were not discouraged by their late disaster, but continued their enterprises on Sicily. Mago, their general, and one of the Suffetes, lost a great battle, in which he was slain. The Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which was granted, on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expenses of the war. They pretended to accept the terms; but representing that it was not in their power, to deliver up the cities, without first obtaining an order from their republic, they obtained so long a truce, as gave them time sufficient for sending to Carthage. They took advantage of this interval, to raise and discipline new troops, over which Mago, son of him who had been lately killed, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. As soon as he arrived in Sicily, at the expiration of the truce he gave Dionysius battle; in which Leptines,¹ one of the generals of the latter, was killed, and upwards of fourteen thousand Syracusans left dead in the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in the possession of all they had in Sicily, with even the addition of some strong holds; besides a thousand talents,² which were paid them towards defraying the expenses of the war.

About this time a law was enacted at Carthage,³ by which its inhabitants were forbid to learn to write or speak the Greek language; in order to deprive them of the means of corresponding with the enemy, either by word of mouth, or in writing. This was occasioned by the treachery of a Carthaginian, who had written in Greek to Dionysius, to give him advice of the departure of the army from Carthage.

Carthage had, soon after, another calamity to struggle with.⁴ The plague spread in the city, and made terrible havoc. Panic terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, seized on a sudden the unhappy sufferers; who sallying sword in hand out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who came in their way. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to shake off a yoke which was so hateful to them; but both were subjected and reduced to their allegiance. Dionysius formed at this time an enterprise in Sicily, with the same views, which was equally unsuccessful. He died some time after, and was succeeded by his son of the same name.⁵

We have already taken notice of the first treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans. There was another, which according to Orosius, was concluded in the 402d year of the foundation of Rome, and consequently about the time we are now speaking of. This second treaty was very near the same with the first, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were expressly comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians.

After the death of the elder Dionysius, Syracuse was involved in great A. M. 3656. troubles.⁶ Dionysius the younger, A. Carth. 498. A. Rom. 400. who had been expelled, restored himself by force of arms, and exercised

great cruelties there. One part of the citizens explored the aid of Ictes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by descent a Syracusan. This seemed a very favourable opportunity for the Carthaginians to seize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, such of the Syracusans as loved their country best, had recourse to the Corinthians, who had often assisted them in their dangers; and were, besides, of all the Grecian nations, the most professed enemies of tyranny, and the most avowed and most generous assertors of liberty. Accordingly, the Corinthians sent over Timoleon, a man of great merit, who had signalized his zeal for the public welfare, by freeing his country from tyranny, at the expense of his own family. He set sail with only ten ships, and arriving at Rhegium, he eluded, by a happy stratagem, the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who having been informed, by Ictes, of his voyage and design, wanted to intercept him in his passage to Sicily.

Timoleon had scarce above 1000 soldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he marched boldly to the relief of Syracuse. His small army increased in proportion as he advanced. The Syracusans were now in a desperate condition, and quite hopeless. They saw the Carthaginians masters of the port; Ictes of the city; and Dionysius of the citadel. Happily on Timoleon's arrival, Dionysius, having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all the forces, arms, and ammunition, in it; and escaped by his assistance, to Corinth.⁷ Timoleon had, by his emissaries, artfully represented to the foreign soldiers, who (by that error in the constitution of Carthage which we have before taken notice of) formed the principal strength of Mago's army, and the greatest part of whom were Greeks; that it was astonishing to see Greeks using their endeavours to make barbarians masters of Sicily, from whence they, in a very little time, would pass over into Greece. For could they imagine, that the Carthaginians were come so far, with no other view than to establish Ictes tyrant of Syracuse? Such discourses being spread among Mago's soldiers, gave this general very great uneasiness; and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed, that his forces were going to betray and desert him: and upon this, he sailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and steered for Carthage. Ictes, after his departure, could not hold out long against the Corinthians; so that they now got entire possession of the whole city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached: but he prevented the execution of the sentence passed upon him by a voluntary death. His body was hung upon a gallows, and exposed as a public spectacle to the people. New forces were levied at Carthage,⁸ and a greater and more powerful fleet than the former was sent to Sicily. It consisted of two hundred ships of war, besides a thousand transports; and the army amounted to upwards of seventy thousand men. They landed at Lilybæum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and resolved to attack the Corinthians first. Timoleon did not wait for, but marched out to meet them. But such was the consternation of Syracuse, that, of all the forces which were in that city, only three thousand Syracusans and four thousand mercenaries followed him; and even of these latter a thousand deserted upon the march, through fear of the danger they were going to encounter. Timoleon, however, was not discour-

¹ This Leptines was brother to Dionysius.

² About 206,000*l*. Justin. lxx. c. 5. ³ Diod. l. xv. p. 344.

⁴ This is the Dionysius who invited Plato to his court, and who, being afterwards offended with his freedom, sold him for a slave. Some philosophers came from Greece to Syracuse in order to redeem their brother, which having done, they sent him home with this useful lesson; That philosophers ought very rarely, or very obligingly, to converse with tyrants. This prince had learning, and affected to pass for a poet; but could not gain that name at the Olympic games, whither he had sent his verses to be repeated by his brother Thearides. It had been happy for Dionysius, had the Athenians entertained no better an opinion of his poetry; for, on their pronouncing him victor, when his poems were repeated in their city, he was raised to such a transport of joy and intemperance, that both together killed him; and thus, perhaps, was verified the prediction of the oracle, viz. that he should die when he had overcome his betters.

⁵ Diod. l. xvi. p. 459—472. Polyb. l. iii. p. 178. Plu. in Tim.

⁶ Here he preserved some resemblance of his former tyranny, by turning schoolmaster; and exercising a discipline over boys, when he could no longer tyrannize over men. He had learning, and was once a scholar to Plato, whom he caused to come again into Sicily, notwithstanding the unworthy treatment he had met with from Dionysius's father. Philip, king of Macedon, meeting him in the streets of Corinth, and asking him how he came to lose so considerable a principality as had been left him by his father, he answered, that his father had indeed left him the inheritance, but not the fortune which had preserved both himself and that.—However, fortune did him no great injury, in replacing him on the dunghill from which sue had raised his father.

⁸ Plu. p. 248—250.

aged; but exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themselves courageously for the safety and liberties of their allies, he led them against the enemy, whose rendezvous he had been informed was on the banks of the little river Crimissus. It appeared at the first reflection madness to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only four or five thousand foot, and a thousand horse; but Timoleon, who knew that bravery conducted by prudence is superior to number, relied on the courage of his soldiers, who seemed resolved to die rather than yield, and with ardour demanded to be led against the enemy. The event justified his views and hopes. A battle was fought; the Carthaginians were routed, and upwards of ten thousand of them slain, full three thousand of whom were Carthaginian citizens, which filled their city with mourning and the greatest consternation. Their camp was taken, and with it immense riches and a great number of prisoners.

Timoleon,¹ at the same time that he despatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found among the plunder. For he was desirous of having his city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth alone, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its finest temples, not with the spoils of Greece, and offerings dyed in the blood of its citizens, the sight of which could tend only to preserve the sad remembrance of their losses, but with those of barbarians, which, by fine inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and religious gratitude of those who had won them. For these inscriptions imported, *That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general after having freed the Greeks, settled in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgement of the favour and goodness of the gods.*

After this, Timoleon, leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginian territories to waste and destroy them, returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he banished the thousand soldiers who had deserted him; and took no other revenge, than the commanding them to leave Syracuse before sun-set.

The victory gained by the Corinthians was followed by the capture of a great many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians to sue for peace.

In proportion as the appearance of success made the Carthaginians vigorously exert themselves to raise powerful armies both by land and sea, and prosperity led them to make an insolent and cruel use of victory; so their courage would sink in unforeseen adversities, their hopes of new resources vanish, and their grovelling souls condescend to ask quarter of the most inconsiderable enemy, and without sense of shame accept the hardest and most mortifying conditions. Those now imposed were, that they should possess only the lands lying beyond the river Halycus;² that they should give all the natives free liberty to retire to Syracuse with their families and effects, and that they should neither continue in the alliance, nor hold any correspondence, with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, in all probability, there happened at Carthage a memorable incident, related by Justin.³ Hanno, one of its most powerful citizens, formed a design of seizing upon the republic, by destroying the whole senate. He chose for the execution of this bloody plan, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occasion he designed to invite the senators to an entertainment, and there poison them all. The conspiracy was discovered; but Hanno had such influence, that the government did not dare to punish so execrable a crime; the magistrates contented themselves with only preventing it, by an order which forbade, in general, too great a magnificence at weddings, and limited the expense on those occasions. Hanno seeing his stratagem defeated, resolved to employ open force, and for that purpose armed all the slaves. However, he was again dis-

covered; and to escape punishment, retired with twenty thousand armed slaves, to a castle that was very strongly fortified; and there endeavoured, but without success, to engage in his rebellion the Africans and the king of Mauritania. He afterwards was taken prisoner and carried to Carthage; where, after being whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, he was put to death in presence of the people, and his body, all torn with stripes, was hung on a gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, shared in his punishment. They were all sentenced to die, in order that not a single person of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime or revenge his death. Such was the temper of the Carthaginians; ever severe and violent in their punishments, they carried them to the extremes of rigour, and made them extend even to the innocent, without showing the least regard to equity, moderation, or gratitude.

I come now to the wars sustained by the Carthaginians,⁴ in Africa itself as well as in Sicily, against A. M. 3685. A. Carth. 527. Agathocles, which exercised their A. Rom. 429. arms during several years. Ant. J. C. 319.

This Agathocles was a Sicilian of obscure birth and low fortune.⁵ Supported at first by the forces of the Carthaginians, he had invaded the sovereignty of Syracuse, and made himself tyrant over it. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds; and Hamilcar their chief forced him to agree to a treaty which restored tranquillity to Sicily. But he soon infringed the articles of it, and declared war against the Carthaginians themselves; who, under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a signal victory over him,⁶ and forced him to shut himself up in Syracuse. The Carthaginians pursued him thither and laid siege to that important city, the capture of which would have given them possession of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whose forces were greatly inferior to theirs, and who moreover saw himself deserted by all his allies, from their detestation of his horrid cruelties, meditated a design of so daring, and to all appearance, so impracticable a nature, that even after being happily carried into execution, it yet appears almost incredible. This design was no less than to make Africa the seat of war, and to besiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himself in Sicily, nor sustain the siege of Syracuse. His profound secrecy in the execution is as astonishing as the design itself. He communicated his thoughts on this affair to no person whatsoever, but contented himself with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracusans from the danger that surrounded them; that they had only to endure with patience, for a short time, the inconveniences of a siege; but that those who could not bring themselves to this resolution, might freely depart the city. Only sixteen hundred persons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there, with forces and provisions sufficient for him to make a stout defence. He set at liberty all slaves who were of age to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents⁷ to supply his present wants, well assured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever was necessary to his subsistence. He therefore set sail with two of his sons, Archagathus and Heraclides

⁴ Diod. l. xix. p. 651. 656. 710. 712. 737. 743. 760. Justin l. ii. c. 1-6.

⁵ He was, according to most historians, the son of a potter; but all allow him to have worked at the trade. From the obscurity of his birth and condition, Polybius raises an argument to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to the slanders of Timæus. But his greatest eulogium was the praise of Scipio. That illustrious Roman being asked, who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs; answered, Agathocles and Dionysius Polyb. l. xv. p. 1003. edit. Gronov. However, let his capacity have been ever so great, it was exceeded by his cruelty.

⁶ The battle was fought near the river and city of Himera 50,000 French crowns, or 11,250*l.* sterling.

¹ Plut. p. 248-250.

² This river is not far from Agrigentum. It is called *Elycus* by Diodorus and Plutarch; but this is thought a mistake.

³ Justin. l. xxi. c. 4.

without letting any one person know whither he intended to direct his course. All who were on board his fleet believed that they were to be conducted either to Italy or Sardinia, in order to plunder those countries, or to lay waste those coasts of Sicily which belonged to the enemy. The Carthaginians, surprised at so unexpected a departure, endeavoured to prevent it; but Agathocles eluded their pursuit, and made for the main ocean.

He did not discover his design till he had landed in Africa. There, assembling his troops, he told them, in few words, the motive which had prompted him to this expedition. He represented, that the only way to free their country, was to carry the war into the territories of their enemies: that he led them, who were inured to war, and of intrepid dispositions, against a parcel of enemies who were softened and enervated by ease and luxury: that the natives of the country, oppressed with the yoke of a servitude equally cruel and ignominious, would run in crowds to join them on the first news of their arrival; that the boldness of their attempt would alone disconcert the Carthaginians, who had no expectation of seeing an enemy at their gates: in short, that no enterprise could possibly be more advantageous or honourable than this; since the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whose courage would be praised and admired by latest posterity. The soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Carthage, and received his speech with applause and acclamations. One circumstance alone gave them uneasiness, and that was an eclipse of the sun, which happened just as they were setting sail. In these ages, even the most civilized nations understood very little the reason of these extraordinary phenomena of nature; and used to draw from them (by their soothsayers) superstitious and arbitrary conjectures, which frequently would either suspend or hasten the more important enterprises. However, Agathocles revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by assuring them that these eclipses always foretold some instant change; that, therefore, good fortune was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his soldiers in the good disposition he wished them, he executed, almost at the same time, a second enterprise, which was even more daring and hazardous than his first, of carrying them over into Africa; and this was, the burning every ship in his fleet. Many reasons determined him to so desperate an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where his ships could lie in safety. As the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, they would not have failed to possess themselves immediately of his fleet, which was incapable of making the least resistance. In case he had left as many hands as were necessary to defend it, he would have weakened his army (which was inconsiderable at the best,) and put it out of his power to gain any advantage from this unexpected diversion, the success of which depended entirely on the swiftness and vigour of the execution. Lastly, he was desirous of putting his soldiers under a necessity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge than victory. Much courage was necessary to adopt such a resolution. He had already prepared all his officers, who were entirely devoted to his service, and received every impression he gave them. He then came suddenly into the assembly with a crown upon his head, dressed in a magnificent habit, and with the air and behaviour of a man who was going to perform some religious ceremony, and addressing himself to the assembly, *When we, says he, left Syracuse, and were warmly pursued by the enemy; in this fatal necessity I addressed myself to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelar divinities of Sicily; and promised, that if they would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all our ships in their honour, at our first landing here. Aid me, therefore, O soldiers, to discharge my vow: for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice.* At the same time, taking a torch in his hand, he hastily led the way, on board of his own ship, and set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every

quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful shouts and acclamations. The fleet was soon consumed. The soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the proposal made to them. They all had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, but when they had a little recovered their reason, and surveying in their minds the vast extent of ocean which separated them from their own country, saw themselves in that of the enemy without the least resource, or any means of escaping out of it; a sad and melancholy silence succeeded the transport of joy and acclamations which, but a moment before, had been so general in the army.

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country through which they marched to this place, afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect in the world. On either side were seen large meads watered by beautiful streams, and covered with innumerable flocks of all kinds of cattle; country-seats built with extraordinary magnificence; delightful avenues planted with olive and all sorts of fruit-trees; gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with a care and elegance which delighted the eye. This prospect reanimated the soldiers. They marched full of courage to the Great City, which they took sword in hand, and enriched themselves with the plunder of it, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis made as little resistance; and this place was not far distant from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were in prodigious alarm, when it was known that the enemy was in the country advancing by hasty marches. This arrival of Agathocles made the Carthaginians conclude, that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost. The people ran in disorder to the great square of the city, whilst the senate assembled in haste and in a tumultuous manner. Immediately they deliberated on the means for preserving the city. They had no army in readiness to oppose the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to await the arrival of those forces which might be raised in the country and among the allies. It was therefore resolved, after several different opinions had been heard, to arm the citizens. The number of the forces thus levied amounted to forty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilcar, though divided betwixt themselves by some family quarrels, were however joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy; and, on sight of them, drew up their forces in order of battle. Agathocles, had, at most, but thirteen or fourteen thousand men.¹ The signal was given, and an obstinate fight ensued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort (the flower of the Carthaginian forces), long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes even broke their ranks; but at last, overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell dead on the field. Bomilcar might have changed the face of things; but he had private and personal reasons not to obtain a victory for his country. He therefore thought proper to retire with the forces under his command, and was followed by the whole army, which, by that means, was forced to leave the field to Agathocles. After pursuing the enemy some time, he returned and plundered the Carthaginian camp. Twenty thousand pair of manacles were found in it, with which the Carthaginians had furnished themselves, in the firm persuasion of their taking many prisoners. The result of this victory was the capture of a great number of strong-holds, and the defection of many of the natives of the country, who joined the victor.

This descent of Agathocles into Africa, doubtless

¹ Agathocles wanting arms for many of his soldiers, provided them with such as were counterfeit, which looked well at a distance. And perceiving the discouragement his forces were under on sight of the enemy's horse, he let fly a great many owls (privately procured for that purpose) which his soldiers interpreted as an omen and assurance of victory. *Diod. l. xx. p. 754.*

gave birth to Scipio's design of making a like attempt upon the same republic, and from the same place.¹ Wherefore, in his answer to Fabius, who ascribed to temerity his design of making Africa the seat of the war, he forgot not to mention the example of Agathocles, as an instance in favour of his enterprise; and to show, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy who presses too closely upon us, than by carrying the war into his own country; and that men are much more courageous when they act upon the offensive, than when they stand only upon the defensive.

While the Carthaginians were thus warmly attacked by their enemies, ambassadors arrived to them from Tyre.² They came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity to which their countrymen (for so they called them) were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and deputed thirty of their principal citizens, to express their grief that they could not spare them any troops, because of the present melancholy situation of their own affairs. The Tyrians, though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not however despond; they committed their wives, children,³ and old men, to the care of these deputies; and thus being delivered from all inquietude, with regard to persons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they thought alone of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this afflicted company with all possible marks of amity, and paid to guests who were so dear and worthy of compassion, all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents.

Quintus Curtius places this embassy from Tyre to the Carthaginians at the same time that the Syracusans were ravaging Africa, and had advanced to the very gates of Carthage. But the expedition of Agathocles against Africa cannot agree in time with the siege of Tyre, which was more than twenty years before it.

At the same time, Carthage was solicitous how to extricate itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republic was considered as the effect of the wrath of the gods: and it was acknowledged to be justly deserved, particularly with regard to two deities, towards whom the Carthaginians had been remiss in the discharge of certain duties prescribed by their religion, and which had once been observed with great exactness. It was a custom (coeval with the city itself) at Carthage, to send annually to Tyre (the mother-city) the tenth of all the revenues of the republic, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both cities. The domain and consequently the revenues of Carthage, having increased considerably, the portion, on the contrary, of the god, had been lessened; and they were far from remitting the whole tenth to him. They were seized with a scruple on this point: they made an open and public confession of their insincerity and sacrilegious avarice; and, to expiate their guilt, they sent to Tyre a great number of presents, and small shrines of their deities, all of gold, which amounted to a prodigious value.

Another violation of religion, which to their inhuman superstition seemed as flagrant as the former, gave them no less uneasiness. Anciently, children of the best families in Carthage used to be sacrificed to Saturn. They now reproached themselves with having failed to pay to the god the honours which they thought were due to him; and with having used fraud and dishonest dealing towards him, by having substituted, in their sacrifices, children of slaves or beggars, bought for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice

was made to this blood-thirsty god, of two hundred children of the first rank; and upwards of three hundred persons, through a sense of this terrible neglect, offered themselves voluntarily as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of the gods.

After these expiations, expresses were despatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the news of what had happened in Africa, and at the same time, to request immediate succours. He commanded the deputies to observe the strictest silence on the subject of the victory of Agathocles; and spread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians; and in confirmation of this report, he showed the irons of the vessels pretended to be taken, which had been carefully sent to him. The truth of this report was not at all doubted in Syracuse; the majority were for capitulating;⁴ when a galley of thirty oars, built in haste by Agathocles, arrived in the port; and through great difficulties and dangers forced its way to the besieged. The news of Agathocles's victory immediately flew through the city, and restored alacrity and resolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a last effort to storm the city, but was beaten off with loss. He then raised the siege, and sent five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country. Sometime after, having resumed the siege, and hoping to surprise the Syracusans by attacking them in the night, his design was discovered;⁵ and falling alive into the enemy's hands, he was put to death with the most exquisite tortures.⁶ Hamilcar's head was sent immediately to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, threw it into a general consternation, by displaying to them the head of this general, which manifested the melancholy situation of their affairs in Sicily.

To these foreign enemies was joined a domestic one,⁷ which was more to be feared, as being more dangerous than the others; this was Bomilcar their general, who was then in possession of the first post in Carthage. He had long meditated the establishment of himself as tyrant at Carthage, and attaining the sovereign authority there; and imagined that the present troubles offered him the wished-for opportunity. He therefore entered the city, and being seconded by a small number of citizens, who were the accomplices of his rebellion, and a body of foreign soldiers, he proclaimed himself tyrant; and showed himself literally such, by cutting the throats of all the citizens whom he met with in the streets. A tumult arising immediately in the city, it was at first thought that the enemy had taken it by some treachery; but when it was known that Bomilcar caused all this disturbance, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and from the tops of the houses discharged whole volleys of darts and stones upon the heads of the soldiers. When he saw an army marching in order against him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with design to make a vigorous defence, and to sell his life as dear as possible. To spare the blood of the citizens, a general pardon was proclaimed for all without exception who would lay down their arms. They surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilcar their chief excepted: for the Carthaginians, without regarding their oath, condemned him to death, and fastened him to a cross, where he suffered the most exquisite torments. From the cross, as from a rostrum, he harangued the people; and thought himself justly entitled to reproach them for their injustice, their ingratitude, and perfidy.

⁴ And the most forward of all the rest was Antander, the brother of Agathocles, left commander in his absence; who was so terrified with the report, that he was eager for having the city surrendered; and expelled out of it 8000 inhabitants who were of a contrary opinion.

⁵ Diod. p. 767—769.

⁶ He was cruelly tortured till he died, and so met with the fate which his fellow-citizens, offended at his conduct in Sicily, had probably allotted for him at home. He was too formidable to be attacked at the head of his army; and therefore the votes of the senate (whatever they were) being according to custom, cast into a vessel, it was immediately enclosed, with an order not to uncover it, till he was returned and had thrown up his commission. Justin i. xlii. c. 2.

⁷ Diod p. 770—781 Justin. l. xlii. c. 7.

¹ Liv. l. xxviii. n. 43.

² Diod. l. xvii. p. 519. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 3.

³ Τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ μέλη, some of their wives and children Diod. l. xvii. p. 519.

dy, which he did by enumerating many illustrious generals, whose services they had rewarded with an ignominious death. He expired on the cross whilst uttering these reproaches.¹

Agathocles had won over to his interest a powerful king of Cyrene, named Ophellas,² whose ambition he had flattered with the most splendid hopes, by leading him to understand, that, contenting himself with Sicily, he would leave to Ophellas the empire of Africa. But, as Agathocles did not scruple to commit the most horrid crimes when he thought them conducive to his interest, the credulous prince had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than, by the blackest perfidy, he caused him to be murdered, in order that Ophellas's army might be entirely at his devotion. Many nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and several strong-holds were garrisoned by his forces. As he now saw the affairs of Africa in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to look after those of Sicily; accordingly he sailed back thither, having left the command of the army to his son Archagathus. His renown, and the report of his victories, flew before him. On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but bad news soon recalled him to Africa. His absence had quite changed the face of things; and all his endeavours were incapable of restoring them to their former condition. All his strong-holds had surrendered to the enemy; the Africans had deserted him; some of his troops were lost, and the remainder were unable to make head against the Carthaginians: he had no way to transport them into Sicily, as he was destitute of ships, and the enemy were masters at sea: he could not hope for either peace or treaty with the barbarians since he had insulted them in so outrageous a manner, by his being the first who had dared to make a descent in their country. In this extremity, he thought only of providing for his own safety. After many adventures, this base deserter of his army, and perfidious betrayer of his own children, who were left by him to the wild fury of his disappointed soldiers, stole away from the dangers which threatened him, and arrived at Syracuse with very few followers. His soldiers, seeing themselves thus betrayed, murdered his sons, and surrendered to the enemy. Himself died miserably soon after, and ended, by a cruel death,³ a life that had been polluted with the blackest crimes.

In this period may be placed another incident related by Justin.⁴ The fame of Alexander's conquests made the Carthaginians fear that he might think of turning his arms towards Africa. The disastrous fate of Tyre, whence they drew their origin, and which he had so lately destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt, as if he intended it as a rival city to Carthage; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this justly alarmed the Carthaginians. To sound his inclinations, Hamilcar, sur-named Rhodanus, pretending to have been driven from his country by the cabals of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, to whom he was introduced by Parmenio, and offered him his services. The king received him graciously, and had several conferences with him. Hamilcar did not fail to transmit to his country whatever discoveries he made from time to time of Alexander's designs. Never-

theless, on his return to Carthage, after Alexander's death, he was considered as a betrayer of his country to that prince; and accordingly was put to death by a sentence which displayed equally the ingratitude and cruelty of his countrymen.

I am now to speak of the wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily,⁵ in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans, to whom the designs of that ambitious prince were not unknown, in order to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make upon Italy, had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians who, on their side, were no less afraid of his crossing into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either of the contracting powers should be attacked by Pyrrhus.

The foresight of the Romans was well founded.⁶ Pyrrhus turned his arms against Italy and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in consequence of the last treaty, thought themselves obliged to assist the Romans; and accordingly sent them a fleet of six-score sail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the senate, signified to them the interest which his superiors took in the war which they heard was carrying on against the Romans, and offered them their assistance. The senate returned thanks for the obliging offer of the Carthaginians, but at present thought fit to decline it.

Mago⁷ some days after repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage for terminating his quarrel with the Romans: but in reality to sound him, and discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which common fame reported he was going to invade. The Carthaginians were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that island and transport forces thither for the conquest of it. And, indeed, the Syracusans, who had been besieged for some time by the Carthaginians, had sent pressing for succour to Pyrrhus. This prince had a particular reason to espouse their interests, having married Lanassa daughter of Agathocles, by whom he had a son named Alexander. He at last sailed from Tarentum, passed the strait, and arrived in Sicily. His conquests at first were so rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole island, only the single town of Lilybæum. He laid siege to it, but meeting with a vigorous resistance was obliged to raise the siege; not to mention that the urgent necessity of his affairs called him back to Italy where his presence was absolutely necessary. Nor was it less so in Sicily, which on his departure returned to the obedience of its former masters. Thus he lost this island with the same rapidity that he had won it. As he was embarking, he turned his eyes back to Sicily, and exclaimed to those about him, *What a fine field of battle do we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans!*⁸ His prediction was soon verified.

After his departure, the chief magistracy of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king, by the united suffrages of the citizens; so greatly had his government pleased. He was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained several advantages over them. But now a common interest re-united them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, and justly alarmed both; these were the Romans, who, having crushed all the enemies which had hitherto exercised their arms in Italy itself, were now powerful enough to carry them out of it; and to lay the foundation of that vast power thence to which they afterwards attained, and of which

¹ It would seem incredible that any man could so far triumph over the pains of the cross, as to talk with any composure in his discourse; had not Seneca assured us, that some have so far despised and insulted its tortures, that they spit contemptuously upon the spectators. *Quidam ex patibulo nos spectatores conspuunt.* De vita beatæ, c. 19.

² Diod. p. 777, 791, 802. Justin, l. xxii. c. 7, 8.

³ He was poisoned by one Mannon, whom he had unmercifully abused. His teeth were puffed by the violence of the poison, and his body tortured all over with the most racking pains. Mannon was excited to this deed by Archagathus, grandson of Agathocles, whom he designed to defeat of the succession, in favour of his other son Agathocles. Before his death, he restored the democracy to the people. It is observable, that Justin, (or rather Troguus) and Diodorus disagree in all the material part of this tyrant's history.

Justin l. xxi. c. 6.

⁵ Polyb. l. iii. p. 250, edit. Gronov.

⁶ Justin, l. xviii. c. 2.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ *Ὅταν ἀπολείπῃμεν, ὦ φίλοι, Καρχηδονίους καὶ Ῥωμαίους παλαιστράν.* The Greek expression is beautiful. Indeed Sicily was a kind of Palestine, where the Carthaginians and Romans exercised themselves in war, and for many years seemed to play the part of wrestlers with each other. The English language, as well as the French, has no word to express the Greek term.

⁹ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 398.

it was probable they had even then formed the design. Sicily lay too commodious for them, not to form a resolution of establishing themselves in it. They therefore eagerly snatched this opportunity for crossing into it, which caused the rupture between them and the Carthaginians, and gave rise to the first Punic war. This I shall treat of more at large, by relating the causes of that war.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE, FROM THE FIRST PUNIC WAR TO ITS DESTRUCTION.

THE plan which I have laid down, does not allow me to enter into an exact detail of the wars between Rome and Carthage; since that pertains rather to the Roman history, which I do not intend to touch upon except transiently and occasionally. I shall therefore relate such facts only, as may give the reader a just idea of the republic whose history lies before me; by confining myself to those particulars which relate chiefly to the Carthaginians, and to their most important transactions in Sicily, Spain, and Africa; a subject in itself sufficiently extensive.

I have already observed, that from the first Punic war to the ruin of Carthage, a hundred and eighteen years elapsed. This whole time may be divided into six parts or intervals.

- I. The first Punic war lasted twenty-four years 24
- II. The interval betwixt the first and second Punic war, is also twenty-four years 24
- III. The second Punic war took up seventeen years 17
- IV. The interval between the second and third, is forty-nine years 49
- V. The third Punic war, terminated by the destruction of Carthage, continued but four years and some months. 4

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ARTICLE I. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

THE first Punic war arose from the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers, in the service of Agathocles,¹ the Sicilian tyrant, having entered as friends into Messina, soon after murdered part of the townsmen, drove out the rest, married their wives, seized their effects, and remained sole masters of that important city. They then assumed the name of Mamertines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated in the same cruel manner the city of Rhegium,² lying directly opposite to Messina on the other side of the strait. These two perfidious cities, supporting one another, rendered themselves at length formidable to their neighbours; and especially Messina, which became very powerful, and gave great umbrage and uneasiness both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed one part of Sicily. As soon as the Romans had got rid of the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly of Pyrrhus, they began to think of punishing the crime of their citizens, who had settled themselves at Rhegium, in so cruel and treacherous a manner, nearly ten years before. Accordingly, they took the city, and killed, in the attack, the greatest part of the inhabitants, who, instigated by despair, had fought to the last gasp: three hundred only were left, who were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publicly beheaded in the forum. The view which the Romans had in making this bloody execution, was to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines who were considerably weakened, as well by the ruin of their confederate city, as by the losses which they had sustained from the Syracusans,

who had lately placed Hiero at their head, thought it time to provide for their own safety. But divisions arising among them, one part surrendered the citadel to the Carthaginians, whilst the others called in the Romans to their assistance, and resolved to put them in possession of their city.

The affair was debated in the Roman senate, where, being considered in all its lights, it appeared to have some difficulties.³ On one hand it was thought base, and altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue, for them to undertake openly the defence of traitors, whose perfidy was exactly the same with that of the Rhegians, whom the Romans had recently punished with so exemplary a severity. On the other hand, it was of the utmost consequence to stop the progress of the Carthaginians, who, not satisfied with their conquests in Africa and Spain, had also made themselves masters of almost all the islands of the Sardinian and Hetrurian seas; and would certainly get all Sicily into their hands, if they should be suffered to possess themselves of Messina. From thence into Italy, the passage was very short; and it was in some manner to invite an enemy to come over, to leave the entrance open. These reasons, though so strong, could not prevail with the senate to declare in favour of the Mamertines; and accordingly, motives of honour and justice prevailed in this instance over those of interest A. M. 3741. and policy. But the people were not A. Carth. 583. so scrupulous;⁴ for, in an assembly A. Rom. 485. held on this subject, it was resolved Ant. J. C. 263. that the Mamertines should be assisted. The consul Appius Claudius immediately set forward with his army, and boldly crossed the strait, after he had, by an ingenious stratagem, eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian general. The Carthaginians, partly by art and partly by force, were driven out of the citadel; and the city was surrendered immediately to the consul. The Carthaginians hanged their general, for having given up the citadel in so cowardly a manner, and prepared to besiege the town with all their forces. Hiero joined them with his own. But the consul having defeated them separately, raised the siege, and laid waste at pleasure the neighbouring country, the enemy not daring to face him. This was the first expedition which the Romans made out of Italy.

It is doubted,⁵ whether the motives which prompted the Romans to undertake this expedition were very upright, and exactly conformable to the rules of strict justice. Be this as it may, their passage into Sicily, and the succour they gave to the inhabitants of Messina, may be said to have been the first step by which they ascended to that height of glory and grandeur which they afterwards attained.

Hiero,⁶ having reconciled himself to the Romans, and entered into an alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and sent numerous armies thither. Agrigentum was their place of arms; which A. M. 3743. being attacked by the Romans, was A. Rom. 487. won by them, after they had besieged it seven months, and gained one battle.

Notwithstanding the advantage of this victory,⁷ and the conquest of so important a city, the Romans were sensible, that whilst the Carthaginians should continue masters at sea, the maritime places in the island would always side with them, and put it out of their power ever to drive them out of Sicily. Besides, they saw with reluctance Africa enjoy a profound tranquillity, at a time that Italy was infested by the frequent incursions of its enemies. They now first formed the design of having a fleet, and of disrupting the empire of the sea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in outward appearance rash; but it evinces the courage and magnanimity of the Romans. They were not at that time possessed of a single vessel which they could

¹ Polyb. l. i. p. 12—15. edit. Gronov.

² Pontin.

³ The Chevalier Folard examines this question in his remarks upon Polybius. l. i. p. 16.

⁴ Polyb. l. i. p. 15—19

⁵ l. p. 90.

⁶ Polyb. l. i. p. 7. edit. Gronov.

⁷ Reggio in Calabria.

call their own; and the ships which had transported their forces into Sicily had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were inexperienced in sea-affairs, had no carpenters acquainted with the building of ships, and did not know even the shape of the quinqueremes, or galleys with five benches of oars, in which the chief strength of fleets at that time consisted. But happily, the year before, one had been taken upon the coast of Italy, which served them as a model. They therefore applied themselves with incredible industry and ardour to the building of ships in the same form; and in the mean time they got together a set of rowers, who were taught an exercise and discipline utterly unknown to them before, in the following manner. Benches were made on the shore, in the same order and fashion with those of galleys. The rowers were seated on these benches, and taught, as if they had been furnished with oars, to throw themselves backwards with their arms drawn to their breasts; and then to throw their bodies and arms forward in one regular motion, the instant their commanding officer gave the signal. In two months, one hundred galleys of five benches of oars, and twenty of three benches were built; and after some time had been spent in exercising the rowers on ship-board, the fleet put to sea, and went in quest of the enemy. The consul Duillius had the command of it.

The Romans coming up with the
A. M. 3745. Carthaginians near the coast of Mylae,
A. Rom. 489. they prepared for an engagement.¹

As the Romans galleys, by their being clumsily and hastily built, were neither nimble nor easy to work; this inconvenience was supplied by a machine invented for this occasion, and afterwards known by the name of the *Corvus* (Crow or Crane) by the help of which they grappled the enemy's ships, boarded them, and immediately came to close engagement. The signal for fighting was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty sail, under the command of Hannibal.² He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians, thoroughly despising enemies who were utterly unacquainted with sea-affairs, imagined that their very appearance would put them to flight, and therefore came forward boldly, with little expectation of fighting; but firmly imagining they should reap the spoils, which they had already devoured with their eyes. They were nevertheless a little surprised at the sight of the above-mentioned engines raised on the prow of every one of the enemy's ships, and which were entirely new to them. But their astonishment increased, when they saw these engines drop down at once; and being thrown forcibly into their vessels, grappled them in spite of all resistance. This changed the form of the engagement, and obliged the Carthaginians to come to close engagement with their enemies, as though they had fought them on land. They were unable to sustain the attack of the Romans: a horrible slaughter ensued; and the Carthaginians lost fourscore vessels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himself escaping with difficulty in a small boat.

So considerable and unexpected a victory raised the courage of the Romans, and seemed to redouble their vigour for the continuance of the war. Extraordinary honours were bestowed on the consul Duillius who was the first Roman that had a naval triumph decreed him. A rostral pillar was erected in his honour, with a noble inscription; which pillar is yet standing in Rome.⁴

During the two following years, the Romans grew still stronger at sea, by their success in several engagements.⁵ But these were considered by them only as essays preparatory to the great design they meditated of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was

nothing the latter dreaded more; and to direct so dangerous a blow, they resolved to fight the enemy, whatever might be the consequence.

The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus, and L. Manlius, A. M. 3749. consuls for this year.⁶ Their fleet, A. Rom. 493. consisted of three hundred and thirty vessels, on board of which were one hundred and forty thousand men, each vessel having three hundred rowers, and a hundred and twenty soldiers. That of the Carthaginians, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar, had twenty vessels more than the Romans, and a greater number of men in proportion. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Ecnomus in Sicily. No man could behold two such formidable navies, or be a spectator of the extraordinary preparations they made for fighting, without being under some concern, on seeing the danger which menaced two of the most powerful states in the world. As the courage on both sides was equal, and no great disparity in the forces, the fight was obstinate and the victory long doubtful; but at last, the Carthaginians were overcome. More than sixty of their ships were taken by the enemy, and thirty sunk. The Romans lost twenty-four, not one of which fell into the enemy's hands.

The fruit of this victory,⁷ as the Romans had designed it, was their sailing to Africa, after having fitted their ships, and provided them with all necessaries for carrying on a long war in a foreign country. They landed happily in Africa, and began the war by taking a town called Clypea,⁸ which had a commodious haven. From thence, after having sent an express to Rome, to give advice of their landing, and to receive orders from the senate, they overran the open country, in which they made terrible havoc; bringing away whole flocks of cattle, and 20,000 prisoners.

The express returned in the mean time with the orders of the senate, A. M. 3750. who decreed that Regulus should A. Rom. 494. continue to command the armies in Africa, with the title of Proconsul; and that his colleague should return with a great part of the fleet and the forces; leaving Regulus only forty vessels, 15,000 foot, and 500 horse. Their leaving the latter with so few ships and troops, was a visible renunciation of the advantages which might have been expected from this descent upon Africa.

The people at Rome depended greatly on the courage and abilities of Regulus; and the joy was universal, when it was known that he was continued in the command in Africa; he alone was afflicted on that account.⁹ When news was brought him of it, he wrote to Rome, and desired, in the strongest terms, that he might be appointed a successor. His chief reason was, that the death of the farmer who rented his grounds, having given one of his hirelings an opportunity of carrying off all the implements of tillage, his presence was necessary for taking care of his little spot of ground (but seven acres), which was all his family subsisted upon. But the senate undertook to have his lands cultivated at the public expense; to maintain his wife and children; and to indemnify him for the loss he had sustained by the robbery of his hireling. Thrice happy age! in which poverty was thus had in honour, and was united with the most rare and uncommon merit, and the highest employments of the state! Regulus, thus freed from his domestic cares, bent his whole thoughts on discharging the duty of a general.

After taking several castles,¹⁰ he laid siege to Adia,

¹ Ibid. l. i. p. 25.

² Ibid. p. 30.

³ [Clypea was a small town situated on the little promontory Tapthitis, five leagues S. E. of Cape Bona. This small promontory, being rounded like a shield or hemisphere, gave rise to the name Clypea, from *clypeus* a shield. By Livy, Mela, and Pliny it is called *Clypea*; by Ptolemy, Appian, and Agathemerus, *Aspis*; but by Solinus and the Itinerary, *Clypea*. A mile distant from this spot where once Clypea stood, is a collection of huts or cottages called by the inhabitants *Clypea*. Ptolemy is mistaken in making *Aspis* and *Clypea* two different cities.]

⁴ Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.

⁵ Polyb. l. i. p. 31—36

¹ Polyb. l. i. p. 22.

² Ibid.

³ A different person from the great Hannibal.

⁴ These pillars were called *Rostrata*, from the beaks of ships with which they were adorned; *Rostrâ*.

⁵ Polyb. l. i. p. 24.

one of the strongest fortresses of the country. The Carthaginians, exasperated at seeing their enemies thus laying waste their lands at pleasure, at last took the field, and marched against them, to force them to raise the siege. With this view, they posted themselves on a hill, which overlooked the Roman camp, and was convenient for annoying the enemy; but at the same time, by its situation, rendered one part of their army useless. For the strength of the Carthaginians lay chiefly in their horses and elephants, which are of no service but in plains. Regulus did not give them an opportunity of descending from the hill; but, in order to take advantage of this essential mistake of the Carthaginian generals, fell upon them in this spot; and after meeting with a feeble resistance, put the enemy to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waste the adjacent country. Then, having taken Tunes,¹ an important city and which brought him near Carthage, he made his army encamp there.

The enemy were in the utmost alarm. All things had succeeded ill with them, their forces had been defeated by sea and land, and upwards of two hundred towns had surrendered to the conqueror. Besides, the Numidians made greater havoc in their territories than even the Romans. They expected every moment to see their capital besieged. And their affliction was increased by the concourse of peasants with their wives and children, who flocked from all parts to Carthage for safety; which gave them melancholy apprehensions of a famine in case of a siege. Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victory torn from him by a successor, made some proposal of an accommodation to the vanquished enemy; but the conditions appeared so hard, that they could not listen to them. As he did not doubt his being soon master of Carthage, he would not abate any thing in his demands; but, by an infatuation which is almost inseparable from great and unexpected success, he treated them with haughtiness; and pretended, that every thing he suffered them to possess, ought to be esteemed a favour; adding this farther insult, *That they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor.*² So harsh and disdainful a treatment only fired their resentment; and they resolved rather to die sword in hand, than to do any thing which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received, in the happiest juncture, a reinforcement of auxiliary troops out of Greece, with Xanthippus the Lacedæ-

monian at their head, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learnt the art of war in that renowned and excellent school. When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, which were told him at his request; had clearly discerned the occasion of its being lost; and perfectly informed himself in what the strength of Carthage consisted; he declared publicly, and repeated it often, in the hearing of the rest of the officers, that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing entirely to the incapacity of their generals. These discourses came at last to the ear of the public council; the members of it were struck with them, and they requested him to attend them. He enforced his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the oversights committed by the generals were visible to every one; and he proved as clearly, that by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. This speech revived the courage and hopes of the Carthaginians; and Xanthippus was entreated, and, in some measure, forced, to accept the command of the army. When the Carthaginians saw, in his exercising of their forces near the city, the manner in which he drew them up in order of battle, made them advance or retreat on the first signal, file off with order and expedition; in a word, perform all the evolutions and movements of the military art; they were struck with astonishment, and owned, that the ablest generals which Carthage had hitherto produced, knew nothing in comparison of Xanthippus.

The officers, soldiers, and every one, were lost in admiration; and what is very uncommon, jealousy gave no alloy to it; the fear of the present danger and the love of their country, stifling, without doubt, all other sentiments. The gloomy consternation, which had before seized the whole army, was succeeded by joy and alacrity. The soldiers were urgent to be led against the enemy, in the firm assurance (as they said) of being victorious under their new leader, and of obliterating the disgrace of former defeats. Xanthippus did not suffer their ardour to cool; and the sight of the enemy only inflamed it. When he had approached within little more than 1200 paces of them, he thought proper to call a council of war, in order to show respect to the Carthaginian generals, by consulting them. All unanimously deferred to his opinion; upon which it was resolved to give the enemy battle the following day.

The Carthaginian army was composed of 12,000 foot, 4000 horse and about 100 elephants. That of the Romans, as near as may be guessed from what goes before (for Polybius does not mention their numbers here) consisted of 15,000 foot and 300 horse.

It must be a noble sight to see two armies like these before us, not overcharged with numbers, but composed of brave soldiers, and commanded by very able generals, engaged in battle. In those tumultuous fights, where two or 300,000 are engaged on both sides, confusion is inevitable; and it is difficult, amidst a thousand events, where chance generally seems to have a greater share than counsel, to discover the true merit of commanders, and the real causes of victory. But in such engagements as this before us, nothing escapes the curiosity of the reader; for he clearly sees the disposition of the two armies; imagines he almost hears the orders given out by the generals; follows all the movements of the army; can point out the faults committed on both sides; and is thereby qualified to determine, with certainty, the causes to which the victory or defeat is owing. The success of this battle, however inconsiderable it may appear from the small number of the combatants, was nevertheless to decide the fate of Carthage.

The disposition of both armies was as follows. Xanthippus drew up all his elephants in front. Behind these, at some distance, he placed the Carthaginian infantry in one body or phalanx. The foreign troops in the Carthaginian service were posted, one part of them on the right, between the phalanx and the horse; and the other, composed of light-armed soldiers, in platoons; at the head of the two wings of the cavalry.

¹ In the interval betwixt the departure of Manlius and the taking of Tunis, we are to place the memorable combat of Regulus and his whole army, with a serpent of so prodigious a size, that the fabulous one of Cadmus is hardly comparable to it. The story of this serpent was elegantly written by Livy, but it is now lost. Valerius Maximus however partly repairs that loss; and in the last chapter of his first book, gives us this account of this monster from Livy himself:—He [Livy] says, that on the banks of Bagrada (an African river) lay a serpent of so enormous a size, that it kept the whole Roman army from coming to the river. Several soldiers had been buried in the wide caverns of its belly, and many pressed to death in the spiral volumes of its tail. Its skin was impenetrable to darts; and it was with repeated endeavours that stones, slung from the military engines, at last killed it. The serpent then exhibited a sight that was more terrible to the Roman cohorts and legions than even Carthage itself. The streams of the river were dyed with its blood, and the stench of its putrid carcase infected the adjacent country, so that the Roman army was forced to decamp. Its skin, one hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, was to be seen (together with the jaw-bone of the same monster) in the temple where they were first deposited, as late as the Numantine war.

[This city was anciently called Tunis and Tunica. It stood 15 miles S. E. of Carthage, and like it was of Phœnician origin. It is more famous now than in the days of Carthaginian or Roman dominion, being the seat of a Turkish Bey, and capital of a large territory now called the kingdom of Tunis. It is chiefly placed on a rising ground, along the western banks of the Lake of Tunis, and enjoys a full view of the Gulletta, ancient Carthage, and the lake of Zowa-moore. It has been long noted for piracy like the other cities on the African coast, as Algiers and Tripoli.]

² Δὲν τοὺς ἀνέχοντες ἡ νίκην, ἢ ἵνα τοὺς υπέρβουοντες. Dioc. Elog. l. xxiii. c. 10.

On the side of the Romans, as they apprehended the elephants most, Regulus, to provide against them, posted his light-armed soldiers, on a line, in the front of the legions. In the rear of these, he placed the cohorts one behind another, and the horse on the wings. In thus straitening the front of his main battle, to give it more depth, he indeed took a just precaution, says Polybius, against the elephants; but he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

The two armies being thus drawn up, waited only for the signal. Xanthippus orders the elephants to advance, to break the ranks of the enemy; and commands the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the same time, the latter, clashing their arms, and shouting after the manner of their country, advance against the enemy. Their cavalry did not stand the onset long, being so much inferior to that of the Carthaginians. The infantry in the left wing, to avoid the attack of the elephants, and show how little they feared the mercenaries who formed the enemy's right wing, attacks it, puts it to flight, and pursues it to the camp. Those in the first ranks, who were opposed to the elephants, were broken and trodden under foot, after fighting valiantly; and the rest of the main body stood firm for some time, by reason of its great depth. But when the rear, being attacked by the enemy's cavalry, was obliged to face about and receive it: and those who had broken through the elephants, met the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all sides, and entirely defeated. The greatest part of them were crushed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants: and the remainder, standing in the ranks, were shot through and through with arrows from the enemy's horse. Only a small number fled, and as they were in an open country, the horses and elephants killed a great part of them: 500, or thereabouts, who went off with Regulus, were taken prisoners with him. The Carthaginians lost in this battle 800 mercenaries, who were opposed to the left wing of the Romans: and of the latter only 2000 escaped, who, by their pursuing the enemy's right wing, had drawn themselves out of the engagement. All the rest, Regulus and those who were taken excepted, were left dead on the field. The 2000, who had escaped the slaughter, retired to Clypea, and were saved in an almost miraculous manner.

The Carthaginians, after having stripped the dead, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate Regulus, and 500 prisoners. Their joy was so much the greater, as, but a very few days before, they had seen themselves upon the brink of ruin. The men and women, old and young people, crowded the temples, to return thanks to the immortal gods; and several days were devoted wholly to festivities and rejoicings.

Xanthippus, who had contributed so much to this happy change, had the wisdom to withdraw shortly after from the apprehension lest his glory, which had hitherto been unsullied, might, after this first blaze, insensibly fade away, and leave him exposed to the darts of envy and calumny, which are always dangerous, but most in a foreign country, when a man stands alone, unsustained by friends and relations, and destitute of all support.

Polybius tells us, that Xanthippus's departure was related in a different manner, and promises to take notice of it in another place. But that part of his history has not come down to us. We read in Appian,¹ that the Carthaginians, excited by a mean and detestable jealousy of Xanthippus's glory, and unable to bear the thoughts that they should stand indebted to Sparta for his safety; upon pretence of conducting him and his attendants back with honour to his own country, with a numerous convoy of ships, gave private orders to have them all put to death in their passage; as if with him they could have buried in the waves for

ever the memory of his services, and their horrid ingratitude to him.²

This battle, says Polybius,³ though not so considerable as many others, may yet furnish very salutary instructions; which, adds that author, is the greatest benefit that can be reaped from the study of history.

First, ought any man to put a great confidence in his good fortune, after he has considered the fate of Regulus? That general, insolent with victory, inexorable to the conquered, scarcely deigning to listen to them, saw himself a few days after vanquished by them, and made their prisoner. Hannibal suggested the same reflection to Scipio, when he exhorted him not to be dazzled with the success of his arms. Regulus, said he, would have been recorded as one of the most uncommon instances of valour and felicity had he, after the victory obtained in this very country granted our fathers the peace which they sued for. But putting no bounds to his ambition and the insolence of success, the greater his prosperity, the more ignominious was his fall.⁴

In the second place, the truth of the saying of Euripides is here seen in its fullest extent, *That one wise head is worth a great many hands.*⁵ A single man here changes the whole face of affairs. On one hand, he defeats troops that were thought invincible; on the other, he revives the courage of a city and an army, whom he had found in consternation and despair.

Such, as Polybius observes, is the use which ought to be made of the study of history. For there being two ways of acquiring improvement and instruction, first by one's own experience, and secondly by that of other men; it is much more wise and useful to improve by other men's miscarriages than by our own.

I return to Regulus, that I may here finish what relates to him; Polybius, to our great disappointment, taking no farther notice of that general.⁶

* This perfidious action, as it is related by Appian, may possibly be true, when we consider the character of the Carthaginians, who were certainly a cruel and treacherous people. But, if it be fact, one would wonder why Polybius should reserve for another occasion, the relation of an incident which comes in most properly here, as it finishes at once the character and life of Xanthippus. His silence therefore in this place makes me think, that he intended to bring Xanthippus again upon the stage; and to exhibit him to the reader in a different light from that in which he is placed by Appian. To this let me add, that it showed no great depth of policy in the Carthaginians to take this method of despatching him, when so many others offered which were less liable to censure. In this scheme, formed for his destruction, not only himself, but all his followers were to be murdered, without the pretence of even a storm, or loss of one single Carthaginian, to cover or excuse the perpetration of so horrid a crime.

¹ Lib. i. p. 36, 37.

² Inter paucas felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terrâ fuisse, si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris. Sed non statuendo tandem felicitati modum, nec cohibendo effertentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat, eò facilius corruit. Liv. l. xxx. n. 30.

³ ὡς ἐν τοσούτοις θυσίαις τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ. It may not be improper to take notice in this place (as it was forgotten before) of a mistake of the learned Casaubon, in his translation of a passage of Polybius concerning Xanthippus. The passage is this: *Ἐν οἷς καὶ Εὐανδρίππὸν τινὰ Λακεδαιμόνιον ἀνδρὸς τῆς Ἀκκαδικῆς ἡγεμενικῆς μετεσχηκότα, καὶ τριῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔχοντα σμύνητον.* Which is rendered thus by Casaubon: *In quibus [militibus sc. Græcia alatis] Xanthippus quidam fuit Lacedæmonius, viri disciplina Lacedæmonica imbutus, et qui rei militaris usum medicorem habebat.* Whereas, agreeably with the whole character and conduct of Xanthippus, I take the sense of this passage to be, *a man formed by the Spartan discipline, and proportionally [not moderately] skilful in military affairs.*

⁴ This silence of Polybius has prejudiced a great many learned men against many of the stories told of Regulus's barbarous treatment, after he was taken by the Carthaginians. M. Rollin speaks no further of this matter; and therefore I shall give my reader the substance of what is brought against the general belief of the Roman writers (as well historians as poets), and of Appian on this subject. First, it is urged, that Polybius was very sensible that the story of these cruelties was false; and therefore, that he might not disoblige the Romans, by contradicting so general a belief, he chose rather to be silent concerning Regulus after he was taken prisoner, than to violate the truth of history, of which he was so strict an observer. This opinion is farther strengthened (say the adversaries of this belief)

After being *septsome* years in prison,¹ he was sent to Rome to propose an exchange of prisoners. He had been obliged to take an oath, that he would return in case he proved unsuccessful. He then acquainted the senate with the subject of his voyage; and being invited by them to give his opinion freely, he answered, that he could no longer do it as a senator, having lost both this quality, and that of a Roman citizen, from the time that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies; but he did not refuse to offer his thoughts as a private person. This was a very delicate affair. Every one was touched with the misfortunes of so great a man. He needed only, says Cicero, to have spoken one word, and it would have restored him to his liberty, his estate, his dignity, his wife, his children, and his country; but that word appeared to him contrary to the honour and welfare of the state. He therefore plainly declared, that an exchange of prisoners ought not to be so much as thought of: that such an example would be of fatal consequence to the republic: that citizens who had so basely surrendered their arms to the enemy, were unworthy of the least compassion, and incapable of serving their country: that with regard to himself, as he was so far advanced in years, his death ought to be considered as nothing; whereas they had in their hands several Carthaginian generals in the flower of their age, and capable of doing their country great services for many years. It was with difficulty that the senate complied with so generous and unexampled a counsel. The illustrious exile therefore left Rome,² in order to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep affliction of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, although he knew but too well the grievous torments which were prepared for him. And, indeed, the moment his enemies saw him returned without having obtained the exchange of prisoners, they put him to every kind of torture their barbarous cruelty could invent. They imprisoned him for a long time in a dismal dungeon, whence (after cutting off his eye-lids) they drew him at once into the sun, when its beams darted the strongest heat. They next put him into a kind of chest stuck full of nails, whose points wounding him did not allow him a moment's ease either day or night. Lastly, after having been long tormented by being kept for ever awake in this dreadful torture, his merciless enemies nailed him to a cross, their usual punishment, and left him to expire on it. Such was the end of this great man. His enemies, by depriving him of some days, perhaps years, of life, brought eternal infamy on themselves.

The blow which the Romans had received in Africa did not discourage them.³ They made greater preparations than before, to retrieve their loss; and put

by a fragment of Diodorus, which says, that the wife of Regulus, exasperated at the death of her husband in Carthage, occasioned, as she imagined, by barbarous usage, persuaded her sons to revenge the fate of their father, by the cruel treatment of two Carthaginian captives (thought to be Boetius and Hamilcar) taken in the sea-fight against Sicily, after the misfortune of Regulus, and put into her hands for the redemption of her husband. One of these died by the severity of his imprisonment; and the other, by the care of the Senate, who detested the cruelty, survived, and was recovered to health. This treatment of the captives, and the resentment of the Senate on that account, form a third argument or presumption against the truth of this story of Regulus, which is thus argued:—Regulus dying in his captivity by the usual course of nature, his wife, thus frustrated of her hopes of redeeming him by the exchange of her captives, treated them with the utmost barbarity, in consequence of her belief of the ill usage which Regulus had received. The senate being angry with her for it, to give some colour to her cruelties, she gave out among her acquaintance and kindred, that her husband died in the way generally related. This, like all other reports increased gradually; and from the national hatred betwixt the Carthaginians and Romans, was easily and generally believed by the latter. How far this is conclusive against the testimonies of two such weighty authors as Cicero and Seneca (to say nothing of the poets) is left to the judgment of the reader.

to sea, the following campaign, three hundred and sixty vessels. The Carthaginians sailed out to meet them with two hundred; but were beaten in an engagement fought on the coasts of Sicily, and a hundred and fourteen of their ships were taken by the Romans. The latter sailed into Africa, to take in the few soldiers who had escaped the pursuit of the enemy, after the defeat of Regulus; and had defended themselves vigorously in Clypea, where they had been unsuccessfully besieged.

Here again we are astonished that the Romans, after so considerable a victory, and with so large a fleet, should sail into Africa, only to bring from thence a small garrison; whereas they might have attempted the conquest of it, since Regulus, with much fewer forces, had almost completed it.

The Romans, on their return, were overtaken by a storm, which almost destroyed their whole fleet.⁴ The like misfortune befel them also the following year.⁵ However they consoled themselves for this double loss, by a victory which they gained over Asdrubal, from whom they took near a hundred and forty elephants. This news being brought to Rome, filled the whole city with joy; not only because the strength of the enemy's army was considerably diminished by the loss of their elephants, but chiefly because this victory had inspired the land forces with fresh courage; who, since the defeat of Regulus, had not dared to venture upon an engagement; so great was the terror with which those formidable animals had filled the minds of all the soldiers. It was therefore judged proper to make a greater effort than ever, in order to finish, if possible, a war which had continued fourteen years. The two consuls set sail with a fleet of two hundred ships, and arriving in Sicily, formed the bold design of besieging Lilybæum. This was the strongest town which the Carthaginians possessed, and the loss of it would be attended with that of every part of the island, and open to the Romans a free passage into Africa.

The reader will suppose, that the utmost ardour was shown, both in the assault and defence of the place.⁶ Inilco was governor there, with 10,000 regular forces, exclusive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, soon brought him as many more from Carthage; he having, with the most intrepid courage, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and arrived happily in the port.

The Romans had not lost any time. Having brought forward their engines, they beat down several towers with their battering rams; and gaining ground daily, they made such progress, as gave the besieged, who now were closely pressed, some fears. The governor saw plainly that there was no other way left to save the city, but by firing the engines of the besiegers. Having therefore prepared his forces for this enterprise, he sent them out at day-break with torches in their hands, tow, and all kinds of combustible matters; and at the same time attacked all the engines. The Romans exerted their utmost efforts to repel them, and the engagement was very bloody. Every man, assailant as well as defendant stood to his post, and chose to die rather than quit it. At last, after a long resistance, and dreadful slaughter, the besieged sounded a retreat, and left the Romans in possession of their works. This conflict being over, Hannibal embarked in the night, and, concealing his departure from the enemy, sailed for Drepanum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians. Drepanum was advantageously situated: having a commodious port, and lying about 120 furlongs from Lilybæum; and the Carthaginians had been always very desirous of preserving it.

The Romans, animated by their late success, renewed the attack with greater vigour than ever; but the besieged not daring to make a second attempt to burn their machines, so much were they disheartened by the ill success of the former. But a furious wind rising suddenly, some mercenary soldiers represented to the governor, that now was the favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the besiegers especially as the wind blew full against them; and

¹ Appian. de Bello Pun. p. 2. Cic. de Off. l. iii. n. 90, 100. Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 4. Senec. Ep. 90.

² Horat. l. iii. Od. 3.

³ Polyb. l. i. p. 37.

⁴ Pag. 38—40.

⁵ Pag. 41, 42.

⁶ Pag. 41—50.

they offered themselves for the enterprise. The offer was accepted, and accordingly they were furnished with every thing necessary. In a moment the fire caught all the engines; and the Romans could not possibly extinguish it, because the flames being spread instantly every where, the winds carried the sparks and smoke full in their eyes, so that they could not see where to apply relief; whereas their enemies saw clearly where to aim their strokes, and throw their fire. This accident made the Romans lose all hopes of being ever able to carry the place by force. They therefore turned the siege into a blockade; raised a strong line of contravallation round the town; and, dispersing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, resolved to effect by time what they found themselves absolutely unable to perform any other way.

When the transactions of the siege of Lilybæum, and the loss of part of the forces, were known at Rome, the citizens, so far from desponding at this ill news, seemed to be fired with new vigour.¹ Every man strove to be foremost in the muster-roll; so that in a very little time, an army of 10,000 men was raised, who, crossing the strait, marched by land to join the besiegers.

At the same time, P. Claudius A. M. 3756. Pulcher, the consul, formed a design of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum.²

A. Rom. 500. He thought himself sure of surprising him, because after the loss lately sustained by the Romans at Lilybæum, the enemy could not imagine that they would venture out again at sea. Flushed with these hopes, he sailed out with his fleet in the night, the better to conceal his design. But he had to do with an active general, whose vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ships in line of battle, but fell vigorously upon him whilst his fleet was in disorder and confusion. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory. Of the Roman fleet, only thirty vessels got off, which being in company with the consul, fled with him, and got away in the best manner they could along the coast. All the rest, amounting to fourscore and thirteen, with the men on board them, were taken by the Carthaginians; a few soldiers excepted, who had escaped from the wreck of their vessels. This victory displayed as much the prudence and valor of Adherbal, as it reflected shame and ignominy on the Roman consul.

Junius, his colleague, was neither more prudent nor more fortunate than himself, but lost his whole fleet by his ill conduct.³ Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by some considerable action, he held a secret correspondence with the inhabitants of Eryx,⁴ and by that means got the city surrendered to him. On the summit of the mountain stood the temple of Venus Erycina, which was certainly the most beautiful as well as the richest of all the Sicilian temples. The city stood a little below the summit of this mountain, and the only access to it was by a road very long and very rugged. Junius posted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the foot of the mountain, imagining that he now had nothing to fear; but Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, father of the famous Hannibal, found means to get into the city which lay between the two camps of the enemy, and there fortified himself. From this advantageous post he harassed the Romans incessantly for two years. One can scarce conceive how it was possible for the Carthaginians to defend themselves, when thus attacked from both the summit and

foot of the mountain; and unable to get provisions, but from a little port, which was the only one open to them. By such enterprises as these, the abilities and prudent courage of a general are as well, or perhaps better, discovered, than by the winning of a battle.

For five years, nothing memorable was performed on either side.⁵ The Romans had imagined that their land forces would alone be capable of finishing the siege of Lilybæum; but as they saw it protracted beyond their expectation, they returned to their first plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The public treasury was at a low ebb; but this want was supplied by the zeal of individuals; so ardent was the love which the Romans bore to their country. Every man, according to his circumstances, contributed to the common expense; and, upon public security, advanced money, without the least scruple, for an expedition on which the glory and safety of Rome depended. One man fitted out a ship at his own charge; another was equipped by the contributions of two or three; so that, in a very little time, 200 were ready for sailing. The command A. M. 3763. A. Rom. 507. was given to Lutatus the consul,

who immediately put to sea. The enemy's fleet had retired into Africa: the consul therefore easily seized upon all the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum; and foreseeing that he should soon be forced to fight, he omitted no precautions to ensure success; and employed the interval in exercising his soldiers and seamen at sea.

He was soon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near, under the command of Hanno, who landed in a small island called Hiera, opposite to Drepanum. His design was to reach Eryx undiscovered by the Romans, in order to supply the army there; to reinforce his troops, and take Barca on board to assist him in the expected engagement. But the consul, suspecting his intention, was beforehand with him; and having assembled all his best forces, sailed for the small island Ægusa,⁶ which lay near the other. He acquainted his officers with the design he had of attacking the enemy on the morrow. Accordingly, at day-break, he prepared to engage: unfortunately, the wind was favorable for the enemy, which made him hesitate whether he should give him battle. But considering that the Carthaginian fleet, when unloaded of its provisions, would become lighter and more fit for action; and, besides, would be considerably strengthened by the forces and presence of Barca, he came to a resolution at once; and notwithstanding the foul weather, made directly to the enemy. The consul had choice forces, able seamen and excellent ships, built after the model of a galley that had been lately taken from the enemy; and which was the completest in its kind that had ever been seen. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, were destitute of all these advantages. As they had been the entire masters at sea for some years, and the Romans did not once dare to face them, they held them in the highest contempt, and looked upon themselves as invincible. On the first report of the enemy being in motion, the Carthaginians had put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, as appeared from every circumstance of it: the soldiers and seamen being all mercenaries, newly levied, without the least experience, resolution, or zeal, since it was not for their own country they were going to fight. This soon appeared in the engagement. They could not sustain the first attack. Fifty of their vessels were sunk, and seventy taken, with their whole crews. The rest, favoured by a wind that rose very seasonably for them, made the best of their way to the little island from whence they had sailed. There were upwards of 10,000 taken prisoners. The consul sailed immediately for Lilybæum, and joined his forces to those of the besiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occasioned so much the greater surprise and terror,

¹ Polyb. p. 50.

² Polyb. l. i. p. 54—59.

³ Ibid. p. 51.

⁴ [It must be observed here that the port of Drepanum lay north of Lilybæum, at the foot of mount Eryx. This port obtained the appellation of Drepanum, from the exceeding curvature of the shore after the manner of a hook, called Drepanon in Greek. The city of Eryx stood on the declivity of the mountain and the temple of Venus on the summit. The mountain is now called Monte de San Juliano, and next to Ætna is esteemed the highest in Sicily. Thus the whole three were connected together; the port called Drepanum or the Hook, the city of Eryx on the declivity, and the temple on the summit.]

⁵ Polyb. l. i. p. 59—62.

⁶ These islands are also called Ægætes.

as it was less expected. The senate, however, did not lose their courage, though they saw themselves quite unable to continue the war. As the Romans were now masters of the sea, it was not possible for the Carthaginians to send either provisions or reinforcements to the armies in Sicily. An express was therefore immediately despatched to Barca, the general there, empowering him to act as he should think proper. Barca, so long as he had room to entertain the least hopes, had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage, and the most consummate wisdom. But having now no resource left, he sent a deputation to the consul, in order to treat about a peace. Prudence, says Polybius, consists in knowing how to resist and yield at a seasonable juncture. Lutatius was not insensible how tired the Romans were grown of a war, which had exhausted them both of men and money; and the dreadful consequences which had attended on Regulus's inexorable and imprudent obstinacy, were fresh in his memory. He therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty:—

THERE SHALL BE PEACE BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE (IN CASE THE ROMAN PEOPLE APPROVE OF IT) ON THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS: THE CARTHAGINIANS SHALL EVACUATE ALL SICILY; SHALL NO LONGER MAKE WAR UPON HIERO. THE SYRACUSANS OR THEIR ALLIES: THEY SHALL RESTORE TO THE ROMANS, WITHOUT RANSOM, ALL THE PRISONERS WHICH THEY HAVE TAKEN FROM THEM: AND PAY THEM, WITHIN TWENTY YEARS, TWO THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED EUBOIC TALENTS OF SILVER.¹ It is worth the reader's remarking, by the way, the simple, exact, and clear terms in which this treaty is expressed; that, in so short a compass, adjusts the interests of two powerful republics and their allies, both by sea and land.

When these conditions were brought to Rome, the people, not approving of them, sent ten commissioners to Sicily, to terminate the affair. These made no alteration as to the substance of the treaty;² only shortening the time appointed for payment, reducing it to ten years: a thousand talents were added to the sum that had been stipulated, which were to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart out of all the islands situated between Italy and Sicily. Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty; but they gave it up by another treaty which was made some years afterwards.

Such was the conclusion of a war, one of the longest mentioned in history, since it continued twenty-four years without intermission. The obstinacy, in disputing for empire, was equal on either side: the same resolution, the same greatness of soul, in forming as well as in executing of projects, being conspicuous on both sides. The Carthaginians had the superiority in their acquaintance with naval affairs; in their skill in the construction of their vessels; the working of them; the experience and capacity of their pilots; the knowledge of coasts, shallows, roads, and winds; and in the inexhaustible fund of wealth, which furnished all the expenses of so long and obstinate a war. The Romans had none of these advantages, but their courage, zeal for the public good, love of their country, and a noble emulation of glory, supplied all other deficiencies. We are astonished to see a nation, so raw and inexperienced in naval affairs, not only making head against a people who were better skilled in them, and more powerful than any that had ever been before; but even gaining several victories over them at sea. No difficulties or calamities could discourage them. They certainly would not have thought of peace, in the circumstances under which the Carthaginians demanded it. One unfortunate campaign dispirits the latter: whereas the Romans are not shaken by a succession of them.

As to soldiers, there was no comparison between

those of Rome and Carthage, the former being infinitely superior in point of courage. Among the generals who commanded in this war, Hannibal, surnamed Barca, was, doubtless, the most conspicuous for his bravery and prudence.

The Libyan War; or, against the Mercenaries.

The war which the Carthaginians waged against the Romans,⁴ was succeeded immediately by another,⁵ which though of much shorter continuance, was infinitely more dangerous; as it was carried on in the very heart of the republic, and attended with such cruelty and barbarity, as is scarce to be paralleled in history, I mean the war which the Carthaginians were obliged to sustain against their mercenary troops, who had served under them in Sicily, and which is commonly called the African or Libyan war.⁶ It continued only three years and a half, but was a very bloody one. The occasion of it was this:—

As soon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans,⁷ Hannibal, having carried to Lilybæum the forces which were in Eryx, resigned his commission; and left to Gisgo, governor of the place, the care of transporting these forces into Africa. Gisgo, as though he had foreseen what would happen, did not ship them all off at once, but in small and separate parties: in order that those who came first might be paid off and sent home, before the arrival of the rest. This conduct evinced great forecast and wisdom, but was not seconded equally at Carthage. As the republic had been exhausted by the expense of a long war, and the payment of near 130,000*l.* to the Romans on signing the peace, the forces were not paid off in proportion as they arrived; but it was thought proper to wait for the rest, in the hopes of obtaining from them (when they should be all together), a remission of some part of their arrears. This was the first oversight.

Here we discover the genius of a state composed of merchants, who know the full value of money, but are little acquainted with that of the services of soldiers; who bargain for blood as though it were an article of trade, and always go to the cheapest market. In such a republic, when an exigency is once answered, the merit of services is no longer remembered.

These soldiers, most of whom came to Carthage, having been long accustomed to a licentious life, caused great disturbances in the city; to remedy which, it was proposed to their officers, to march them all to a little neighbouring town called Sicca, and there supply them with whatever was necessary for their subsistence, till the arrival of the rest of their companions; and that then they should all be paid off, and sent home. This was a second oversight.

A third was, the refusing to let them leave their baggage, their wives, and children in Carthage, as they desired; and the forcing them to remove these to Sicca; whereas, had they stayed in Carthage, they would have been in a manner so many hostages.

Being all met together at Sicca, they began (having little else to do) to compute the arrears of their pay, which they made amount to much more than was really due to them. To this computation, they added the mighty promises which had been made them at different times as an encouragement for them to do their duty; and pretended that these likewise ought to be brought into the account. Hanno, who was then governor of Africa, and had been sent to them from the magistrates of Carthage, proposed to them to consent to some abatement of their arrears; and to content themselves with receiving a part, in consideration of the great distress to which the commonwealth was reduced, and its present unhappy circumstances. The reader will easily guess how such a proposal was received. Complaints, murmurs, seditious and insolent clamours, were every where heard. These troops being composed of different

¹ Polyb. l. i. p. 65—89.

² The same year that the first Panic war ended.

³ And sometimes, *ἐξανάβη*, or the war with the mercenaries.

Polyb. l. i. p. 66.

⁴ This sum amounts to near 6,180,000 French livres.

⁵ 515,000*l.* English money. ⁶ Polyb. l. iii. p. 182.

nations, who were strangers to one another's language, were incapable of hearing reason when they once mutinied. Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians, inhabitants of the Balearic isles; Greeks, the greatest part of them slaves or deserters, and a very great number of Africans, composed these mercenary forces. Transported with rage, they immediately break up, march towards Carthage (being upwards of 20,000), and encamped at Tunis, not far from that metropolis.

The Carthaginians discovered too late their error. There was no compliance, how groveling soever, to which they did not stoop, to soothe these exasperated soldiers: who, on their side, practised every knavish art which could be thought of, in order to extort money from them. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourse to a new artifice, on which to ground some new demand. Was their pay settled beyond the agreement made with them, they would still be reimbursed for the losses which they pretended to have sustained, either by the death of their horses, by the excessive price which at certain times they had paid for bread-corn; and still insisted on the recompense which had been promised them. As nothing could be fixed, the Carthaginians, with great difficulty, prevailed on them to refer themselves to the opinion of some general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly they pitched upon Gisco, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and insinuating manner; recalled to their memories the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service; the considerable sums they had received from the republic; and granted almost all their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occasioned a tumult in every part of the camp. One of those was Spendius a Capuan, who had been a slave at Rome, and had fled to the Carthaginians. He was tall and bold. The fear he was under of falling into the hands of his former master by whom he was sure to be hanged (as was the custom), prompted him to break off the agreement. He was seconded by one Matho,¹ who had been very active in forming the conspiracy.—These two represented to the Africans, that the instant after their companions should be discharged and sent home, they, being thus left alone in their own country, would fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common rebellion. This was sufficient to raise them to fury. They immediately made choice of Spendius and Matho for their chiefs. No remonstrances were heard; and whoever offered to make any, was immediately put to death. They ran to Gisco's tent, plundered it of the money designed for the payment of the forces; dragged that general himself to prison, with, all his attendants; after having treated them with the utmost indignities. All the cities of Africa, to whom they had sent deputies to exhort them to recover their liberty, came over to them, Utica and Hippacra excepted, which they therefore immediately besieged.

Carthage had never been before exposed to such imminent danger. The citizens individually drew each his subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expenses from the tribute paid by Africa. But all this was stopped at once; and (a much worse circumstance) was turned against them. They found themselves destitute of arms and forces either for sea or land; of all necessary preparations either for the sustaining of a siege, or the equipping of a fleet; and, to complete their misfortunes, without any hopes of foreign assistance either from their friends or allies.

They might in some sense impute to themselves the distress to which they were reduced. During

the last war, they had treated the African nations with the utmost rigour, by imposing excessive tributes on them, in the exaction of which no allowance was made for poverty and extreme misery; and governors, such as Hanno, were treated with the greater respect, the more severe they had been in levying those tributes. So that no great efforts were necessary to prevail upon the Africans to engage in this rebellion. At the very first signal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepest affliction, seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison for non-payment, were more exasperated than the men; and with pleasure gave up all their ornaments towards the expenses of the war; so that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they had promised the soldiers, found themselves still in the midst of plenty: an instructive lesson, says Polybius, to ministers, how a people should be treated; as it teaches them to look not only to the present occasion, but to extend their views to futurity.

The Carthaginians, notwithstanding their present distress, did not despond, but made the most extraordinary efforts. The command of the army was given to Hanno. Troops were levied by land and sea; horse as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were mustered; mercenaries were invited from all parts; and all the ships which the republic had left were refitted.

The rebels discovered no less ardour. We related before, that they had formed the siege of the two only cities which refused to join them. Their army was now increased to 70,000 men. After detachments had been drawn from it to carry on those sieges, they pitched their camp at Tunis; and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade, filled it with perpetual alarms, and frequently advancing up to its very walls by day as well as by night.

Hanno had marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a considerable advantage, which, had he made a proper use of it, might have proved decisive: but entering the city, and only diverting himself there, the mercenaries, who had retreated to a neighbouring hill covered with trees, hearing how careless the enemy were, poured down upon them; found the soldiers straggling in all parts; took and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the supplies that had been brought from Carthage for the relief of the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno; and errors, in such critical junctures, are much the most fatal. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, was therefore appointed to succeed him. This general answered the idea which had been entertained of him; and his first success was the obliging the rebels to raise the siege of Utica. He then marched against their army which was encamped near Carthage; defeated part of it, and seized almost all their advantageous posts. These successes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

The arrival of a young Numidian nobleman, Naravasus by name, who, out of esteem for the person and merit of Barca, joined him with 2000 Numidians, was of great service to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the rebels, who had cooped him up in a valley; killed 10,000 of them, and took 4000 prisoners. The young Numidian distinguished himself greatly in this battle. Barca took into his troops as many of the prisoners as were desirous of being enlisted, and gave the rest free liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should never take up arms any more against the Carthaginians; otherwise, that every man of them, if taken, should be put to death. This conduct proves the wisdom of that general. He thought this a better expedient than extreme severity. And indeed where a multitude of mutineers are concerned, the greatest part of whom have been drawn in by the persuasions of the most hot-headed, or through fear of the most furious, clemency seldom fails of being successful.

Spendius, the chief of the rebels, fearing that this affected lenity of Barca might occasion a delusion among his troops, thought the only expedient left him to prevent it, would be to strike some signal blow, which would deprive them of all hopes of being ever

¹ Matho was an African, and free born; but as he had been active in raising the rebellion, an accommodation would have ruined him. He, therefore, despairing of a pardon, embraced the interests of Spendius with more zeal than any of the rebels; and first insinuated to the Africans the danger of concluding a peace, as this would leave them alone and exposed to the rage of their old masters. Polyb. c. 48. edit. Gronov.

reconciled to the enemy. With this view, after having read to them some fictitious letters, by which advice was given him, of a secret design concerted betwixt some of their comrades and Gisco for rescuing him out of prison, where he had been so long detained; he brought them to the barbarous resolution of murdering him and all the rest of the prisoners, and any man, who durst offer any milder counsel, was immediately sacrificed to their fury. Accordingly, this unfortunate general, and 700 prisoners who were confined with him, were brought out to the front of the camp, where Gisco fell the first sacrifice, and afterwards all the rest. Their hands were cut off, their thighs broken, and their bodies, still breathing, were thrown into a hole. The Carthaginians sent a herald to demand their remains, in order to pay them the last sad office, but were refused; and the herald was farther told, that whoever presumed to come upon the like errand, should meet with Gisco's fate. And, indeed, the rebels immediately came to the unanimous resolution, of treating all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands in the same barbarous manner; and decreed farther, that if any of their allies were taken, they should, after their hands were cut off, be sent back to Carthage. This bloody resolution was but too punctually executed.

The Carthaginians were now just beginning to breathe, as it were, and recover their spirits, when a number of unlucky accidents plunged them again into fresh dangers. A division arose among their generals; and the provisions, of which they were in extreme necessity, coming to them by sea, were all cast away in a storm. But the misfortune which they most keenly felt, was the sudden defection of the two only cities which till then had preserved their allegiance, and in all times adhered inviolably to the commonwealth. These were Utica and Hippacra. These cities, without the least reason, or even so much as a pretence, went over at once to the rebels; and transported with the like rage and fury, murdered the governor, with the garrison sent to their relief; and carried their inhumanity so far, as to refuse their dead bodies to the Carthaginians, who demanded them back in order for burial.

The rebels, animated by so much success, laid siege to Carthage, but were obliged immediately to raise it. They nevertheless continued the war. Having drawn together, into one body, all their own troops and those of the allies (making upwards of 50,000 men in all), they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but carefully kept their own on the hills; and avoided coming down into the plains, because the enemy would there have had too great an advantage over them, on account of their elephants and cavalry. Hamilcar, more skilful in the art of war than they, never exposed himself to any of their attacks; but taking advantage of their oversights, often dispossessed them of their posts, if their soldiers straggled but ever so little; and harassed them a thousand ways. Such of them as fell into his hands, were thrown to wild beasts. At last, he surprised them at a time when they least expected it, and shut them up in a post which was so situated, that it was impossible for them to get out of it. Not daring to venture a battle, and being unable to get off, they began to fortify their camp, and surrounded it with ditches and intrenchments. But an enemy among themselves, and which was much more formidable, ad reduced them to the greatest extremity; this was hunger, which was so raging, that they at last ate one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus revenging upon themselves the barbarous cruelty they had exercised on others. They now had no resource left; and knew but too well the punishments which would be inflicted on them, in case they should fall alive into the hands of the enemy. After such bloody scenes as had been acted by them, they did not so much as think of peace, or of coming to an accommodation. They had sent to their forces encamped at Tunis for assistance, but with no success. In the mean time the famine increased daily. They had first eaten their prisoners, then their slaves; and now their fellow-citizens only were left. Their chiefs,

now no longer able to resist the complaints and cries of the multitude, who threatened to massacre them if they did not surrender, went themselves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a safe-conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Carthaginians should select any ten of the rebels, to treat them as they should think fit, and that the rest should be dismissed with only one suit of clothes for each. When the treaty was signed, the chiefs themselves were arrested and detained by the Carthaginians, who plainly showed, on this occasion, that they did not pride themselves upon their good faith and sincerity. The rebels, hearing that their chiefs were seized, and knowing nothing of the convention, suspected that they were betrayed, and thereupon immediately took up arms. But Hamilcar, having surrounded them brought forward his elephants; and either trod them all under foot, or cut them to pieces, they being upwards of 40,000.

The consequence of this victory was, the reduction of almost all the cities of Africa, which immediately returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loss of time, marched against Tunis, which ever since the beginning of the war, had been the asylum of the rebels, and their place of arms. He invested it on one side, whilst Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, besieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering crosses to be set up, he hung Spendius on one of them, and his companions who had been seized with him on the rest, where they all expired. Matho, the other chief, who commanded in the city, saw plainly by this what he himself might expect; and for that reason was much more attentive to his own defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, as being confident of success, was very negligent in all his motions, he made a sally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, among whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Then taking Spendius from the cross, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him suffer inexpressible torments; and sacrificed round the body of Spendius thirty citizens of the first quality in Carthage, as so many victims of his vengeance. One would conclude, that there had been a mutual emulation betwixt the contending parties, which of them should out-do the other in acts of the most barbarous cruelty.

Barca being at that time at a distance, it was long before the news of his colleague's misfortune reached him; and besides, the road lying betwixt the two camps being impassable, it was impossible for him to advance hastily to his assistance. This disastrous accident caused a great consternation in Carthage. The reader may have observed, in the course of this war, a continual vicissitude of prosperity and adversity, of security and fear, of joy and grief; so various and inconstant were the events on either side.

In Carthage it was thought advisable to make one bold effort. Accordingly, all the youth capable of bearing arms were pressed into the service. Hanno was sent to join Hamilcar; and thirty senators were deputed to conjure those generals, in the name of the republic, to forget past quarrels, and sacrifice their resentments to their country's welfare. This was immediately complied with; they mutually embraced, and were reconciled sincerely to one another.

From this time, the Carthaginians were successful in all things; and Matho, who in every attempt after this came off with disadvantage, at last thought himself obliged to hazard a battle; and this was just what the Carthaginians wanted. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as going to fight a battle which would for ever decide their fate. An engagement ensued. Victory was not long in suspense; for the rebels every where giving ground, the Africans were almost all slain, and the rest surrendered. Matho was taken alive, and carried to Carthage. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance; except the two perfidious cities which had lately revolted; however, they were soon forced to surrender at discretion.

And now the victorious army returned to Carthage, and was there received with shouts of joy, and the congratulations of the whole city. Matho and his

soldiers, after having adorned the public triumph, were led to execution; and finished, by a painful and ignominious death, a life that had been polluted with the blackest treasons and unparalleled barbarities. Such was the conclusion of the war against the mercenaries, after having lasted three years and four months. It furnished, says Polybius, an ever-memorable lesson to all nations, not to employ in their armies a greater number of mercenaries than citizens; nor to rely, for the defence of their state, on a body of men who are not attached to it either by interest or affection.

I have hitherto purposely deferred taking notice of such transactions in Sardinia as passed at the time I have been speaking of, and which were, in some measure, dependant on, and resulting from, the war waged in Africa against the mercenaries. They exhibit the same violent methods to promote rebellion; the same excesses of cruelty; as if the wind had carried the same spirit of discord and fury from Africa into Sardinia.

When the news was brought there of what Spendius and Matho were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that island also shook off the yoke, in imitation of these incendiaries. They began by the murder of Bostar their general, and of all the Carthaginians under him. A successor was sent; but all the forces which he carried with him went over to the rebels; hung the general on a cross; and, throughout the whole island, put all the Carthaginians to the sword, after having made them suffer inexpressible torments. They then besieged all the cities one after another, and soon got possession of the whole country. But feuds arising between them and the natives, the mercenaries were driven entirely out of the island, and took refuge in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians lost Sardinia, an island of great importance to them, on account of its extent, its fertility, and the great number of its inhabitants.

The Romans, ever since their treaty with the Carthaginians, had behaved towards them with great justice and moderation. A slight quarrel, on account of some Roman merchants who were seized at Carthage for having supplied the enemy with provisions, had embroiled them a little. But these merchants being restored on the first complaint made to the senate of Carthage, the Romans, who prided themselves upon their justice and generosity on all occasions, made the Carthaginians a return of their former friendship; served them to the utmost of their power; forbade their merchants to furnish any other nation with provisions; and even refused to listen to the proposals made by the Sardinian rebels, when invited by them to take possession of the island.

But these scruples and delicacy wore off by degrees; and Cesar's advantageous testimony (in Sallust) of their honesty and plain dealing, could not, with any propriety, be applied here.¹ Although, says he, in all the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace and during truces, had committed a number of detestable actions, the Romans could never (how inviting soever the opportunity might be) be prevailed upon to retaliate such usage; being more attentive to their own glory than to the revenge they might have justly taken on such perfidious enemies.

The mercenaries, who, as was observed, had retired into Italy, brought the Romans at last to the resolution of sailing over into Sardinia, to render themselves master of it. The Carthaginians were deeply afflicted at the news, upon pretence that they had a more just title to Sardinia than the Romans; they therefore put themselves in a posture to take a speedy and just revenge on those who had excited the people of that island to take up arms against them. But the Romans, pretending that these preparations were made, not against Sardinia, but their state, declared war

against the Carthaginians. The latter, quite exhausted in every respect, and scarce beginning to breathe in no condition to sustain a war. The necessity of the times was therefore to be complied with, and they were forced to yield to a more powerful rival. A fresh treaty was thereupon made, by which they gave up Sardinia to the Romans, and obliged themselves to a new payment of twelve hundred talents, to keep off the war with which they were menaced. This injustice of the Romans was the true cause of the second Punic war, as will appear in the sequel.

The Second Punic War.

The second Punic war, which I am now going to relate, is one of the most memorable recorded in history, and most worthy the attention of an inquisitive reader; whether we consider the boldness of the enterprises; the wisdom employed in the execution; the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready resources they found in their lowest ebb of fortune; the variety of uncommon events, and the uncertain issue of so long and bloody a war; or, lastly, the assemblage of the most perfect models in every kind of merit; and the most instructive lessons that occur in history, either with regard to war, policy, or government. Never did two more powerful, or at least more warlike, states or nations make war against each other; and never had these in question seen themselves raised to a more exalted pitch of power and glory. Rome and Carthage were, doubtless, at that time, the two first states of the world. Having already tried their strength in the first Punic war, and thereby made an essay of each other's power, they knew perfectly well what either could do. In this second war, the fate of arms was so equally balanced, and the success so intermixed with vicissitudes and varieties, that that party triumphed which had been most in danger of being ruined. Great as the forces of these two nations were, it may almost be said that their mutual hatred was still greater. The Romans, on one side, could not without indignation see the vanquished presuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exasperated at the equally rapacious and harsh treatment which they pretended to have received from the victor.

The plan which I have laid down does not permit me to enter into an exact detail of this war, whereof Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Africa, were the several seats; and which has a still closer connexion with the Roman history than with that I am now writing. I shall confine myself therefore, principally, to such transactions as relate to the Carthaginians, and endeavour, as far as I am able, to give my reader an idea of the genius and character of Hannibal, who perhaps was the greatest warrior that antiquity has to boast of.

The remote and more immediate Causes of the second Punic War.

Before I come to speak of the declaration of war betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, I think it necessary to explain the true causes of it; and to point out by what steps this rupture, betwixt these two nations, was so long preparing, before it openly broke out.

That man would be grossly mistaken, says Polybius,² who should look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the true cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians for having so tamely given up Sicily, by the treaty which terminated the first Punic war; the injustice and violence of the Romans, who took advantage of the troubles excited in Africa, to dispossess the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and to impose a new tribute on them; and the success and conquests of the latter in Spain; these were the true causes of the violation of the treaty, as Livy (agreeing here with Polybius) insinuates in a few words, in the beginning of his history of the second Punic war.³

¹ Bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginenses et in pace et per inducias multa nefanda facinora fecissent, nunquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis quod se dignum foret, quam quod in illos jure fieri posset, querebant. Sallust. in Bell. Catilin.

² Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

³ Ibid. lib. p. 162—168.

⁴ Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissio: Nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rotas-

And indeed Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, was highly exasperated on account of the last treaty, which the necessity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to submit to; and he therefore meditated the design of taking just, though distant, measures, for breaking it on the first favourable opportunity that should offer.

When the troubles of Africa were appeased,¹ he was sent upon an expedition against the Numidians; in which, giving fresh proofs of his courage and abilities, his merit raised him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain. Hannibal, his son,² at that time but nine years of age, begged with the utmost importunity to attend him on this occasion; and for that purpose employed all the soothing arts so common to children of his age, and which have so much power over a tender father. Hamilcar could not refuse him; and after having made him swear upon the altars, that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans as soon as age would allow him to do it, he took his son with him.

Hamilcar possessed all the qualities which constitute the great general. To an invincible courage, and the most consummate prudence, he added a most engaging and insinuating behaviour. He subdued, in a very short time, the greatest part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms or his engaging conduct; and after enjoying the command there nine years, came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying gloriously in arms for the cause of his country.

The Carthaginians appointed Asdrubal,³ his son-in-law, to succeed A. M. 3776. A. Rom. 530. This general, to strengthen his footing in the country, built a city, which, by the advantage of its situation, the commodiousness of its harbour, its fortifications, and opulence, occasioned by its great commerce, became one of the most considerable cities in the world. It was called New Carthage, and is at this day known by the name of Carthagena.

From the several steps of these two great generals, it was easy to perceive that they were meditating some mighty design which they had always in view, and laid their schemes at a great distance for the putting it in execution. The Romans were sensible of this, and reproached themselves for their indolence and torpor, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy; at a time that the enemy were rapidly pursuing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They would have been very well pleased to attack them by open force, and to wrest their conquests out of their hands; but the fear of another (not less formidable) enemy, the Gauls, whom they expected shortly to see at their very gates, kept them from showing their resentment. They therefore had recourse to negotiations; and concluded a treaty with Asdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the rest of Spain, they contented themselves with introducing an article, by which the Carthaginians were not allowed to make any conquests beyond the Iberus.

Asdrubal,⁴ in the mean time, still pushed on his conquests, still, however, taking care not to pass beyond the limits stipulated by the treaty; but by sparing no endeavours to win the chiefs of the several nations by a courteous and engaging behaviour, he furthered the interests of Carthage still more by persuasive methods than force of arms. But unhappily, after having governed Spain eight years, he was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, who took so barbarous a revenge for a private grudge he bore him.⁵

Three years before his death,⁶ he had written to Carthage to desire that A. M. 3783. Hannibal, then twenty-two years of A. Rom. 530. age, might be sent to him. The proposal met with some difficulty, as the senate was divided bewixt two powerful factions which, from Hamilcar's time, had begun to follow opposite views in the administration and affairs of the state. One faction was headed by Hanno, whose birth, merit, and zeal for the public welfare, gave him great influence in the public deliberations. This faction proposed, on every occasion, the concluding of a safe peace, and the preserving the conquests in Spain, as being preferable to the uncertain events of an expensive war, which they foresaw would one day occasion the ruin of Carthage. The other, called the Barcinian faction, because it supported the interests of Barca and his family, had, to the credit and influence which it had long enjoyed in the city added the reputation which the signal exploits of Hamilcar and Asdrubal had given it, and declared openly for war. When therefore Asdrubal's demand came to be debated in the senate, Hanno represented the danger of sending so early into the field a young man who already possessed all the haughtiness and imperious temper of his father; and who ought, therefore, rather to be kept a long time, and very carefully, under the eye of the magistrate and the power of the laws, that he might learn obedience, and a modesty which should teach him not to think himself superior to all other men. He concluded with saying, that he feared this spark, which was then kindling, would one day rise to a conflagration. His remonstrances were not heard, so that the Barcinian faction had the superiority, and Hannibal set out for Spain.

The moment of his arrival there, he drew upon himself the eyes of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father revive in him. He seemed to dart the same fire from his eyes; the same martial vigour displayed itself in the air of his countenance, with the same features and engaging carriage. But his personal qualities endeared him still more. He possessed almost every talent that constitutes the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance was surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers intrepid, and his presence of mind in the heat of battle admirable; and, a still more wonderful circumstance, his disposition and cast of mind were so flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying; so that it was doubtful whether he was dearer to the soldiers or the generals. He served three campaigns under Asdrubal.

Upon the death of that general,⁷ A. M. 3784. the suffrages of both the army and people concurred in raising Hannibal A. Carth. 626. to the supreme command. I know A. Rom. 528. not whether it was not even then or about that time, that the republic, to heighten his influence and authority, appointed him one of its Suffetes, the first dignity of the state, which was sometimes conferred upon generals. It is from Cornelius Nepos⁸ that we have borrowed this circumstance of his life, who, speaking of the pretorship bestowed on Hannibal, upon his return to Carthage, and the conclusion of the peace, says, that this was twenty-two years after he had been nominated king.⁹

The moment he was created general, Hannibal, as if Italy had been allotted to him, and he had even then been appointed to make war upon the Romans, turned secretly his whole views on that side; and lost no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. In Spain he took several strong towns, and conquered many nations; and although the Spaniards greatly exceeded

concessum; et si Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendium etiam superimposito, interceptam. Liv. l. xvi. n. 1.

¹ Ibid. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

² Polyb. l. ii. p. 101.

³ Ibid. l. ii. p. 123. Liv. l. xxi. n. 2.

⁴ The murder was an effect of the extraordinary fidelity of this Gaul, whose master had fallen by the hand of Asdrubal. It was perpetrated in public; and the murderer being seized by the guards, and put to the torture, expressed so strong a satisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed

his revenge so successfully, that he seemed to ridicule all the terror of his torments. *Es fuit habitus oris, at superante latitâ doloris ridens etiam speciem, hæuerit.* Liv. l. xxi. n. 1.

⁵ Liv. l. xxi. n. 3. 4.

⁶ Polyb. l. iii. p. 168, 169. Liv. l. xxi. n. 3-6.

⁷ In Vit. Annib. c. 7.

⁸ Hic, ut reddit, Pretor factus est, postquam rex fuerat, anno seculo et vigesimo.

him in the number of forces (their army amounting to upwards of 100,000 men), yet he chose his time and posts so judiciously, that he entirely defeated them. After this victory, every thing submitted to his arms. But he still forbore laying siege to Saguntum,¹ carefully avoiding every occasion of a rupture with the Romans, till he should have taken every step which he judged necessary for so important an enterprise, pursuant to the advice given him by his father. He applied himself particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by generously allotting them a large share of the plunder taken from the enemy, and by scrupulously paying them all their arrears:² a wise step, which never fails of producing its advantage at a proper season.

The Saguntines,³ on their side, sensible of the danger with which they were threatened, informed the Romans of the progress of Hannibal's conquests. Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and acquaint themselves with the state of affairs upon the spot; they commanded them also to lay their complaints before Hannibal, if it should be thought proper; and in case he should refuse to do justice, that then they should go directly to Carthage, and make the same complaints.

In the mean time Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, foreseeing that great advantages would accrue from the taking of this city. He was persuaded, that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying on the war in Spain; that this new conquest would secure those he had already made; that as no enemy would be left behind him, his march would be more secure and unmolested; that he should find money enough in it for the execution of his designs; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him with greater cheerfulness; that, lastly, the spoils which he should send to Carthage, would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by these motives, he carried on the siege with the utmost vigour. He himself set an example to his troops, was present at all the works, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

News was soon carried to Rome that Saguntum was besieged. But the Romans, instead of flying to its relief, lost their time in fruitless debates, and in deputations equally fruitless. Hannibal sent word to the Roman deputies, that he was not at leisure to hear them; they therefore repaired to Carthage, but met with no better reception, the Barcinian faction having prevailed over the complaints of the Romans, and all the remonstrances of Hanno.

During all these voyages and negotiations, the siege was carried on with great vigour. The Saguntines were now reduced to the last extremity, and in want of all things. An accommodation was thereupon proposed; but the conditions on which it was offered appeared so harsh, that the Saguntines could not prevail upon themselves to accept them. Before they gave their final answer the principal senators, bringing their

gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into a fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards rushed headlong into it themselves. At the same time, a tower, which had been long assailed by the battering rams, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the city by the breach, soon made themselves masters of it, and cut to pieces all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. But notwithstanding the fire, the Carthaginians got a very great booty. Hannibal did not reserve to himself any part of the spoils gained by his victories, but applied them solely to the carrying on his enterprises. Accordingly, Polybius remarks, that the taking of Saguntum was of service to him, as it awakened the ardour of his soldiers, by the sight of the rich booty which they had just obtained, and by the hopes of more; and it reconciled all the principal persons of Carthage to Hannibal, by the large presents he made to them out of the spoils.

Words could never express the grief and consternation with which the melancholy news of the capture and cruel fate of Saguntum was received at Rome.⁴ Compassion for this unfortunate city, shame for having failed to succour such faithful allies, a just indignation against the Carthaginians, the authors of all these calamities; a strong alarm raised by the successes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied they saw already at their gates; all these sentiments caused so violent an emotion, that during the first moments of their agitation, the Romans were unable to come to any resolution, or do any thing but give way to the torrent of their passion, and sacrifice floods of tears to the memory of a city which fell the victim of its inviolable fidelity⁵ to the Romans, and had been betrayed by their unaccountable indolence and imprudent delays. When they were a little recovered, an assembly of the people was called, and war was decreed unanimously against the Carthaginians.

War Proclaimed.

That no ceremony might be wanting,⁶ deputies were sent to Carthage, to inquire whether Saguntum had been besieged by order of the republic, and, if so, to declare war; or in case this siege had been undertaken solely by the authority of Hannibal, to require that he should be delivered up to the Romans. The deputies perceiving that the senate gave no direct answer to their demands, one of them, taking up the folded lapet of his robe, *I bring here, says he, in a haughty tone, either peace or war; the choice is left to yourselves.* The senate answering, that they left the choice to him; *I give you war then, says he, unfolding his robe. And we, replied the Carthaginians, with the same haughtiness, as heartily accept it, and are resolved to prosecute it with the same cheerfulness.* Such was the beginning of the second Punic war.

If the cause of this war should be ascribed to the taking of Saguntum,⁷ the whole blame, says Polybius, lies upon the Carthaginians, who could not, with any colourable pretence, besiege a city that was in alliance with Rome, and, as such, comprehended in the treaty, which forbade either party to make war upon the allies of the other. But should the origin of this war be traced higher, and carried back to the time when the Carthaginians were dispossessed of Sardinia by the Romans, and a new tribute was so unreasonably imposed on them; it must be confessed, continues Polybius, that the conduct of the Romans is entirely unjustifiable on these two points, as being founded merely on violence and injustice; and that, had the Carthaginians, without having recourse to ambiguous and frivolous pretences, plainly demanded satisfaction upon these two grievances, and upon their being refused it, had declared war against Rome; in that case, reason and justice had been entirely on their side.

The interval between the conclusion of the first, and the beginning of the second, Punic war, was twenty-four years.

¹ [This city which owes its fame both to the long and glorious defence, which it made, and to the reputation of Hannibal who took it, was situate on the banks of a small stream now called Palencia, at a league's distance from the sea, at the foot of a mountain of black marble veined with white, and the extremity of a vast plain, where nature aided by art develops abundant riches. It lay on the west, or Carthaginian side of the Iberus or Ebro in the modern province of Valencia. Though entirely destroyed by Hannibal, it was afterwards rebuilt by the Romans, and made a magnificent city, but was also afterwards destroyed by the Guls and Arabs. A Roman circus still remains in the form of a semi ellipse, the two extremes of which terminated at the little river Palencia. A greater portion of the theatre remains than of any other Roman monument in Spain. A keeper was appointed in 1792, to preserve this remain of Roman power and grandeur which otherwise would have perished, notwithstanding the positive orders of the Spanish court. Murviedro now occupies the site where once the Zaeynthian and Roman Saguntum stood, and contains a population of 5000 souls.

² *ibi large partiendo pradam, stipendia praterita cum sile exsolvendo, cunctos civium sociorumque animos in se armavit.* Liv. l. xxi. n. 5.]

³ Polyb. l. iii. p. 170-173. Liv. l. xxi. n. 6-15.

⁴ Polyb. p. 174, 175. Liv. l. xxi. n. 16, 17.

⁵ *Sanctitate disciplinæ, quæ fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coherent.* Liv. l. xxi. n. 7

⁶ Polyb. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 18, 19

⁷ Polyb. l. iii. p. 184, 185.

The beginning of the second Punic War.

When war was resolved upon,¹ A. M. 3787. and proclaimed on both sides, Hannibal, who then was twenty-six or A. Rom. 531. twenty-seven years of age, before he Ant. J. C. 217. discovered his grand design, thought it incumbent on him to provide for the security of Spain and Africa. With this view he marched the forces out of the one into the other, so that the Africans served in Spain and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this from a persuasion that these soldiers, being thus at a distance from their respective countries, would be fitter for service; and more firmly attached to him, as they would be a kind of hostages for each other's fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about 40,000 men, 1200 whereof were cavalry. Those in Spain were something above 15,000, of which 2550 were horse. He left the command of the Spanish forces to his brother Asdrubal, with a fleet of about sixty ships to guard the coasts; and, at the same time, gave him the wisest directions for his conduct, whether with regard to the Spaniards or the Romans, in case they should attack him.

Livy observes, that Hannibal, before he set forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to discharge some vows which he had made to Hercules; and that he engaged himself by new ones, in order to obtain success in the war he was entering upon. Polybius gives us, in a few words, a very clear idea of the distance of the several places through which Hannibal was to march in his way to Italy. From New Carthage, whence he set out, to the Iberus, were computed 2200² furlongs.³ From the Iberus, to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separates Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo⁴ were 1600 furlongs.⁵ From Emporium to the pass of the Rhone, the like space of 1600 furlongs.⁶ From the pass of the Rhone to the Alps, 1400 furlongs.⁷ From the Alps to the plains of Italy, 1200 furlongs.⁸ Thus, from New Carthage to the plains of Italy, were 8000 furlongs.¹⁰

Hannibal had long before taken the prudent precaution of acquainting himself with the nature and situation of the places through which he was to pass;¹¹ of sounding how the Gauls stood affected to the Romans; of winning over their chiefs, whom he knew to be very greedy of gold, by his bounty to them;¹² and of securing to himself the affection and fidelity of one part of the nations through whose country his march lay. He was not ignorant that the passage of the Alps would be attended with great difficulties; but he knew they were not insurmountable, and that was enough for his purpose.

Hannibal began his march early in the spring, from New Carthage, where he had wintered.¹³ His army then consisted of above 100,000 men, of which 12,000 were cavalry, and he had near forty elephants. Having crossed the Iberus, he soon subdued the several nations which opposed him in his march, and lost a considerable part of his army in this expedition. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills, with 11,000 men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of those that were to follow him. He dismissed the like number, sending them back to their respective countries; thus securing to himself their affection when he should want recruits, and affording to the rest a sure hope that they should be allowed to return whenever they should desire it. He passed the Pyrenean hills, and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of 50,000 foot, and

9000 horse; a formidable army, but less so from the number than from the valour of the troops that composed it; troops who had served several years in Spain, and learned the art of war under the ablest captains that Carthage could ever boast.

Passage of the Rhone.

Hannibal,¹⁴ being arrived within about four days' march from the mouth of the Rhone,¹⁵ attempted to cross it, because the river in this place took up only the breadth of its channel. He bought up all the ship-boats and little vessels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants had a great number, because of their commerce. He likewise built, with great diligence a prodigious number of boats, little vessels, and rafts. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the opposite bank, and prepared to dispute the passage. There was no possibility of his attacking them in front. He therefore ordered a considerable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to pass the river higher up; and in order to conceal his march, and the design he had in view, from the enemy, he obliged them to set out in the night. All things succeeded as he had planned: and they passed the river the next day without the least opposition.

They passed the rest of the day in refreshing themselves, and in the night they advanced silently towards the enemy. In the morning, when the signals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the passage. Part of his horses, completely harnessed, were put into boats, that their riders might, on landing, immediately charge the enemy. The rest of the horses swam over on both sides of the boats, from which one single man held the bridges of three or four. The infantry crossed the river, either on rafts, or in small boats, and in a kind of gondolas, which were only the trunks of trees which they themselves had made hollow. The great boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the passage to the rest of the small fleet. When the Gauls saw it advancing on the river, they, according to their custom, uttered dreadful cries and howlings; and clashing their bucklers over their heads, one against the other, let fly a shower of darts. But they were prodigiously astonished, when they heard a great noise behind them, perceived their tents on fire, and saw themselves attacked both in front and rear. They now had no way left to save themselves but by flight, and accordingly retreated to their respective villages. After this, the rest of the troops crossed the river quietly, and without any opposition.

The elephants alone occasioned a great deal of trouble. They were wafted over the next day in the following manner:—From the bank of the river was thrown a raft, 200 feet in length, and fifty in breadth this was fixed strongly to the banks by large ropes, and quite covered over with earth; so that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From this first raft they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only 100 feet long, and fastened to the former by chains that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first raft, and the males followed after; and when they were got upon the second raft, it was loosened from the first, and, by the help of small boats, towed to the opposite shore. After this it was sent back to fetch those which were behind. Some fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore, and not a single elephant was drowned.

The March after the Battle of the Rhone.

The two Roman consuls had,¹⁶ in the beginning of the spring, set out for their respective provinces; P Scipio for Spain with sixty ships, two Roman legions, and 14,000 foot, and 1200 horse of the allies; Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily with 160 ships, two legions, 16,000 foot, and 1800 horse of the allies. The Roman legion consisted, at that time, of 4000 foot

¹ Polyb. l. iii. p. 187. Liv. l. xxi. n. 21, 22.

² Liv. iii. p. 192, 193. ³ 275 miles.

⁴ Polybius makes the distance from New Carthage to be 2600 furlongs; consequently the whole number of furlongs will be 8400, or (allowing 625 feet to the furlong) 944 English miles, and almost one-third. See Polybius, edit. Gronov. p. 267. ⁵ Liv. iii. p. 199. ⁶ 200 miles.

⁷ 200 miles. ⁸ 175 miles. ⁹ 150 miles.

¹⁰ 1000 miles. ¹¹ Polyb. l. iii. p. 188, 189.

¹² Audierunt præcepitque jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos esse: ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore, ni subinde auro, cujus avidissima gens est, principum animi conciliarent. Liv. l. xxi. n. 20.

¹³ Polyb. p. 129, 130. Liv. l. xxi. n. 22–24.

¹⁴ Polyb. l. iii. p. 270–274. edit. Gronov. Liv. l. xxi. n. 26–28.

¹⁵ A little above Avignon.

¹⁶ Polyb. l. iii. p. 200–202, &c. Liv. xxi. n. 31, 32.

and 300 horse. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybæum, a sea-port town in Sicily, with the design of crossing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident that he should find Hannibal still in Spain, and make that country the seat of war. But he was greatly astonished, when, on his arrival at Marseilles, advice was brought him, that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to cross it. He then detached 300 horse to view the posture of the enemy; and Hannibal detached 500 Numidian horse for the same purpose; during which, some of his soldiers were employed in waiting over the elephants.

At the same time he gave audience, in the presence of his whole army, to one of the princes of that part of Gaul which is situated near the Po, who assured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his subjects, that his arrival was impatiently expected; that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march against the Romans; and he himself offered to conduct his army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions. When the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal, in a speech to his troops, magnified extremely this deputation from the Gauls; extolled, with just praises, the bravery which his forces had shown hitherto; and exhorted them to sustain, to the last, their reputation and glory. The soldiers, inspired with fresh ardour and courage, all at once raised their hands, and declared their readiness to follow whithersoever he should lead the way. Accordingly, he appointed the next day for his march; and after offering up vows, and making supplications to the gods for the safety of his troops, he dismissed them; desiring at the same time, that they would take the necessary refreshments.

Whilst this was doing, the Numidians returned. They had met with, and charged, the Roman detachment: the conflict was very obstinate, and the slaughter great, considering the small number of the combatants. A hundred and sixty of the Romans were left dead upon the spot, and more than two hundred of their enemies. But the honour of the skirmish fell to the Romans; the Numidians having retired and left them the field of battle. This first action was interpreted as an omen of the fate of the whole war,¹ and seemed to promise success to the Romans, but which, at the same time, would be dearly bought, and strongly contested. On both sides, those who had survived this engagement, and who had been engaged in reconnoitering, returned to inform their respective generals of what they had discovered.

Hannibal, as he had declared, decamped the next day, and crossed through the midst of Gaul, advancing northward; not that this was the shortest way to the Alps, but only, as by leading him from the sea, it prevented him meeting Scipio; and, by that means, favoured the design he had, of marching all his forces into Italy, without having weakened them by a battle.

Though Scipio marched with the utmost expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone, till three days after he had set out from it. Despairing therefore to overtake him, he returned to his fleet, and re-embarked, fully resolved to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But, in order that he might not leave Spain defenceless, he sent his brother Cneius thither, with the greatest part of his army, to make head against Asdrubal; and himself set forward immediately for Genoa, with intention to oppose the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

The latter, after four days' march, arrived at a kind of island, formed by the conflux of two rivers, which unite their streams in this place. Here he was chosen umpire between two brothers, who disputed their right to the kingdom. He to whom Hannibal decreed it, furnished his whole army with provisions, clothes, and arms. This was the country of the Allobroges, by which name the people were called, who now in-

habit the district of Geneva, Vienne,² and Grenoble. His march was not much interrupted till he arrived at the Durance, and from thence he reached the foot of the Alps without any opposition.

The Passage of the Alps.

The sight of these mountains,³ whose tops seemed to touch the skies, and were covered with snow, and where nothing appeared to the eye but a few pitiful cottages, scattered here and there, on the sharp tops of inaccessible rocks; nothing but meagre flocks, almost perished with cold, and hairy men of a savage and fierce aspect; this spectacle, I say, renewed the terror which the distant prospect had raised, and chilled with fear the hearts of the soldiers. When they began to climb up, they perceived the mountaineers, who had seized upon the highest cliffs, and were prepared to oppose their passage. They, therefore, were forced to halt. Had the mountaineers, says Polybius, only lain in ambuscade, and after having suffered Hannibal's troops to entangle themselves in some difficult passage, had then charged them on a sudden, the Carthaginian army would have been irrecoverably lost. Hannibal, being informed that they kept those posts only in the day time, and quitted them in the evening, possessed himself of them by night. The Gauls, returning early in the morning, were very much surprised to find their posts in the enemy's hand; but still they were not disheartened. Being used to climb up those rocks, they attacked the Carthaginians, who were upon their march, and harassed them on all sides. The latter were obliged at one and the same time, to engage with the enemy, and struggle with the ruggedness of the paths of the mountains, where they could hardly stand. But the greatest disorder was caused by the horses and beasts of burden laden with the baggage: who being frightened by the cries and howling of the Gauls, which echoed dreadfully among the mountains; and being sometimes wounded by the mountaineers, came tumbling on the soldiers and dragged them headlong with them down the precipices which skirted the road. Hannibal, being sensible that the loss of his baggage alone was enough to destroy his army, ran to the assistance of his troops, who were thus embarrassed; and having put the enemy to flight, continued his march without molestation or danger, and came to a castle, which was the most important fortress in the whole country. He possessed himself of it, and of all the neighbouring villages, in which he found a large quantity of corn, and cattle sufficient to subsist his army three days.

After a pretty quiet march, the Carthaginians were to encounter a new danger. The Gauls feigning to take advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbours, who had suffered for opposing the passage of Hannibal's troops, came to pay their respects to that general, brought him provisions, offered to be his guides, and left him hostages, as pledges of their fidelity. However, Hannibal placed no great confidence in them. The elephants and horses marched in the front, whilst himself followed with the main body of his foot, keeping a vigilant eye over all. They came at length to a very narrow and rugged pass, which was commanded by an eminence where the Gauls had placed an ambuscade. These rushing out on a sudden, assailed the Carthaginians on every side, rolling down stones upon them of a prodigious size. The army would have been entirely routed, had not Hannibal exerted himself in an extraordinary manner to extricate them out of this difficulty.

At last, on the ninth day, they reached the summit of the Alps. Here the army halted two days, to rest and refresh themselves after their fatigue, after which they continued their march. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of snow had lately fallen, and covered all the roads, which caused a consternation among the troops, and disheartened them very much. Hannibal perceived it, and halting on a hill from whence there was a prospect of all Italy, he showed them the

¹ Hoc principium simulque omen belli, ut summa rerum prosperum eventum. Ita haud sane incruentum anticipisue certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. Liv. l. xxi. p. 29.

² In Dauphine.

³ Polyb. l. iii. p. 203—208. Liv. l. xxi. p. 32—37

fruitful plains¹ watered by the river Po, to which they were almost come; adding, that they had but one effort more to make, before they arrived at them. He represented to them, that a battle or two would put a glorious period to their toils, and enrich them for ever by giving them possession of the capital of the Roman empire. This speech, filled with such pleasing hopes, and enforced by the sight of Italy, inspired the dejected soldiers with fresh vigour and alacrity. They therefore pursued their march. But still the road was more craggy and troublesome than ever; and as they were now on a descent, the difficulty and danger increased. For the ways were narrow, steep and slippery, in most places; so that the soldiers could neither keep upon their feet as they marched, nor recover themselves when they made a false step, but stumbled and beat down one another.

They were now come to a worse place than any they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very rugged and craggy, which having been made more so by the late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above a thousand feet deep. Here the cavalry stopped short. Hannibal, wondering at the sudden halt, ran to the place, and saw that it really would be impossible for the troops to advance. He therefore was for making a circuitous route, but this also was found impracticable. As upon the old snow, which was grown hard by lying, there was some newly fallen, that was of no great depth, the feet at first, by their sinking into it, found a firm support; but this snow being soon dissolved, by the treading of the foremost troops and beasts of burden, the soldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was so slippery that they had no firm footing, and where, if they made the least false step, or endeavoured to save themselves with their hands or knees, there were no boughs or roots to catch hold of. Besides this difficulty, the horses, striking their feet forcibly into the ice to keep themselves from falling, could not draw them out again, but were caught as in a gin. They therefore were forced to seek some other expedient.

Hannibal resolved to pitch his camp, and to give his troops some days' rest on the summit of this hill, which was of a considerable extent; after they should have cleared the ground, and removed all the old as well as the new-fallen snow, which was a work of immense labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itself, and this was carried on with amazing patience and ardour. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabouts, were cut down, and piled around the rock; after which fire was set to them. The wind, by good fortune, blowing hard, a fierce flame soon broke out, so that the rock glowed like the very coals with which it was surrounded. Then Hannibal, if Livy may be credited (for Polybius says nothing of this matter,) caused a great quantity of vinegar to be poured on the rock, which piercing into the veins of it, that were now cracked by the intense heat of the fire, calcined and softened it. In this manner, taking a large compass about, in order that the descent might be easier, they cut away along the rock which opened a free passage to the forces, the baggage, and even to the elephants. Four days were employed in this work, during which the beasts of burden were dying with hunger; there being no food for them on these mountains, buried under eternal snows. At last they came into cultivated and fruitful spots, which yielded plenty of forage for the horses, and all kinds of food for the soldiers.

Hannibal enters Italy.

When Hannibal entered into Italy, his army was not near so numerous as when he left Spain, where we have seen it amounted to near 60,000 men.² It had sustained great losses during the march, either in the battles it was forced to fight, or in the passage of rivers. At his departure from the Rhone, it still consisted of 38,000 foot, and above 8000 horse. The march over the Alps destroyed near half this number; so that Hannibal had now remaining only 12,000 Africans, 8000 Spanish

foot, and 6000 horse. This account he himself caused to be engraved on a pillar near the promontory called Lacinium. It was five months and a half since his first setting out from New Carthage, including the fortnight he employed in marching over the Alps, when he set up his standards in the plains of the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It might then be September.

His first care was to give his troops some rest, which they very much wanted. When he perceived that they were fit for action, the inhabitants of the territories of Turin³ refusing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before the chief city; carried it in three days, and put all who had opposed him to the sword. This expedition struck the barbarians with so much dread, that they all came voluntarily and surrendered at discretion. The rest of the Gauls would have done the same, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal thought therefore that he had no time to lose; that it was his interest to march up into the country, and attempt some great exploit; such as might inspire those who should have an inclination to join him with confidence.

The rapid progress which Hannibal had made, greatly alarmed Rome, and caused the utmost consternation throughout the city. Sempronius was ordered to leave Sicily, and hasten to the relief of his country; and P. Scipio, the other consul, advanced by forced marches towards the enemy, crossed the Po, and pitched his camp near the Ticinus.⁴

Battle of the Cavalry near the Ticinus.

The armies being now in sight, the generals on each side made a speech to their soldiers before they engaged.⁵ Scipio, after having represented to his forces the glory of their country, the achievements of their ancestors, observed to them, that victory was in their hands, since they were to combat only with Carthaginians, a people who had been so often defeated by them, as well as forced to be their tributaries for twenty years, and long accustomed to be almost their slaves: that the advantage they had gained over the flower of the Carthaginian horse, was a sure omen of their success during the rest of the war; that Hannibal, in his march over the Alps, had just before lost the best part of his army; and that those who survived were exhausted by hunger, cold, and fatigue; that the bare sight of the Romans was sufficient to put to flight a parcel of soldiers, who had the aspects of ghosts rather than of men: in a word, that victory was become necessary, not only to secure Italy, but to save Rome itself, whose fate the present battle would decide, as that city had no other army wherewith to oppose the enemy.

Hannibal, that his words might make the stronger impression on the rude minds of his soldiers, speaks to their eyes, before he addresses their ears; and does not attempt to persuade them by arguments, till he has first moved them by the following spectacle. He arms some of the prisoners whom he had taken in the mountains, and obliges them to fight, two and two, in sight of his army; promising to reward the conquerors with their liberty and rich presents. The alacrity wherewith the barbarians engaged upon these motives, gives Hannibal an occasion of exhibiting to his soldiers a lively image of their present condition; which, by depriving them of all means of returning back, puts them under an absolute necessity either of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the endless evils prepared for those that should be so base and cowardly as to submit to the Romans. He displays to them the greatness of their reward, viz. the conquest of all Italy; the plunder of the rich and wealthy city of Rome; an illustrious victory, and immortal glory. He speaks contemptuously of the Roman power, the false lustre

¹ Taurini.

² [This river is now called the Tesino. It falls into the Po, on the left bank. It is a large stream, coming from the St. Gothard, and which, after watering the Liverno Val, or Levantine valley, enters and passes through the Lago Maggiore, and thence running S. E. enters the Po below Pavia.]

³ Polyb. l. iii. p. 214—218. Liv. l. xxi. c. 39—47.

⁴ Of Piedmont.

⁵ Polyb. l. iii. p. 209, 212—214. Liv. l. xxi. n. 39.

of which (he observed) ought not to dazzle such warriors as themselves, who had marched from the pillars of Hercules, through the fiercest nations, into the very centre of Italy. As for his own part, he scorns to compare himself with Scipio, a general of but six m. -ths' standing; himself, who was almost born, at least brought up in the tent of Hamilcar his father; the conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and, what is still more, conqueror of the Alps themselves. He rouses their indignation against the insolence of the Romans, who had dared to demand that himself, and the rest who had taken Saguntum, should be delivered up to them: and excites their jealousy against the intolerable pride of those imperious masters, who imagined that all things ought to obey them, and that they had a right to give laws to the whole world.

After these speeches, both sides prepare for battle. Scipio, having thrown a bridge across the Ticinus, marched his troops over it. Two ill omens,¹ had filled his army with consternation and dread. As for the Carthaginians, they were inspired with the boldest courage. Hannibal animates them with fresh promises, and cleaving with a stone the skull of the lamb he was sacrificing, he prays Jupiter to dash to pieces his head in like manner, in case he did not give his soldiers the rewards he had promised them.

Scipio posts, in the first line, the troops armed with missile weapons, and the Gaulish horse; and forming his second line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advances slowly. Hannibal advanced with his whole cavalry, in the centre of which he had posted the troopers who rode with bridles, and the Numidian horsemen² on the wings, in order to surround the enemy. The officers and cavalry being eager to engage, a charge ensues. At the first onset, Scipio's light-armed soldiers had scarcely discharged their darts, when, frightened at the Carthaginian cavalry, which came pouring upon them, and fearing lest they should be trampled under the horses' feet, they gave way, and retired through the intervals of the squadrons. The fight continued a long time with equal success. Many troopers on both sides dismounted, so that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians surround the enemy, and charge the rear of the light-armed troops, who at first had escaped the attack of the cavalry, and tread them under their horses' feet. The centre of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both sides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were put into disorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear; and especially by a wound the consul received, which disabled him from continuing the combat. However, this general was rescued out of the enemy's hands by the bravery of his son, then but seventeen years old; and who afterwards was honoured with the surname of Africanus, for having put a glorious period to this war.

The consul, though dangerously wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horse, who covered him with their arms and bodies: the rest of the army followed him thither. He hastened to the Po, which he crossed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, whereby he prevented Hannibal from overtaking him.

It is agreed, that Hannibal owed this first victory to his cavalry; and it was judged from thenceforth that the main strength of his army consisted in his horse; and therefore, that it would be proper for the Romans to avoid large open plains, such as those between the Po and the Alps.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls seemed to contend who should submit themselves first to Hannibal, furnish him with ammunition, and enlist in his army. And this, as Polybius has observed, was what chiefly induced that wise and

skillful general, notwithstanding the small number and weakness of his troops, to hazard a battle; which he indeed was now obliged to venture, from the impossibility of marching back whenever he should desire to do it; because nothing but a battle would oblige the Gauls to declare for him, whose assistance was the only refuge he then had left.

Battle of the Trebia.

Sempronius the consul,³ upon the orders he had received from the senate, was returned from Sicily to Ariminum. From thence he marched towards the Trebia,⁴ a small river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po a little above Flacentia, where he joined his forces to those of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans, from which he was separated only by that small river. The armies lying so near one another, gave occasion to frequent skirmishes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horse, gained some advantage over a party of Carthaginians, very trifling indeed, but which nevertheless very much increased the good opinion this general naturally entertained of his own merit.

This inconsiderable success seemed to him a complete victory. He boasted his having vanquished the enemy in the same kind of fight in which his colleague had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. Being now resolutely bent to come, as soon as possible, to a decisive battle, he thought it proper, for decency's sake, to consult Scipio, whom he found of a quite different opinion from himself. Scipio represented, that in case time should be allowed for disciplining the new levies during the winter, they would be much fitter for service in the ensuing campaign; that the Gauls, who were naturally fickle and inconstant, would disengage themselves insensibly from Hannibal; that as soon as his wounds should be healed, his presence might be of some use in an affair of such general concern: in a word, he besought him earnestly not to proceed any further.

These reasons, though so just, made no impression upon Sempronius. He saw himself at the head of 16,000 Romans, and 20,000 allies, exclusive of cavalry (a number which, in those ages, formed a complete army), when both consuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to near the same number. He thought the juncture extremely favourable for him. He declared publicly, that all the officers and soldiers were desirous of a battle, except his colleague, whose mind (he observed) being more affected by his wound than his body, could not, for that reason, bear to hear of an engagement. But still, continued Sempronius, is it just to let the whole army droop and languish with him? What could Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himself with the hopes that a third consul, and a new army, would come to his assistance? Such were the expressions he employed, both among the soldiers, and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drawing near, Sempronius was afraid a successor would be sent before he had put an end to the war; and therefore it was his opinion, that he ought to take advantage of his colleague's illness, to secure the whole honour of the victory to himself. As he had no regard, says Polybius, to the time proper for action, and only to that which he thought suited his own interest, he could not fail of taking wrong measures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle.

This was the very thing Hannibal desired; as he held it for a maxim, that a general who has entered a

¹ Polyb. l. iii. p. 220—227. Liv. l. xxi. n. 51—56.

² (This stream is the modern Trebia. It rises in the Apennines, and is composed of a multitude of torrents, which when swollen by the melted snows accumulated during the winter amongst the ridges of the Apennines, form a considerable stream of more than a mile broad, and of vast rapidity. During the summer heats its channel is almost wholly dry. A memorable engagement of three days successively, between Marshal Suwarrow and Marshal MacDonald, took place on the banks of this stream in June, 1799, when the French were defeated, with great loss on both sides. When Suwarrow was complimented on this victory as being a second Hannibal, he replied, '*Another such victory, and we are ruined.*')

³ These two ill omens were, first, a wolf had stolen into the camp of the Romans, and cruelly mangled some of the soldiers, without receiving the least harm from those who endeavoured to kill it; and, secondly, a swarm of bees had pitched upon a tree near the Prætorium, or general's tent. Liv. l. xxi. c. 46.

⁴ The Numidians used to ride without saddle or bridle.

foreign country, or one possessed by the enemy, and has formed some great design, has no other refuge left, than continually to raise the expectations of his allies by some fresh exploits. Besides, knowing that he should have to deal only with new-levied and inexperienced troops, he was desirous of taking advantage of the ardour of the Gauls, who were extremely desirous of fighting; and of Scipio's absence, who, by reason of his wound, could not be present in the battle. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambush with 2000 men, consisting of horse and foot, on the steep banks of a small rivulet which ran between the two camps, and to conceal himself among the bushes that were very thick there. An ambuscade is often safer in a smooth open country, but full of thickets, as this was, than in woods, because such a spot is less apt to be suspected. He afterwards caused a detachment of Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to fight; and then to retreat and repass the river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreseen, came directly to pass. The fiery Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry against the Numidians, and then 6000 light-armed troops, who were soon followed by all the rest of the army. The Numidians fled desiguedly; upon which the Romans pursued them with great eagerness, and crossed the Trebia without resistance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very arm-pits through the rivulet, which was swollen with the torrents that had fallen in the night from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the winter-solstice, that is, in December. It happened to snow that day, and the cold was excessively piercing. The Romans had left their camp fasting, and without having taken the least precaution; whereas the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's order, eaten and drunk plentifully in their tents; had got their horses in readiness, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their armour by the fire-side.

They were thus prepared when the fight began. The Romans defended themselves valiantly for a considerable time, though they were half spent with hunger, fatigue, and cold; but their cavalry was at last broken and put to flight by that of the Carthaginians, which much exceeded theirs in numbers and strength. The infantry also were soon in great disorder. The soldiers in ambuscade sallying out at a proper time, rushed on a sudden upon their rear, and completed the overthrow. A body of above 10,000 men resolutely fought their way through the Gauls and Africans, of whom they made a dreadful slaughter; but as they could neither assist their friends nor return to the camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horse, the river, and the rain, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Most of the rest lost their lives on the banks of the river, being trampled to pieces by the elephants and horses. Those who escaped went and joined the body above-mentioned. The next night Scipio retired also to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory, and their loss was inconsiderable, except that a great number of their horses were destroyed by the cold, the rain, and the snow; and that of all their elephants, they saved but one only.

In Spain, the Romans had better success in this and the following campaign: for Cn. Scipio extended his conquests as far as the river Iberus,¹ defeated Hanno and took him prisoner.

Hannibal took the opportunity,² whilst he was in winter quarters, to refresh his troops, and gain the affection of the natives. For this purpose, after having declared to the prisoners whom he had taken from the allies of the Romans, that he was not come with the view of making war upon them, but of restoring the Italians to their liberty, and protecting them against the Romans, he sent them all home to their own countries, without requiring the least ransom.

The winter was no sooner over,³ than he set out to-

wards Tuscany, whither he hastened his march for two important reasons: First, to avoid the ill effects which would arise from the ill will of the Gauls, who were tired with the long stay of the Carthaginian army in their territories, and were impatient of bearing the whole burden of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view than to carry it into the country of their common enemy: secondly, that he might increase, by some bold exploit, the reputation of his arms in the minds of all the inhabitants of Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome; and at the same time reanimate his troops, and the Gauls his allies, by the plunder of the enemy's lands. But in his march over the Appenines, he was overtaken by a dreadful storm, which destroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, the wind, and hail, seemed to conspire his ruin; so that the fatigues which the Carthaginians had undergone in crossing the Alps seemed less dreadful than those they now suffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought Sempronius, who was returned from Rome. The loss on both sides was very nearly equal.

Whilst Hannibal was in these winter-quarters,⁴ he hit upon a true Carthaginian stratagem. He was surrounded with fickle and inconstant nations; the friendship he had contracted with them was but of recent date. He had reason to apprehend a change in their disposition, and, consequently, that attempts would be made upon his life. To secure himself, therefore, he got perukes made, and clothes suited to every age. Of these he sometimes wore one, sometimes another, and disguised himself so often, that not merely such as saw him only transiently, but even his intimate acquaintance, could scarce know him.

At Rome, Cn. Servilius and C. A. M. 3758. Flaminius had been appointed consuls.⁵ Hannibal having advice that A. Rom. 532. the latter had advanced already as far as Arretium,⁶ a town of Tuscany, resolved to go and engage him as soon as possible. Two ways being shown him, he chose the shortest, though the most troublesome, nay, almost impassable, by reason of a fen which he was forced to go through. Here the army suffered incredible hardships. During four days and three nights they marched half way up the leg in water, and, consequently, could not get a moment's sleep. Hannibal himself, who rode upon the only elephant he had left, could hardly get through. His long want of sleep, and the thick vapours which exhaled from that marshy place, together with the unhealthiness of the season, cost him one of his eyes.

Battle of Thrasymenus.

Hannibal being thus got, almost unexpectedly, out of this dangerous situation, and having refreshed his troops, marched and pitched his camp between Arretium and Fesulae, in the richest and most fruitful part of Tuscany. His first endeavours were to discover the disposition of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his weak side, which, according to Polybius, ought to be the chief study of a general. He was told, that Flaminius was greatly conceited of his own merit, bold, enterprising, rash, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper into these excesses, to which he was naturally prone,⁷ he inflamed his impetuous spirit, by laying waste and burning the whole country in his sight.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, even if Hannibal had lain still. But when he saw the territories of his allies laid waste before his eyes, he thought it would reflect dishonour upon him should he suffer Hannibal to ransack Italy without control, and even advance to the very walls of Rome without meeting any resistance. He rejected with scorn the prudent counsels of those who advised him to wait the arrival of his colleague, and to be satisfied

¹ Polyb. l. iii. p. 228, 229. Liv. l. xxi. n. 60, 61.

² O. Ebro. ³ Polyb. p. 229. Liv. l. xxi. n. 58.

⁴ Vol. I.—14

⁵ Polyb. l. iii. p. 229. Liv. l. xxii. n. 1. Appian. in Bell. Annib. p. 316. ⁶ Polyb. p. 230, 231. Liv. l. xxii. n. 2.

⁷ [Now called Arezzo.]

⁸ Polyb. l. iii. p. 231—238. Liv. l. xxii. n. 3—8.

⁹ Apparebat ferociter omnia ac præpropere actum. Quoque promissum esset in sua vita, agitare eum atque irritare Pennus parat. Liv. l. xxii. n. 3.

for the present, with putting a stop to the devastation of the enemy.

In the mean time, Hannibal was still advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left hand, and the lake Thrasymenus^a on his right. When he saw that the consul followed close after him, with design to give him battle, in order to stop him in his march; having observed that the ground was convenient for an engagement, he thought only of making preparations for it. The lake Thrasymenus and the mountains of Cortona form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on both sides, with hills of a considerable height, and closed, at the outlet, by a steep hill of difficult access. On this hill, Hannibal, after having crossed the valley came and encamped with the main body of his army, posting his light-armed infantry in ambuscade upon the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind those on the left, as far almost as the entrance of the defile, through which Flaminius was obliged to pass. Accordingly, this general, who followed him very eagerly, with the resolution to fight him, being come to the defile near the lake, was forced to halt, because night was coming on; but he entered it the next morning at daybreak.

Hannibal having permitted him to advance, with all his forces, above half way through the valley, and seeing the Roman van-guard pretty near him, gave the signal for the battle, and commanded his troops to come out of their ambuscade, in order that he might attack the enemy at the same time from all quarters. The reader may guess at the consternation with which the Romans were seized.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, neither had they got their arms in readiness, when they found themselves attacked in front, in rear, and in flank. In a moment, all the ranks were put into disorder. Flaminius alone undaunted in so universal a consternation, animates his soldiers both with his hand and voice, and exhorts them to cut themselves a passage with their swords through the midst of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned every where, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and a fog that was risen, prevented his being seen or heard. However, when the Romans saw themselves surrounded on all sides, either by the enemy or the lake, the impossibility of saving their lives by flight roused their courage, and both parties began to fight with astonishing animosity. Their fury was so great, that not a soldier in either army perceived an earthquake which happened in that country, and buried whole cities in ruins. In this confusion, Flaminius being slain by one of the Insubrian Gauls, the Romans began to give ground, and at last fairly fled. Great numbers, endeavouring to save themselves, leaped into the lake; whilst others, directing their course towards the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands whom they strove to avoid. Six thousand only cut their way through the conquerors, and retreated to a place of safety; but the next day they were taken prisoners. In this battle 15,000 Romans were killed, and about 10,000 escaped to Rome by different roads. Hannibal sent back the Latins, who were the allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding the least ransom. He commanded search to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it burial, but it could not be found. He afterwards put his troops into quarters of refreshment, and solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He lost in all but 1500 men, most of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal despatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his good success hitherto in Italy. This caused the greatest joy for the present, gave birth to the most promising hopes with regard to the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared, with incredible ardour, to send into Italy and Spain all necessary succours.

Rome, on the contrary, was filled with universal grief and alarm, as soon as the prætor had pronounced from the rostra the following words: *We have lost a great battle.* The senate, studious of nothing but the public welfare, thought that in so great a calamity

and so imminent a danger, rest must be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a person as conspicuous for his wisdom as his birth. It was the custom at Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all authority ceased, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minucius was appointed the general of horse. We are now in the second year of the war.

Hannibal's Conduct with respect to Fabius.

Hannibal,² after the battle of Thrasymenus, not thinking it yet proper to march directly to Rome, contented himself, in the mean time, with laying waste the country. He crossed Umbria and Picenum; and after ten days' march, arrived in the territory of Adria.³ He got a very considerable booty in his march. Out of his implacable enmity to the Romans, he commanded, that all who were able to bear arms, should be put to the sword; and meeting no obstacle any where, he advanced as far as Apulia; plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the nations to disengage themselves from their alliance with the Romans; and to show all Italy, that Rome itself, now quite dispirited, yielded him the victory.

Fabius, followed by Minucius and four legions, had marched from Rome in quest of the enemy, but with a firm resolution not to let him take the least advantage, nor to advance one step till he had first reconnoitred every place; nor hazard a battle till he should be sure of success.

As soon as both armies were in sight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing almost to the very intrenchments of their camp. But finding every thing quiet there, he retired; blaming, in appearance, the cowardice of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having at last lost that valour so natural to their ancestors; but fretted inwardly, to find he had to do with a general of so different a disposition from Sempronius and Flaminius; and that the Romans, instructed by their defeat, had at last made choice of a commander capable of opposing Hannibal.

From this moment he perceived, that the dictator would not be formidable to him by the boldness of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which might perplex and embarrass him very much. The only circumstance he now wanted to know, was, whether the new general had firmness enough to pursue steadily the plan he seemed to have laid down. He endeavoured, therefore, to shake his resolution by the different movements which he made, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the villages and towns. He, at one time, would raise his camp with the utmost precipitation, and, at another, stop short in some valley out of the common route, to try whether he could not surprise him in the plain. However, Fabius still kept his troops on the hills, but without losing sight of Hannibal; never approaching near enough to come to an engagement; nor yet keeping at such a distance, as might give him an opportunity of escaping him. He never suffered his soldiers to stir out of the camp, except to forage, nor ever on those occasions without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged, it was only in slight skirmishes, and so very cautiously, that his troops had always the advantage. By this conduct he revived, by insensible degrees, the courage of the soldiers, which the loss of three battles had entirely damped; and enabled them to rely, as they had formerly done, on their valour and good fortune.

Hannibal, having got an immense booty in Campania, where he had resided a considerable time, left that country, in order that he might not consume the provisions he had laid up, and which he reserved for the winter season. Besides, he could no longer continue in a country of gardens and vineyards, which were more agreeable to the eye than useful for the subsistence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter quarters

^a [Now called Lago di Perugia.]

² Polyb. l. iii. p. 239—255. Liv. l. xxii. c. 9—70.

³ A small town, which gave its name to the Adriatic sea.

among marshes, rocks, and sands; while the Romans would have drawn plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest parts of Italy. He therefore resolved to settle elsewhere.

Fabius naturally supposed that Hannibal would be obliged to return the same way he came, and that he might easily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a considerable body of troops into Casilinum, and thereby securing that small town, situated on the Vulturinus, which separated the territories of Falernum from those of Capua: he afterwards detached 4000 men to seize the only pass through which Hannibal could come out; and then, according to his usual custom, posted himself with the remainder of the army on the hills adjoining to the road.

The Carthaginians arrive, and encamp in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now the crafty Carthaginian falls into the same snare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thrasymentus; and it seemed impossible for him ever to extricate himself out of this difficulty, there being but one outlet, of which the Romans were possessed. Fabius, fancying himself sure of his prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flattered himself, and not without the appearance of probability, with the hopes of putting an end to the war by this single battle. Nevertheless, he thought fit to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived that his own artifices were now employed against him.¹ It is in such junctures as these, that a general has need of unusual presence of mind and fortitude, to view danger in its utmost extent, without being dismayed; and to find out sure and instant expedients without deliberating. Immediately, the Carthaginian general caused 2000 oxen to be got together, and ordered small bundles of vine-branches to be tied to their horns. Towards the dead of night, having commanded the branches to be set on fire, he caused the oxen to be driven with violence to the top of the hills where the Romans were encamped. As soon as these creatures felt the flame, the pain rendered them furious, they flew up and down on all sides, and set fire to the shrubs and bushes they met in their way. This squadron, of a few kind, was sustained by a good number of light-armed soldiers, who had orders to seize upon the summit of the mountain, and to charge the enemy, in case they should meet them. All things happened as Hannibal had foreseen. The Romans who guarded the defile, seeing the fires spread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his escape by torch-light, quit their post, and run up to the mountains to oppose his passage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of all this tumult, and Fabius himself not daring to stir, while it was dark, for fear of a surprise, wait for the return of the day. Hannibal seizes this opportunity, marches his troops and the spoils through the defile, which was now unguarded, and rescues his army out of a snare in which, had Fabius been but a little more vigorous, it would either have been destroyed, or at least very much weakened. It is glorious for a man to turn his very errors to his advantage, and make them subservient to his reputation.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, still pursued and harassed by the Romans. The dictator, being obliged to take a journey to Rome on account of some religious ceremonies, earnestly entreated his general of horse, before his departure, not to fight during his absence. However, Minucius did not regard either his advice or his entreaties; but the very first opportunity he had, whilst part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, he charged the rest, and gained some advantage. He immediately sent advice of this to Rome, as if he had obtained a considerable victory. The news of this, with what had just before happened at the passage of the defile, raised complaints and murmurs against the slow and timorous circumspection of Fabius. In a word, matters were carried so far, that the Roman people gave his general of horse an equal authority with him; a thing unheard of be-

fore. The dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this: for he had left Rome in order that he might not be an eye-witness of what was contriving against him. His constancy, however, was not shaken. He was very sensible, that though his authority in the command was divided, yet his skill in the art of war was not so.² This soon became manifest.

Minucius, grown arrogant at the advantage he had gained over his colleague, proposed that each should command a day alternately, or even a longer time. But Fabius rejected this proposal, as it would have exposed the whole army to danger whilst under the command of Minucius. He therefore chose to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preserve, at least, that part which should fall to his share.

Hannibal, fully informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, was overjoyed to hear of this dissension between the two commanders. He therefore laid a snare for the rash Minucius, who accordingly plunged headlong into it; and engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuscade was concealed. But his troops being soon put into disorder, were just upon the point of being cut to pieces, when Fabius, alarmed by the sudden outcries of the wounded, called aloud to his soldiers: *Let us hasten to the assistance of Minucius: let us fly and snatch the victory from the enemy, and exult from our fellow-citizens a confession of their fault.* This succour was very reasonable, and compelled Hannibal to sound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, said, *That the cloud which had been long hovering on the summit of the mountains, had at last burst with a loud crack, and caused a mighty storm.* So important and seasonable a service done by the dictator, opened the eyes of Minucius. He accordingly acknowledged his error, returned immediately to his duty and obedience, and showed, that it is sometimes more glorious to know how to atone for a fault, than not to have committed it.

The State of Affairs in Spain.

In the beginning of this campaign,³ Cn. Scipio having suddenly attacked the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took twenty-five ships, with a great quantity of rich spoils. This victory made the Romans sensible, that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, because Hannibal could draw considerable supplies both of men and money from that country. Accordingly, they sent a fleet thither, the command whereof was given to P. Scipio, who, after his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the commonwealth very great service. Till that time the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro. They had been satisfied with having gained the friendship of the nations situated between that river and Italy, and confirming it by alliances: but under Publius they crossed the Ebro, and carried their arms much farther up into the country.

The circumstance which contributed most to promote their affairs, was the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the most distinguished families in Spain, whom he had taken as hostages. Abelo, for so this Spaniard was called, persuaded Bostar, the governor of the city, to send back these young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants more firmly to the Carthaginian interest. He himself was charged with this commission. But he carried them to the Romans, who afterwards delivered them to their relations, and, by so acceptable a present, acquired their amity.

The Battle of Cannæ.

The next spring,⁴ C. Terentius Varro and L. Emilius Paulus were A. M. 3789. chosen consuls at Rome. In this A. Rom. 533. campaign, which was the third of the second Punic war, the Romans did what had

¹ *Satis fidem haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi exonant* Liv. l. xxii. n. 26.

² *Polvb. l. iii. p. 245—250. Liv. l. xxii. n. 19—22.*

³ *Polvb. l. iii. p. 255—268. Liv. l. xxii. n. 34—54.*

⁴ *Nec Annibalem fefellit suis se artibus poti. Liv.*

never been practised before, that is, they composed the army of eight legions, each consisting of 5000 men, exclusive of the allies. For, as we have already observed, the Romans never raised but four legions, each of which consisted of about 4000 foot, and 300 horse.¹ They never, except on the most important occasions, made them consist of 5000 of the one, and 400 of the other. As for the troops of the allies, their infantry was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horse. Each of the consuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, in order for them to act separately; and it was very seldom that all these forces were used at the same time, and in the same expedition. Here the Romans had not only four, but eight legions, so important did the affair appear to them. The senate even thought fit, that the two consuls of the foregoing year, Servilius and Atilius, should serve in the army as proconsuls; but the latter could not go into the field, by reason of his great age.

Varro, at his setting out from Rome, had declared openly, that he would fall upon the enemy the very first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it never would be terminated so long as men such as Fabius should be at the head of the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over the Carthaginians, of whom near 1700 were killed, greatly increased his boldness and arrogance. As for Hannibal, he considered this loss as a real advantage; being persuaded that it would serve as a bait to the consul's rashness, and prompt him on to a battle, which he wanted extremely. It was afterwards known, that Hannibal was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions, that he could not possibly have subsisted ten days longer. The Spaniards were already meditating to leave him. So that there would have been an end of Hannibal and his army, if his good fortune had not thrown a Varro in his way.

Both armies, having often removed from place to place, came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia,² situated on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level open country, and his cavalry much superior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper to engage in such a place. He wished to draw the enemy into a spot, where the infantry might have the greatest share in the action. But his colleague, who was inexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the inconvenience of a divided command: jealousy, a disparity of tempers, or a diversity of views, seldom failing to create a dissension between the two generals.

The troops on each side were, for some time, contented with slight skirmishes. But at last, one day, when Varro had the command (for the two consuls took it by turns) preparations were made on both sides for battle. Æmilius had not been consulted; yet, though he extremely disapproved the conduct of his colleague, as it was not in his power to prevent it, he seconded him to the utmost.

Hannibal, after having made his soldiers observe, that being superior in cavalry, they could not possibly have pitched upon a better spot for fighting, had it been left to their choice. *Return, then (says he), thanks to the gods for having brought the enemy hither, that you may triumph over them, and thank me also, for having reduced the Romans to the necessity of coming to an engagement. After these great successive victories, is not the remembrance of your own arms sufficient to inspire you with courage? By the former battles, you are become masters of the open country, but this will put you in possession of all the cities, and I presume to say it of all the riches and power of the Romans. It is not words that we want, but action. I trust in the gods, that you will soon see my promises verified.*

The two armies were very unequal in numbers.—That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted

to 80,000 foot, and a little above 6000 horse: and that of the Carthaginians consisted but of 40,000 foot, all well disciplined, and of 10,000 horse. Æmilius commanded the right wing of the Romans, Varro the left, and Servilius, one of the consuls of the last year was posted in the centre. Hannibal, who had the art of turning every incident to advantage, had posted himself, so as that the wind Vulturinus³ which rises at certain stated times, should blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with dust; then keeping the river Aufidus on his left, and posting his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry; which he posted in the centre, with half the African heavy-armed foot on the right, and half on the left, on the same line with the cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he put himself at the head of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry; and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to give battle, rounding his front as he drew nearer the enemy; and extending his flanks in the shape of a half-moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the rest of the line, which consisted of the heavy-armed infantry, who had not moved from their posts.

The fight soon began, and the Roman legions that were in the wings, seeing their centre warmly attacked, advanced to charge the enemy in flank. Hannibal's main body, after a brave resistance, finding themselves furiously attacked on all sides, gave way, being overpowered by numbers; and retired through the interval they had left in the centre of the line. The Romans having pursued them thither with eager confusion, the two wings of the African infantry, which were fresh, well armed, and in good order, wheeled about on a sudden towards that void space in which the Romans, who were already fatigued, had thrown themselves in disorder; and attacked them vigorously on both sides, without allowing them time to recover themselves, or leaving them ground to draw up. In the mean time, the two wings of the cavalry, having defeated those of the Romans, which were much inferior to them; and having left in the pursuit of the broken and scattered squadrons, only as many forces as were necessary to keep them from rallying, advanced and charged the rear of the Roman infantry, which, being surrounded at once on every side, by the enemy's horse and foot, was all cut to pieces, after having fought with unparalleled bravery. Æmilius, being covered with the wounds he had received in the fight, was afterwards killed by a body of the enemy to whom he was not known: and with him two questors; one-and-twenty military tribunes; many who had been either consuls or pretors; Servilius, one of the last year's consuls; Minucius, the late general of horse to Fabius; and fourscore senators. Above 70,000 men fell in this battle;⁴ and the Carthaginians, so great was their fury,⁵ did not give over the slaughter, till Hannibal in the very heat of it, called out to them several times, *Stop, soldiers, spare the vanquished.* Ten thousand men, who had been left to guard the camp, surrendered themselves prisoners of war after the battle. Varro, the consul, retired to Venusia, with only seventy horse; and about 4000 men escaped into the neighbouring cities. Thus Hannibal remained master of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the superiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans. He lost 4000 Gauls, 1500 Spaniards and Africans, and 200 horse.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian Generals, advised Hannibal to march without loss of time directly

¹ [This wind answers to the modern Sirocco, or hot wind, which blows from the quarter of Africa for many days together. When this happens, the atmosphere is heated to an extreme degree, so as to be almost intolerable. A Tramontana, or cold north-east wind from the Apennines, frequently succeeds the Vulturinus or Sirocco, which produces a great mortality amongst the natives.]

² Livy lessens very much the number of the slain, making them amount but to about 43,000. But Polybius ought rather to be believed.

³ Duo maximi exercitus cuncti ad hostium satietatem, donec Annibal diceret militi suo: Parce ferro. Flor. l. i. c. 6.

⁴ Polybius supposes only 200 horse in each legion: but J. Lipsius thinks that this is a mistake either of the author or transcriber.

⁵ [The ruins of this city are still to be seen in the territory of Bari, formerly Apulia Paucetia.]

to Rome, promising him, that within five days they should sup in the Capitol. Hannibal answering, that it was a matter which required mature deliberation: *I see, replies Maharbal, that the gods have not endowed the same man with all talents. You, Hannibal, know how to conquer, but not to make the best use of a victory.*¹

It is pretended that this delay saved Rome and the empire. Many authors, and among the rest, Livy, charged Hannibal, on this occasion, as being guilty of a capital error. But others more reserved, are not for condemning, without evident proofs, so renowned a general, who in the rest of his conduct was never wanting, either in prudence to make choice of the best expedients, or in readiness to put his designs in execution. They, besides, are inclined to judge favourably of him, from the authority, or at least the silence, of Polybius, who, speaking of the memorable consequences of this celebrated battle, says, that the Carthaginians were firmly persuaded, that they should possess themselves of Rome at the first assault; but then he does not mention how this could possibly have been effected, as that city was very populous, warlike, strongly fortified, and defended with a garrison of two legions; nor does he any where give the least hint that such a project was feasible, or that Hannibal did wrong in not attempting to put it in execution.

And, indeed, if we examine matters more narrowly, we shall find, that according to the common maxims of war it could not be undertaken. It is certain, that Hannibal's whole infantry before the battle, amounted but to 40,000 men, and as 6000 of these had been slain in the action, and, doubtless, many more wounded and disabled, there could remain but six or seven-and-twenty thousand foot fit for service: now this number was not sufficient to invest so large a city as Rome, which had a river running through it; nor to attack it in form, because they had neither engines, ammunition, nor any other things necessary for carrying on a siege. For want of these,² Hannibal, even after his victory at Thrasymenus, miscarried in his attempt upon Spoleto; and soon after the battle of Cannæ, was forced to raise the siege of a little city,³ of no note, and of no great strength. It cannot be denied, that had he miscarried on the present occasion, nothing less could have been expected but that he must have been irrecoverably lost. However, to form a just judgment of this matter, a man ought to be a soldier, and a soldier, perhaps, of those times. This is an old dispute on which none but those who are perfectly well skilled in the art of war should pretend to give their opinion.

Soon after the battle of Cannæ,⁴ Hannibal had despatched his brother Mago to Carthage, with the news of his victory, and at the same time to demand succours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the war.

Mago, on his arrival, made, in full senate, a lofty speech, in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and displayed the great advantages he had gained over the Romans. And to give a more lively idea of the greatness of the victory, by speaking in some measure to the eye, he poured out in the middle of the senate a bushel⁵ of gold rings which had been taken from the fingers of such of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ. He concluded with demanding money, provisions, and fresh troops. All the spectators were struck with an extraordinary joy; upon which Imilco, a great stickler for Hannibal, fancying he now had a fair opportunity to insult Hanno, the chief of the contrary faction, asked him, whether they were still dissatisfied with the war they were carrying on against the Romans, and was for having Hannibal delivered up to them? Hanno, without discovering

the least emotion, replied that he was still of the same mind, and that the victories of which they so much boasted (supposing them real,) could not give him joy, but only in proportion as they should be made subservient to an advantageous peace; he then undertook to prove, that the mighty exploits, on which they insisted so much, were wholly chimerical and imaginary. *I have cut to pieces, says he, (continuing Mago's speech) the Roman armies: send me some troops.—What more could you ask had you been conquered?—I have twice seized upon the enemy's camp full (no doubt) of provisions of every kind.—Send me provisions and money.—Could you have talked otherwise, had you lost your camp?* He then asked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations had come over to Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any proposals of peace? To this Mago answering in the negative: *I then perceive, replied Hanno, that we are no farther advanced than when Hannibal first landed in Italy.* The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be sent. But Hannibal's faction prevailing at that time, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonstrances, which were considered merely as the effect of prejudice and jealousy; and, accordingly, orders were given for levying, without delay, the supplies of men and money which Hannibal required. Mago set out immediately for Spain to raise 24,000 foot and 4000 horse in that country; but these levies were afterwards stopped, and sent to another quarter; so eager was the contrary faction to oppose the designs of a general whom they utterly abhorred. While, in Rome, a consul,⁶ who had fled, was thanked because he had not despaired of the commonwealth; at Carthage, people were almost angry with Hannibal for being victorious. But Hanno could never forgive him the advantages he had gained in this war, because he had undertaken it in opposition to his counsel. Thus, being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to the Carthaginian general than to the Romans, he did all that lay in his power to prevent future success, and to render of no avail that which had been already gained.

Hannibal takes up his Winter-quarters in Capua.

The battle of Cannæ subjected the most powerful nations of Italy to Hannibal,⁷ drew over to his interest Græcia Magna,⁸ with the city of Tarentum; and thus wrested from the Romans their most ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the first rank. This city, by the fertility of its soil, its advantageous situation, and the blessings of a long peace, had risen to great wealth and power. Luxury, and a fondness for pleasure (the usual attendants on wealth,) had corrupted the minds of all its citizens, who, from their natural inclination, were but too much inclined to voluptuousness and excess.

Hannibal made choice of this city for his winter-quarters.⁹ Here it was that those soldiers, who had sustained the most grievous toils, and braved the most formidable dangers, were overthrown by abundance and a profusion of luxuries, into which they plunged with the greater eagerness, as they, till then, had been strangers to them. Their courage was so greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that all their after efforts were owing rather to the fame and splendour of their former victories than to their present strength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city, one would have taken them for other men, and the reverse of those who had so lately marched into it. Accustomed, during the winter-season, to

¹ Terentius Varro.

² Liv. l. xxiii. n. 4. 13.

³ *Ceterum quum Græci omnem fere oram maritimam Coloniis suis, e Græciâ deductis, obsiderent, &c.* But after the Greeks had, by their colonies, possessed themselves of almost all the maritime coast, this very country (together with Sicily) was called *Græcia Magna, &c.* *Cluver. Geograph. l. iil. c. 30.*

⁴ *Ibi partem majorem hominis exercitum in tentis habuit; adversus omnia humana mala sepe ac diu duratum, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidit nimia bona ac voluptates immoedice; et eo impensis, quò avidius ex insolentia in eas se merorant.* *Liv. l. xxiii. n. 13.*

⁵ Tum Maharbal: Non omnia nimirum eidem Dii de dec. Vincere scis, Annibal, victoria ut nescis. Liv. xxii. n. 51.

⁶ Liv. l. xxii. n. 9. Ibid. l. xxiii. n. 18.

⁷ Capisium. ⁸ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 11—14

⁹ *Pliny. l. xxx. iii. c. 1. says that there were three bushels sent to Carthage. Livy observes, that some authors make them amount to three bushels and a half; but he thinks it most probable, that there was but one, l. xxiii. n. 12. Florus, l. ii. c. 16. makes it two bushels.*

commodious lodgings to ease and plenty; they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirst, long marches, watchings, and the other toils of war; not to mention that all obedience, all discipline, were entirely laid aside.

I only transcribe on this occasion from Livy. If we are to adopt his opinion on this subject, Hannibal's stay at Capua was a capital blemish in his conduct; and he pretends, that this general was guilty of an infinitely greater error, than when he neglected to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For this delay,¹ says Livy, might seem only to have retarded his victory; whereas this last misconduct rendered him absolutely incapable of ever defeating the enemy. In a word, as Marcellus observed judiciously afterwards, Capua was to the Carthaginians and their general, what Cannæ had been to the Romans.² There their martial genius, their love of discipline, were lost; there their former fame, and their almost certain hopes of future glory, vanished at once. And indeed, from thenceforth the affairs of Hannibal advanced to their decline by swift steps; fortune declared in favour of prudence, and victory seemed now reconciled to the Romans.

I know not whether Livy has just ground to impute all these fatal consequences to the delicious abode of Capua. If we examine carefully all the circumstances of this history, we shall scarce be able to persuade ourselves, that the little progress which was afterwards made by the arms of Hannibal, ought to be ascribed to his wintering at Capua. It might, indeed, have been one cause, but a very inconsiderable one; and the bravery with which the forces of Hannibal afterwards defeated the armies of consuls and prætors; the towns they took even in sight of the Romans; their maintaining their conquests so vigorously, and staying fourteen years after this in Italy, in spite of the Romans; a. these circumstances may induce us to believe, that Livy lays too great a stress on the delights of Capua.

The real cause of the decline of Hannibal's affairs, was owing to his want of necessary recruits and succours from Carthage. After Mago's speech,³ the Carthaginian senate had judged it necessary, in order for the carrying on the conquests in Italy, to send thither a considerable reinforcement of Numidian horse, forty elephants, and 1000 talents; and to hire, in Spain, 20,000 foot, and 4000 horse, to reinforce their armies in Spain and Italy. Nevertheless, Mago could obtain an order but for 12,000 foot and 2500 horse; and even when he was just going to march to Italy with this reinforcement, so much inferior to that which had been promised him, he was countermanded, and sent to Spain. So that Hannibal, after these mighty promises, had neither infantry, cavalry, elephants, nor money, sent him; but was left to depend upon his own personal resources. His army was now reduced to 26,000 foot, and 9000 horse. How could it be possible for him, with so inconsiderable an army, to seize, in an enemy's country, on all the advantageous posts; to awe his new allies; to preserve his old conquests, and form new ones; and to keep the field, with advantage, against two armies of the Romans which were recruited every year. This was the true cause of the declension of Hannibal's affairs, and of the ruin of those of Carthage. Were the part where Polybius treated the subject extant, we doubtless should find, that he lays a greater stress on this cause, than on the luxurious delights of Capua.

Transactions relating to Spain and Sardinia.

A. M. 3790. The two Scipios still continued in A. Rom. 534. the command of Spain,⁴ and their arms were making a considerable

progress there, when Asdrubal, who alone seemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage, to march into Italy to the relief of his brother. Before he left Spain, he wrote to the senate, to convince them of the absolute necessity of their sending a general in his stead, who was capable of making head against the Romans. Imilco was therefore sent thither with an army; and Asdrubal set out upon his march with his, in order to go and join his brother. The news of his departure was no sooner known, than the greatest part of Spain was subjected by the Scipios. These two generals, animated by such signal success, resolved to prevent him, if possible, from leaving Spain. They considered the danger to which the Romans would be exposed, if, being scarce able to resist Hannibal alone, they should be attacked by the two brothers, at the head of two powerful armies. They therefore pursued Asdrubal, and, coming up with that general, forced him to fight against his inclination. Asdrubal was overcome; and so far from being able to continue his march for Italy, he found that it would be impossible for him to continue with any safety in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better success in Sardinia. Designing to take advantage of some rebellions which they had fomented in that country, they lost 12,000 men in a battle fought against the Romans, who took a still greater number of prisoners, among whom were Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus Hanno, and Mago,⁵ who were distinguished by their birth as well as military exploits.

The ill success of Hannibal. The Sieges of Capua and Rome.

From the time of Hannibal's a. A. M. 3791. bode in Capua,⁷ the Carthaginian A. Rom. 535. affairs in Italy no longer supported their former reputation. M. Marcellus, first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He harassed Hannibal's army on every occasion, seized upon his quarters, forced him to raise sieges, and even defeated him in several engagements; so that he was called the Sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been named its Buckler.

But what most affected the Carthaginian general, was to see Capua A. M. 3793. besieged by the Romans. In order, A. Rom. 537. therefore, to preserve his reputation among his allies, by a vigorous support of those who held the chief rank as such, he flew to the relief of that city, brought forward his forces, attacked the Romans, and fought several battles to oblige them to raise the siege. At last seeing all his measures defeated, he marched hastily towards Rome, in order to make a powerful diversion. A. M. 3794. A. Rom. 538.

He was not without hope of being able, in case he could have an opportunity, in the first consternation, to storm some part of the city, of drawing the Roman generals with all their forces from the siege of Capua, to the relief of their capital; at least he flattered himself, that if, for the sake of continuing the siege, they should divide their forces, their weakness might then offer an occasion, either to the Capuans or himself, of engaging and defeating them. Rome was surprised, but not confounded. A proposal being made by one of the senators to recall all the armies to succour Rome; Fabius declared,⁸ that it would be shameful in them to be terrified, and forced to change their measures upon every motion of Hannibal. They therefore contented themselves with only recalling part of the army, and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius the proconsul, from the siege. Hannibal, after making some devastations, drew up his army in order of battle before the city, and the consul did the same. Both sides were preparing to signalize themselves in a battle, of which Rome was to be the recompense, when a violent storm obliged them to separate. They were no

¹ Illa enim cunctatio distulisse modò victoriam videri potuit, hic error vires ademiisse ad vincendum. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 18.

² Capuam Annibali Cannas fuisse; ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi præteritæ temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 45.

³ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 13.

⁴ Ibid. n. 32.

⁵ Ibid. n. 26—30 and n. 32. 40. 41.

⁶ Not Hannibal's brother.

⁷ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 41—46. l. xxv. n. 22. l. xxvi. n. 5—16.

⁸ Flagitiosum esse terri ac circummagi ad omnes Analalis comminationes. Liv. xxvi. n. 8.

anner returned to their respective camps than the face of the heavens grew calm and serene. The same incident happened frequently afterwards; inasmuch that Hannibal, believing that there was something supernatural in the event, said, according to Livy, that sometimes his own will,¹ and sometimes fortune, would not suffer him to take Rome.

But the circumstances which most surprised and intimidated him, was the news, that whilst he lay encamped at one of the gates of Rome, the Romans had sent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate; and that the ground whereon his camp was pitched, had been sold, notwithstanding that circumstance for its full value. So barefaced a contempt stung Hannibal to the quick; he, therefore, on the other side, put up to auction the shops of the goldsmiths round the Forum. After this bravado, he retired, and in his march, plundered the rich temple of the goddess Feronia.²

Capua, thus left to itself, held out but very little longer. After that such of its senators as had the chief hand in the revolt, and consequently could not expect any quarter from the Romans, had put themselves to a truly tragical death,³ the city surrendered at discretion. The success of this siege, which, by the happy consequences wherewith it was attended, proved decisive, and fully restored to the Romans their superiority over the Carthaginians; displayed, at the same time, how formidable the power of the Romans was,⁴ when they undertook to punish their perfidious allies; and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends at a time when they most wanted it.

The Defeat and Death of the two Scipios in Spain.

The face of affairs was very much changed in Spain.⁵ The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo; the second by Asdrubal, son of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the first Asdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneus and Publius, were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy separately, which was the cause of their ruin. They agreed that Cneus, with a small number of Romans, and 30,000 Celtiberians, should march against Asdrubal the son of Hamilcar; whilst Publius, with the remainder of the forces, composed of Romans and the Italian allies, should advance against the other two generals.

Publius was vanquished first. To the two leaders whom he had to oppose, Masinissa, elate with the victory he had lately gained over Syphax, joined himself; and was to be soon followed by Indibilis, a powerful Spanish prince. The armies came to an engagement. The Romans, being thus attacked on all sides at once, made a brave resistance as long as they had their general at their head; but the moment he fell, the few troops which had escaped the slaughter secured themselves by flight.

The three victorious armies marched immediately in quest of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war

by his defeat. He was already more than half vanquished by the desertion of his allies, who all forsook him; and left to the Roman generals this important instruction;⁶ viz. never to let their own forces be exceeded in number by those of foreigners. He guessed that his brother was slain, and his army defeated upon seeing such great bodies of the enemy arrive. He survived him but a short time, being killed in the engagement. These two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and Spain deeply felt their loss, because of the justice and moderation of their conduct.

These extensive countries seemed now inevitably lost; but the valour of L. Marcius,⁷ a private officer of the equestrian order, preserved them to the Romans. Shortly after this, the younger Scipio was sent thither, who severely revenged the death of his father and uncle, and restored the affairs of the Romans in Spain to their former flourishing condition.

The Defeat and Death of Asdrubal.

One unforeseen defeat ruined all A. M. 3798. the measures, and blasted all the A. Rom. 542. hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy.⁸ The consuls of this year, which was the eleventh of the second Punic war (for I pass over several events for brevity's sake,) were C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius. The latter had, for his province, the Cisalpine Gaul, where he was to oppose Asdrubal, who, it was reported, was preparing to pass the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians, and in Lucania, that is, the opposite extremity of Italy, and was there making head against Hannibal.

The passage of the Alps gave Asdrubal very little trouble, because his brother had cleared the way for him, and all the nations were disposed to receive him. Some time after this, he despatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by their letters, that Asdrubal was hastening to join his brother in Umbria. In a conjuncture of so important a nature as this, when the safety of Rome lay at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rule⁹ of his duty, for the welfare of his country. In consequence of this, it was his opinion, that such a bold and unexpected blow ought to be struck, as might be capable of striking terror into the enemy; by marching to join his colleague, in order that they might charge Asdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces. This design, if the several circumstances of it were thoroughly examined, should not be hastily charged with imprudence. To prevent the two brothers from joining their armies, was to save the state. Very little would be hazarded, even though Hannibal should be informed of the absence of the consul. From his army, which consisted of 42,000 men, he drew out but 7000 for his own detachment, which indeed were the flower of his troops, but, at the same time, a very inconsiderable part of them. The rest remained in the camp, which was advantageously situated, and strongly fortified. Now, could it be supposed that Hannibal would attack and force a strong camp defended by 35,000 men?

Nero set out without giving his soldiers the least notice of his design. When he had advanced so far as that it might be communicated without any danger he told them, that he was leading them to certain victory; that, in war, all things depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to them.

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other consul in the night, but did not pitch

¹ Audita vox Annibalis fertur, Potiundè sibi urbia Romæ, modò mentem non dari, modò fortunam. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 11.

² Feronia was the goddess of groves, and there was one, with a temple in it, dedicated to her, at the foot of the mountain Soracte. Strabo, speaking of the grove where the goddess was worshipped, says, that a sacrifice was offered annually to her in it; and that her votaries, inspired by this goddess, walked unhurt over burning coals. There are still extant some medals of Augustus in which this goddess is represented with a crown on her head.

³ Vitius Viriatus, the chief of this conspiracy, after having represented to the Capuan senate, the severe treatment which his country might expect from the Romans, prevailed with twenty-seven senators to go with him to his own house, where, after eating a plentiful dinner, and heating themselves with wine, they all drank poison. Then taking their last farewell, some withdrew to their own houses, others stayed with Viriatus; and all expired before the gates were opened to the Romans. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 13, 14.

⁴ Confessio expressa hostis, quanta vis in Romanis ad expectanda pennis ab infidelibus sociis, et quam nihil in Annibale auxilium ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 16.

⁵ Liv. l. xxv. n. 32—39.

⁶ Id quidem cavendum semper Romanis ducibus erit, exemplique hæc verè pro documentis habenda. Ne ita ex ternis credant auxilium, ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprio virium in castris habeant. Liv. l. xxv. n. 33.

⁷ He attacked the Carthaginians, who had divided themselves into two camps, and were secure, as they thought, from any immediate attempt of the Romans; killed 37,000 of them; took 18,000 prisoners, and brought off immense plunder. Liv. l. xxv. n. 39.

⁸ Polyb. l. xi. p. 622—625. Liv. l. xxvii. p. 35, 39, 51.

⁹ No general was allowed to leave his own province, to go into that of another.

separate camps, the better to impose upon the enemy. The troops which were newly arrived joined those of Livius. The army of Porcius the Prætor was encamped near that of the consul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was of opinion, that it would be better to allow the troops some days to refresh themselves; but Nero besought him not to ruin, by delay, an enterprise to which despatch only could give success: and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, as well absent as present. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the signal for battle was given. Asdrubal, advancing to his foremost ranks, discovered, by several circumstances, that fresh troops were arrived; and he did not doubt but that they belonged to the other consul. This made him conjecture that his brother had sustained a considerable loss, and, at the same time, fear, that he was come too late to his assistance.

After making these reflections, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting, he was uncertain what way to go. He marched at random, along the banks of the river Metaurus,¹ and was preparing to cross it, when the three armies of the enemy came up with him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid coming to an engagement; and therefore did every thing which could be expected from the presence of mind and valour of a great captain. He seized an advantageous post, and drew up his forces on a narrow spot, which gave him an opportunity of posting his left wing (the weakest part of his army) in such a manner, that it could neither be attacked in front, nor charged in flank; and of giving to his main battle and right wing, a greater depth than front. After this hasty disposition of his forces, he posted himself in the centre, and was the first to march to attack the enemy's left wing; well knowing that all was at stake, and that he must either conquer or die. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed by both parties. Asdrubal, especially, signalized himself in this engagement, and added new glory to that he had already acquired by a series of shining actions. He led on his soldiers trembling and quite dispirited, against an enemy superior to them both in numbers and resolution. He animated them by his words, supported them by his example, and, with entreaties and menaces, endeavoured to bring back those who fled; till at last, seeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men, who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he rushed at once into the midst of a Roman cohort, and there died in a manner worthy the son of Hamilcar, and the brother of Hannibal.

This was the most bloody battle the Carthaginians had fought during this war: and, whether we consider the death of the general, or the slaughter made of the Carthaginian forces, it may be looked upon as a reprisal for the battle of Cannæ. The Carthaginians lost 55,000 men, and 6000 were taken prisoners. The Romans lost 8000. These were so weary of killing, that some persons telling Livius that he might very easily cut to pieces a body of the enemy who were flying: *It is fit, says he, that some should survive in order that they may carry the news of this defeat to the Carthaginians.*

Nero set out upon his march, on the very night which followed the engagement. Through every place where he passed, in his return, shouts of joy and loud exclamations welcomed him, instead of those fears and uneasinesses which his coming had occasioned. He arrived in his camp the sixth day. Asdrubal's head being thrown into the camp of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's unhappy fate. Hannibal perceived, by this cruel stroke, the fortune of Carthage: *All is over, says he,² I shall no*

longer send triumphant messages to Carthage. In losing Asdrubal, I have lost at once all my hope, all my good fortune. He afterwards retired to the extremities of the country of the Brutians, where he assembled all his forces, who found it a very difficult matter to subsist there, as no provisions were sent them from Carthage.

Scipio conquers all Spain. Is appointed Consul and sails into Africa. Hannibal is recalled.

The fate of arms was not more A. M. 3799 propitious to the Carthaginians in A. Rom. 543. Spain.³ The prudent vivacity of young Scipio had restored the Roman affairs in that country to their former flourishing state, as the courageous slowness of Fabius had before done in Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Asdrubal son of Gisco, Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies by the Romans in several engagements, Scipio at last possessed himself of Spain, and subjected it entirely to the Roman power. It was at this time that Masinissa, a very powerful African prince went over to the Romans, and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

Scipio, at his return to Rome, was declared consul, being then thirty years A. M. 3800. of age. He had P. Licinius Crassus A. Rom. 544 for his colleague. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permission for him to cross into Africa, if he found it convenient. He set out with all imaginable expedition for his province; whilst his colleague was to command in the country whither Hannibal was retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had displayed all the prudence, the courage, and capacity, which could have been expected from the greatest generals, and the conquest of all Spain, were more than sufficient to immortalize his name: but he had considered these only as so many steps by which he was to climb to a nobler enterprise: this was the conquest of Africa. Accordingly, he crossed over thither, and made it the seat of the war.

The devastation of the country, the siege of Utica, one of the strongest cities of Africa; the entire defeat of the two armies under Syphax and Asdrubal, whose camp was burnt by Scipio; and afterwards the taking Syphax himself prisoner, who was the most powerful resource the Carthaginians had left; all these things forced them at last to turn their thoughts to peace. For this purpose they deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were selected from that powerful body at Carthage, called the *council of the hundred*. Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate on the earth, (such was the custom of their country,) spoke to him in terms of great submission, accusing Hannibal as the author of all their calamities, and promising, in the name of the senate, an implicit obedience to whatever the Romans should please to ordain. Scipio answered, that though he was come into Africa not for peace, but conquest, he would however grant them a peace upon condition that they should deliver up all the prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that they should recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; should never set foot again in Spain; should retire out of all the islands between Italy and Africa; should deliver up all their ships, twenty excepted, to the victor; should give to the Romans 500,000 bushels of wheat, 300,000 of barley, and pay 15,000 talents; and that in case they were pleased with these conditions, they then, he said, might send ambassadors to the senate. The Carthaginians feigned a compliance, but this was only to gain time, till Hannibal should be returned. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians, who immediately sent deputies to Rome, and at the same time an express to Hannibal, to order his return into Africa.

He was then, as was observed before, in the extremity of Italy. Here A. M. 3802. he received the orders from Car. A. Rom. 546. thage, which he could not listen to without groans, and almost shedding tears; and was

¹ Now called Metauro.

² Horace makes him speak thus, in his beautiful ode where fate's defeat is described:

Carthagini jam non ego nuntio
Mittam superbes. Occidit, occidit
Spes omnis, et fortuna nostri
Nominis. Asdrubale intercepto.

Lib. iv. Od. 4.

³ Polyb. l. xi. p. 650. & l. xiv. p. 677—687. & l. xv. p. 689—694. Liv. l. xxviii. b. 1—4. 16. 28. 40—46. l. xxix. a. 24—36. xxx. a. 20—22.

exasperated almost to madness, to see himself thus forced to quit his prey. Never banished man¹ showed so much regret at leaving his native country, as Hannibal did in going out of that of an enemy. He often turned his eyes wishfully to Italy, accusing gods and men of his misfortunes, and calling down a thousand curses, says Livy,² upon himself for not having marched his soldiers directly to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, whilst they were still reeking with the blood of its citizens.

At Rome, the Senate, greatly dissatisfied with the excuses made by the Carthaginian deputies, in justification of their republic, and the ridiculous offer which they made in its name, of adhering to the treaty of Lutatius; thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being on the spot, could best judge what conditions the welfare of the state required.

About the same time, Octavius the prætor sailing from Sicily into Africa with 200 vessels of burden, was attacked near Carthage by a furious storm, which dispersed all his fleet. The citizens not bearing to see so rich a prey escape them, demanded importunately that the Carthaginian fleet might sail out and seize it. The senate, after a faint resistance, complied. Asdrubal, sailing out of the harbour, seized the greatest part of the Roman ships, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was still subsisting.

Scipio sent deputies to the Carthaginian senate, to complain of this; but they were little regarded. Hannibal's approach had revived their courage, and filled them with great hopes. The deputies were even in great danger of being ill treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy, which was granted, and accordingly two ships of the republic attended them. But the magistrates, who were absolutely against peace, and determined to renew the war, gave private orders to Asdrubal (who was with the fleet near Utica,) to attack the Roman galley when it should arrive in the river Bragada, near the Roman camp, where the convoy was ordered to leave them. He obeyed the order, and sent out two galleys against the ambassadors, who nevertheless made their escape, but with difficulty and danger.

This was a fresh subject for a war between the two nations, who now were more animated, or rather more exasperated, one against the other, than ever: the Romans from a desire of taking vengeance for so black a perfidy; and the Carthaginians, from a persuasion that they were not now to expect a peace.

At the same time Lælius and Fulvius, who carried the full powers with which the senate and people of Rome had invested Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies of Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations, in the person of the Roman ambassadors; it might naturally be expected that they should order the Carthaginian deputies to be seized by way of reprisal. However, Scipio,³ more attentive to what was required by the Roman generosity, than by the perfidy of the Carthaginians, in order not to deviate from the principles and maxims of his own countrymen, nor his own character, dismissed the deputies, without offering them the least injury. So astonishing an instance of moderation, and at such a juncture, terrified the Carthaginians, and even put them to the blush; and made Hannibal himself entertain a still higher idea of a general, who, to the dishonourable practices of his enemies, opposed only a rectitude and

greatness of soul, that was still more worthy of admiration than all his military virtues.

In the mean time, Hannibal being strongly importuned by his fellow-citizens, advanced forward into the country; and arriving at Zama, which is five days march from Carthage, he there pitched his camp. He thence sent out spies to observe the position of the Romans. Scipio having seized these, so far from punishing them, only commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order that they might make an exact survey of it, and then sent them back to Hannibal. The latter knew very well whence so noble an assurance flowed. After the strange reverses he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again be propitious. Whilst every one was exciting him to give battle, himself only meditated a peace. He flattered himself that the conditions of it would be more honourable, as he was the head of an army, and as the fate of arms might still appear uncertain. He therefore sent to desire an interview with Scipio, which accordingly was agreed to, and the time and place fixed.

The interview between Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a Battle.

These two generals,⁴ who were not A. M. 3803.
only the most illustrious of their own A. Rom. 547.
age, but worthy of being ranked with the most renowned princes and warriors that had ever lived, having met at the place appointed, continued for some time in a deep silence, as though they were astonished, and struck with a mutual admiration at the sight of each other. At last Hannibal spoke, and after having praised Scipio in the most artful and delicate manner, he gave a very lively description of the ravages of the war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquished. He conjured him not to suffer himself to be dazzled by the splendour of his victories. He represented to him, that how successful soever he might have hitherto been, he ought however to be aware of the inconstancy of fortune; that without going far back for examples, he himself, who was then speaking to him, was a glaring proof of this: that Scipio was at that time what Hannibal had been at Thrasymenus and Cannæ; that he ought to make a better use of opportunity than himself had done, by consenting to a peace, now it was in his power to propose the conditions of it. He concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians would willingly resign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, to the Romans; that they must be forced, since such was the will of the gods, to confine themselves to Africa; whilst they should see the Romans extending their conquests to the most remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio answered in few words, but not with less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman galleys before the truce was expired. He imputed to them alone, and to their injustice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he had given him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded with desiring him to prepare for battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions that had been already proposed; to which (he observed) some others would be added, in order to punish the Carthaginians for their having violated the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail with himself to accept these conditions, and the generals left one another, with the resolution to decide the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio represented to his soldiers, the conquest of both the Spains, his successes in Africa, and the confession the enemies themselves made of their weakness, by thus coming to sue for peace. All this he spoke with the tone and

¹ *Rari quonquam alium patriam cunctis causâ relinquentem magis mansum abesse ferunt, quam Annibalem hostium terrâ excedentem. Resparisse sæpe Italia iitora et deos hominesque accusantem, in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exacerbatum. Quid non eruentum ab Cannensi victoria militem Romam duxisset. Liv. xxx. n. 20.*

² Livy supposes, however, that this delay was a capital error in Hannibal, which he himself afterwards regretted.

³ *Εκπαιστος παρ' αὐτὰ συλλαβὴς ὁμοῦ, οὐχ οὐτὰ τι θύον παθεῖν Κερκυραίωνος ἀπὸ τῆ θύον ἐν πρᾶξιν Ῥωμαίων. Polyb. l. xv. p. 965. edit. Gronov.*

⁴ *Quibus Scipio. Etsi non induciarum modò fides, sed etiam fides gentium in legatis violatum esset; tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in his futurum esse. Liv. l. xxx. n. 25.*

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⁴ Polyb. l. xv. p. 694—703. Liv. l. xxx. n. 29 &c.

air of a conqueror.¹ Never were motives more powerful to prompt troops to behave gallantly. This day was to complete the glory of the one or the other of the generals; and to decide whether Rome or Carthage was to prescribe laws to all other nations.

I shall not undertake to describe the order of the battle, nor the valour of the forces on both sides. The reader will naturally suppose, that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance which could contribute to the victory. The Carthaginians, after a very obstinate fight, were obliged to fly, leaving 20,000 men on the field of battle, and the like number of prisoners were taken by the Romans. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and entering Carthage, owned that he was irrecoverably overthrown, and that the citizens had no other choice left than to accept of peace on any conditions. Scipio bestowed great eulogiums on Hannibal, chiefly with regard to his ability in taking advantages, his manner of drawing up his army, and giving out his orders in the engagement; and he affirmed that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself, although the success had not answered his valour and conduct.

With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of the victory, and the consternation with which he had filled the enemy. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land army to Carthage, whilst himself prepared to conduct the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state, as ambassadors to implore his clemency. However, he dismissed them without making any answer, and bade them come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The deputies of Carthage, thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. He then called a council there, the majority of which were for razing Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which must necessarily be employed before so strongly fortified a city could be taken; and Scipio's fear, lest a successor might be appointed him whilst he should be employed in the siege, made him incline to clemency.

A Peace concluded between the Carthaginians, and the Romans. The end of the second Punic War.

² The conditions of the peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were, *That the Carthaginians should continue free, and preserve their laws, their territories, and the cities they possessed in Africa before the war—That they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, slaves, and prisoners, belonging to them; all their ships, except ten triremes; all the elephants which they then had, and that they should not train up any more for war—That they should not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without first obtaining leave for that purpose from the Roman people—Should restore to Masinissa every thing of which they had dispossessed either him or his ancestors—Should furnish money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries, till their ambassadors should be returned from Rome—Should pay to the Romans 10,000 Euboic talents of silver in fifty annual payments: and give 100 hostages, who should be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might have time to send to Rome, he agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that*

they should restore the ships taken during the former, without which they were not to expect either a truce or peace.

When the deputies were returned to Carthage, they laid before the senate the conditions dictated by Scipio. But they appeared so intolerable to Gisco, that rising up, he made a speech, in order to dissuade his citizens from accepting a peace on such shameful terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmness with which such an orator was heard, took Gisco by the arm, and dragged him from his seat. A behaviour so outrageous, and so remote from the manners of a free city like Carthage, raised a universal murmur. Hannibal himself was vexed when he reflected on what he had done, and immediately made an apology for it. *As I left, says he, your city at nine years of age, and did not return to it till after thirty-six years' absence, I had full leisure to learn the arts of war, and flatter myself that I have made some improvement in them. As for your laws and customs, it is no wonder I am ignorant of them, and I therefore desire you to instruct me in them.* He then expatiated on the indispensable necessity they were under of concluding a peace. He added that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even on these conditions. He pointed out to them the great importance of their uniting in opinion; and of not giving an opportunity, by their divisions, for the people to take an affair of this nature under their cognizance. The whole city came over to his opinion; and accordingly the peace was accepted. The senate made Scipio satisfaction with regard to the ships reclaimed by him; and after obtaining a truce for three months, they sent ambassadors to Rome.

These Carthaginians, who were all venerable for their years and dignity, were admitted immediately to an audience. Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, who was still an irreconcilable enemy to Hannibal and his faction, spoke first; and after having excused, to the best of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the ambition of some particular persons, he added, that had the Carthaginians listened to his counsels and those of Hanno, they would have been able to grant the Romans the peace for which they now were obliged to sue. But, continued he, *wisdom and prosperity are rarely found together. The Romans are invincible, because they never suffer themselves to be blinded by good fortune. And it would be surprising should they act otherwise. Success dazzles those only to whom it is new and unusual; whereas the Romans are so much accustomed to conquer, that they are almost insensible to the charms of victory; and it may be said to their glory, that they have extended their empire in some measure, more by the humanity they have shown to the conquered, than by the conquest itself.* The other ambassadors spoke with a more plaintive tone of voice, and represented the calamitous state to which Carthage was going to be reduced and the grandeur and power from which it was fallen.

The senate and people being equally inclined to peace, sent full power to Scipio to conclude it; left the conditions to that general, and permitted him to march back his army, after the treaty should be concluded.

The ambassadors desired leave to enter the city, to redeem some of their prisoners, and they found about 200 whom they desired to ransom. But the senate sent them to Scipio, with orders that they should be restored without any pecuniary consideration, in case a peace should be concluded.

The Carthaginians, on the return of their ambassadors, concluded a peace with Scipio on the terms he himself had prescribed. They then delivered up to him more than 500 ships, all which he burnt in sight of Carthage; a lamentable spectacle to the inhabitants of that ill-fated city. He struck off the heads of the

¹ Celsus hæc corpore, vultuque ita leto, ut vicissè jam crederet, dicebat. *Liv.* l. xxx. b. 32.

² Polyb. l. xv. 704–707. *Liv.* l. xxx. n. 36. 44.

³ Ten thousand Attic talents make 30,000,000 French money. Ten thousand Euboic talents make something more than 28,023,000 livres; because, according to Budæus, the Euboic talent is equivalent to but fifty-six minæ and something more, whereas the Attic talent is worth sixty minæ; or otherwise thus calculated in English money:

According to Budæus, the Euboic talent is . . . 56 Minæ
56 Minæ reduced to English money . . . 175*l.*

Consequently, 10,000 Euboic talents make 1,750,000*l.*

So that the Carthaginians paid annually . . . 35,000*l.*

This calculation is as near the truth as it can well be brought; the Euboic talent being something more than 56 minæ.

⁴ Raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari Populum. Romanum eò invictum esse quod in secundis rebus sapere et consulere muneretur. Et hercè mirandum fuisse si aliter facerent. Ex insolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna vit, impotentes lætitiæ insaniunt: populo Romano unitatis ac propè obsoleta ex victoriâ gaudia esse: ac plus penè parendo victis quàm vincendo imperium auxiliare. *Liv.* l. xxx. n. 42.

lies of the Latin name, and hanged all the Roman citizens who were surrendered up to him, as deserters.

When the time for the first payment of the first tribute imposed by the treaty was expired, as the funds of the government were exhausted by this long and expensive war; the difficulty of levying so great a sum, threw the senate into deep affliction, and many could not refrain even from tears. Hannibal on this occasion is said to have laughed; and when he was reproached by Asdrubal Hædus, for thus insulting his country in the affliction which he had brought upon it, *Were it possible, says Hannibal, for my heart to be seen, and that as clearly as my countenance; you would then find that this laughter which offends so much flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the public calamities. But is this laughter more unreasonable than your unbecoming tears? Then, then ought you to have wept, when your arms were ingloriously taken from you, your ships burnt, and you were forbidden to engage in any foreign wars. This was the mortal blow which laid us prostrate. We are sensible of public calamity so far only as it gives a personal concern in it; and the loss of our money gives us the most pungent sorrow. Hence it was, that when our city was made the spoil of the victor; when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful nations of Africa, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, not a sigh, was heard. But now, when you are called on to contribute individually to the tax imposed upon the state, you bewail and lament as if all were lost. Alas! I only wish that the subject of this day's grief may not soon appear to you the least of your misfortunes.*

Scipio, after all things were concluded, embarked in order to return to Italy. He arrived at Rome, through crowds of people, whom curiosity had drawn together to behold his march. The most magnificent triumph that Rome had ever seen was decreed him, and the surname of Africanus was bestowed upon this great man; an honour till then unknown, no person before him having assumed the name of

A. M. 3804. a vanquished nation. Such was A. Carth. 646. the conclusion of the second Punic A. Rom. 548. war, after having lasted seventeen Ant. J. C. 200. years.

A short Reflection on the Government of Carthage in the Time of the second Punic War.

I shall conclude the particulars which relate to the second Punic war, with a reflection of Polybius,¹ which will show the difference between the two commonwealths of Rome and Carthage. It may be affirmed, in some measure, that at the beginning of the second Punic war, and in Hannibal's time, Carthage was in its decline. The flower of its youth, and its sprightly vigour, were already diminished. It had begun to fall from its exalted pitch of power, and was inclining towards its ruin; whereas Rome was then, as it were, in its bloom and prime of life, and swiftly advancing to the conquest of the universe.

The reason of the declension of the one, and the rise of the other, is deduced, by Polybius, from the different form of government established in these commonwealths, at the time we are now speaking of. At Carthage, the common people had seized upon the sovereign authority with regard to public affairs, and the advice of their ancient men or magistrates was no longer listened to; all affairs were transacted by intrigue and cabal. To take no notice of the artifices, which the faction adverse to Hannibal employed, during the whole time of his command, to perplex him; the single instance of burning the Roman vessels during a truce, a perfidious action to which the common people compelled the senate to lend their name and assistance, is a proof of Polybius's assertion. On the contrary, at this very time, the Romans paid the highest regard to their senate, that is, to a body composed of the greatest sages; and their old men were listened to and revered as oracles. It is well known that the Roman people were exceedingly jealous of their authority, and especial γ in whatever related to the election of magistrates. A century of young men,²

who by lot were to give the first vote, which generally directed all the rest, had nominated two consuls. On the bare remonstrance of Fabius,³ who represented to the people, that in a tempest, like that with which Rome was then struggling, the ablest pilots ought to be chosen to steer the vessel of the state; the century returned to their suffrages, and nominated other consuls. Polybius infers, that a people, thus guided by the prudence of old men, could not fail of prevailing over a state which was governed wholly by the giddy multitude. And indeed, the Romans, under the guidance of the wise counsels of their senate, gained at last the superiority with regard to the war considered in general, though they were defeated in several particular engagements; and established their power and grandeur on the ruin of their rivals.

The Interval between the second and third Punic Wars.

This interval, though considerable enough with regard to its duration, since it took up above fifty years, is very little remarkable as to the events which relate to Carthage. They may be reduced to two heads; of which the one relates to the person of Hannibal, and the other to some particular differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa king of the Numidians. We shall treat both separately, but at no great length.

SECTION I.—CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF HANNIBAL.

WHEN the second Punic war was ended, by the treaty of peace concluded with Scipio, Hannibal, as he himself observed in the Carthaginian senate, was forty-five years of age. What we have further to say of this great man, includes the space of twenty-five years.

Hannibal undertakes and completes the Reformation of the Courts of Justice, and the Treasury of Carthage.

After the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal, at least at first, was greatly respected at Carthage, where he filled the first employments of the state with honour and applause. He headed the Carthaginian forces in some wars against the Africans;⁴ but the Romans, to whom the very name of Hannibal gave uneasiness, not being able to see him in arms without displeasure, made complaints on that account, and accordingly he was recalled to Carthage.

On his return he was appointed prætor, which seems to have been a very considerable employment, and to have conferred great authority. Carthage is therefore going to be, with regard to him, a new theatre, as it were, on which he will display virtues and qualities of a quite different nature from those we have hitherto admired in him, and which will finish the picture of this illustrious man.

Eagerly desirous of restoring the affairs of his afflicted country to their former happy condition, he was persuaded that the two most powerful methods to make a state flourish, were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to all its subjects in general, and a scrupulous fidelity in the management of the public finances. The former, by preserving an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such a delightful, undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secures their honour, their lives, and properties; unites the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and attaches them more firmly to the state, to which they owe the preservation of all that is most dear and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful administration of the public revenues, supplies punctually the several wants and necessities of the state; keeps in reserve a never-failing resource for sudden emergencies, and prevents the

¹ Quilibet nautarum rectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest: Ubi sæva orta tempestas est, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus est. Non tranquillo navigamus, sed jam aliquot procelis submersi pendè sumus. Itaque quis ad gubernacula sedeat, summè curâ providendum ac præcavendum nobis est.

² Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 7.

³ Lib. vi. 493, 494.

⁴ Liv. l. xxi. n. 2, 9.

people from being burdened with new taxes, which are rendered necessary by extravagant profusion, and which chiefly contribute to make men harbour an aversion for the government.

Hannibal saw, with great concern, the irregularities which had crept equally into the administration of justice, and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated prætor, as his love for regularity and order made him uneasy at every deviation from it, and prompted him to use his utmost endeavours to restore it; he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuse, which drew after it a numberless multitude of others, without dreading either the animosity of the old faction that opposed him, or the new enmity which his zeal for the republic must necessarily draw upon him.

The judges exercised the most flagrant extortion with impunity.¹ They were so many petty tyrants, who disposed, in an arbitrary manner, of the lives and fortunes of the citizens; without there being the least possibility of putting a stop to their injustice, because they held their commissions for life, and mutually supported one another. Hannibal, as prætor, summoned before his tribunal an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who openly abused his power. Livy tells us that he was a questor. This officer, who was of the opposite faction to Hannibal, and had already assumed all the haughtiness and pride of the judges, among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his present office, insolently refused to obey the summons. Hannibal was not of a disposition to suffer an affront of this nature tamely. Accordingly he caused him to be seized by a lictor, and brought him before an assembly of the people. There, not satisfied with directing his resentment against this single officer, he impeached the whole bench of judges; whose insupportable and tyrannical pride was not restrained either by the fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magistrates. And, as Hannibal perceived that he was heard with pleasure, and that the lowest and most inconsiderable of the people discovered, on this occasion, that they were no longer able to bear the insolent pride of these judges who seemed to have a design upon their liberties, he proposed a law (which accordingly passed), by which it was enacted, that new judges should be chosen annually; with a clause, that none should continue in office beyond that term. The law, at the same time that it acquired him the friendship and esteem of the people, drew upon him, proportionably, the hatred of the greatest part of the grandees and nobility.

He attempted another reformation,² which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour. The public revenues were either squandered away by the negligence of those who had the management of them, or were plundered by the chief men of the city, and the magistrates; so that money being wanting to pay the annual tribute due to the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people in general. Hannibal, entering into a long detail of the public revenues, ordered an exact estimate to be laid before him; inquired in what manner they had been applied; the employments and ordinary expenses of the state; and having discovered, by this inquiry, that the public funds had been in a great measure embezzled, by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them; he declared, and promised, in a full assembly of the people, that without laying any new taxes upon private men, the republic should hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute to the Romans; and he was as good as his word. The farmers of the revenues, whose plunder and rapine he had publicly detected, having accustomed themselves hitherto to fatten upon the spoils of their country, exclaimed vehemently against these regulations,³ as if their own property had been forced out of their hands, and not the sums they had plundered from the public.

The Retreat, and Death of Hannibal.

4 This double reformation of abuses raised great clamours against Hannibal. His enemies were writing incessantly to the chief men, or their friends, at Rome, to inform them, that he was carrying on a secret intelligence with Antiochus, king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately despatched agents to Hannibal, to concert with him the measures for carrying on the war he was meditating: that as some animals are so extremely fierce, that it is impossible ever to tame them; in like manner this man was of so turbulent and implacable a spirit, that he could not brook ease, and therefore, would, sooner or later, break out again. These informations were listened to at Rome: and as the transactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almost solely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. However, Scipio, strongly opposed the violent measures which the senate were going to take on their receiving this intelligence, by representing it as derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accusations of Hannibal's enemies; to support, with their authority, their unjust passions; and obstinately to persecute him even in the very heart of his country; as though the Romans had not humbled him sufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

But notwithstanding these prudent remonstrances, the senate appointed three commissioners to go and make their complaints to Carthage, and to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other motives were speciously pretended, yet Hannibal was perfectly sensible that himself only was aimed at. The evening being come, he conveyed himself on board a ship which he had secretly provided for that purpose: on which occasion he bewailed his country's fate more than his own. *Sapius patria quam suorum eventus miseratus.* This was the eighth year after the conclusion of the peace. The first place he landed at was Tyre, where he was received as in his second country, and had all the honors paid him which were due to his exalted merit.

After staying some days here, he set out for Antioch, which the king A. M. 3812. had lately left, and from thence waited A. Rom. 556 upon him at Epheus. The arrival of so renowned a general gave great pleasure to the king; and did not a little contribute to determine him to engage in war against Rome; for hitherto he had appeared wavering and uncertain on that head. In this city a philosopher,⁵ who was looked upon as the greatest orator of Asia, had the imprudence to make a long harangue before Hannibal, on the duties of a general, and the rules of the art-military. The speech charmed the whole audience. But Hannibal being asked his opinion of it, *I have seen, says he, many old dotards in my life, but this exceeds them all.*⁷

The Carthaginians, justly fearing that Hannibal's escape would certainly draw upon them the arms of the Romans, sent them advice that Hannibal was withdrawn to Antiochus.⁸ The Romans were very much disturbed at this news; and the king mighty

¹ Liv. l. xliii. n. 45—49.

² It is probable that we should read *suus*.

³ Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 75, 76.

⁴ *Iffc Panus libere respondisse fertur, multæ ac deliræ senes sapie vidisse: Sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidisse neminem.* Stobæus, Serm. lli. gives the following account of this matter: Ἀνδρίας ἀκούσας Σταϊκοῦ τινος ἐπικρινοῦντος, ὅτι ὁ πᾶσις μόνος στρατηγὸς ἴσταιν, ἐχθρῶς, νομίζαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἵκτος τῆς δι' ἑγών ἡμπερίας τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν. i. e. Hannibal hearing a Stoic philosopher undertake to prove that the wise man was the only general, laughed, as thinking it impossible for a man to have any skill in war without having long practised it.

⁵ They did more, for they sent two ships to pursue Hannibal, and bring him back; they sold off his goods, razed his house; and, by a public decree, declared him an exile. Such was the gratitude the Carthaginians showed to the greatest general they ever had. *Cora. Nep. in vita Hannib. c. 7.*

¹ Liv. l. xliii. n. 46.

² Liv. l. xliii. n. 46, 47.

³ Tum vero isti, quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, velut bonis erepti, non furto eorum manibus extorto, infensi et irati, Romanos in Annibalem, et ipso causam odii querentes, inestigabant. Liv.

have turned it extremely to his advantage, had he known how to make a proper use of it.

The first advice that Hannibal gave him at this time,¹ and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was, to make Italy the seat of the war. He required 100 ships, eleven or 12,000 land forces, and offered to take upon himself the command of the fleet; to cross into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war, and afterwards to make a descent upon Italy: during which the king himself should remain in Greece with his army, holding himself constantly in readiness to cross over into Italy, whenever it should be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king very much approved the proposal at first.

Hannibal thought it would be expedient to prepare his friends at Carthage,² in order to engage them the more strongly in his views. The transmitting of information by letters, is not only unsafe, but they can give only an imperfect idea of things, and are never sufficiently particular. He therefore despatched a trusty person with ample instructions to Carthage. This man was scarce arrived in the city, but his business was suspected. Accordingly, he was watched and followed: and, at last, orders were issued for his being seized. However, he prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and escaped in the night; after having fixed, in several public places, papers which fully declared the occasion of his journey. The senate immediately sent advice of this to the Romans.

Villius,³ one of the deputies who had A. M. 3813. been sent into Asia, to inquire into A. Rom. 557. the state of affairs there, and, if possible, to discover the real designs of

Antiochus, found Hannibal in Ephesus. He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and speciously affected to show a particular esteem for him on all occasions. But his chief aim, by all this designing behaviour, was to make him be suspected, and to lessen his credit with the king, in which he succeeded but too well.⁴

Some authors affirm, that Scipio was joined in this embassy; and they even relate the conversation which that general had with Hannibal. They tell us, that the Roman having asked him, who, in his opinion, was the greatest captain that had ever lived; he answered, Alexander the Great, because, with a handful of Macedonians, he had defeated numberless armies, and carried his conquests into countries so very remote, that it seemed scarce possible for any man only to travel so far. Being afterwards asked, to whom he gave the second rank; he answered, To Pyrrhus, because this king was the first who understood the art of pitching a camp to advantage; no commander ever made a more judicious choice of his posts, was better skilled in drawing up his forces, or was more dexterous in winning the affections of foreign soldiers; inasmuch that even the people of Italy were more desirous to have him for their governor, though a foreigner, than the Romans themselves, who had so long been settled in their country. Scipio proceeding, asked him next, whom he looked upon as the third: on which Hannibal made no scruple to assign that rank to himself. Here Scipio could not forbear laughing: *But what would you have said,* continued Scipio, *had you conquered me?—I would,* replied Hannibal, *have ranked myself above Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all the generals the world ever produced.* Scipio was not insensible of so refined and delicate a flattery, which he no ways expected; and which, by giving him no rival, seemed to insinuate, that no captain was worthy of being put in comparison with him.

The answer, as told by Plutarch,⁵ is less witty, and not so probable. In this author, Hannibal gives Pyrrhus the first place, Scipio the second, and him self the third.

Hannibal, sensible of the coldness with which Antiochus received him, ever since his conferences with Villius or Scipio took no notice of it for some time, and seemed insensible of it. But at last he thought it advisable to come to an explanation with the king, and to open his mind freely to him. *This hatred,* says he, *which I bear to the Romans, is known to the whole world. I bound myself to it by an oath, from my most tender infancy. It is this hatred that made me draw the sword against Rome during thirty-six years. It is that, which, even in times of peace, has caused me to be driven from my native country, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fired by the same passion, should my hopes be frustrated here, I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouse up all nations against the Romans. I hate them, and will hate them eternally; and know that they bear me no less animosity. So long as you shall continue in the resolution to take up arms against them, you may rank Hannibal in the number of your best friends. But if other counsels incline you to peace, I declare to you once for all, address yourself to others for advice, and not to me. Such a speech, which came from his heart, and expressed the greatest sincerity, struck the king, and seemed to remove all his suspicions; so that he now resolved to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet.*

But what havoc is not flattery capable of making in courts and in the minds of princes!⁶ Antiochus was told, that it was imprudent in him to put so much confidence in Hannibal, an exile, a Carthaginian, whose fortune or genius might suggest to him, in one day, a thousand different projects: that besides, this very fame which Hannibal had acquired in war, and which he considered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for a man who fought only under the ensigns of another; that none but the king ought to be the general and conductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on him to draw upon himself alone the eyes and attention of all men; whereas, should Hannibal be employed, he (a foreigner) would have the glory of all the successes ascribed to him.—No minds, says Livy,⁷ on this occasion, are more susceptible of envy, than those whose merit is below their birth and dignity; such persons always abhorring virtue and worth in others, for this reason alone, because they are strange and foreign to themselves. This observation was fully verified on this occasion. Antiochus had been taken on his weak side; a low and sordid jealousy, which is the defect and characteristic of little minds, extinguished every generous sentiment in that monarch. Hannibal was now slighted and laid aside: however, he was greatly revenged on Antiochus, by the ill success this prince met with; and showed how unfortunate that king is whose soul is accessible to envy, and his ears open to the poisonous insinuation of flatterers.

In a council held some time after,⁸ to which Hannibal, for form's sake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to speak, endeavoured chiefly to prove, that Philip of Macedon ought, on any terms, to be engaged to form an alliance with Antiochus, which was not so difficult as might be imagined. *With regard,* says Hannibal, *to the operations of the war, I adhere immovably to my first opinion; and had my counsels been listened to before, Tuscany and Liguria would now be all in a flame; and Hannibal (a name that strikes terror into the Romans) in Italy. Though I should not be very well skilled as to other matters, yet the good and ill success I have met with must necessarily have taught me sufficiently how to carry on a war against the Romans. I have nothing now*

¹ Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 60.

² Ibid. n. 61.

³ Liv. xxxv. n. 14. Polyb. l. iii. p. 166, 167.

⁴ Polybius represents this application of Villius to Hannibal, as a premeditated design, in order to render him suspected to Antiochus, because of his intimacy with a Roman. Livy owns, that the affair succeeded as if it had been designed; but, at the same time, he gives, for a very obvious reason, another turn to this conversation, and says, that no more was intended by it, than to sound Hannibal, and to remove any fears or apprehensions he might be under from the Romans.

⁵ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14. Plutarch in vitâ Flamin.

⁶ Plut. in Pyrrho. p. 687.

⁷ Liv. lib. xxiv. n. 10.

⁸ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 41, 43.

⁹ Nulla ingenia tam prona ad invidiam sunt, quàm eorum qui genus ac fortunam suam animis non æquant: Quis virtutem et bonum alienum oderunt.

¹⁰ Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 7.

in my power but to give you my counsel, and offer you my services. May the gods give success to all your undertakings! Hannibal's speech was received with applause, but not one of his counsels was put in execution.

Antiochus, imposed upon and lulled asleep by his flatterers, remained quiet at Ephesus, after the Romans had driven him out of Greece;¹ not once imagining that they would ever invade his dominions. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was for ever assuring him, that the war would soon be removed into Asia, and that he would soon see the enemy at his gates: that he must resolve, either to abdicate his throne, or oppose vigorously a people who grasped at the empire of the world. This discourse awakened, in some little measure, the king out of his lethargy, and prompted him to make some weak efforts. But, as his conduct was unsteady, after sustaining a great many considerable losses, he was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace: one of the articles of which was, that he should deliver up Hannibal to the Romans. However, the latter did not give him opportunity to put it in execution, but retired to the island of Crete, to consider there what course it would be best for him to take.

The riches he had brought along with him, of which the people of the island got some notice, had like to have proved his ruin.² Hannibal was never wanting in stratagems, and he had occasion to employ them now, to save both himself and his treasure. He filled several vessels with molten lead, the tops of which he just covered over with gold and silver. These he deposited in the temple of Diana, in presence of several Cretans, to whose honesty, he said, he confided all his treasure. A strong guard was then posted round the temple and Hannibal left at full liberty, from a supposition that his riches were secured. But he had concealed them in hollow statues of brass,³ which he always carried along with him. And

A. M. 3820. then, embracing a favourable opportunity to make his escape, he fled to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia.⁴
A. Rom. 564.

It appears from history that he made some stay in the court of this prince, who soon engaged in war with Eumenes king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. By means of Hannibal, the troops of Prusias gained several victories both by land and sea.

He employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind in a sea-fight.⁵ As the enemy's fleet consisted of more ships than his, he had recourse to artifice. He put into earthen vessels all kinds of serpents, and ordered these vessels to be thrown into the enemy's ships. His chief aim was to destroy Eumenes; and for that purpose it was necessary for him to find out what ship he was on board of. This Hannibal discovered by sending out a boat, upon pretence of conveying a letter to him. Having gained his point thus far, he ordered the commanders of the respective vessels to direct their attack principally against Eumenes's ship. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had he not outsailed his pursuers. The rest of the ships of Pergamus sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels had been thrown into them. At first they only laughed at this, and were very much surprised to find such weapons employed against them. But when they saw themselves surrounded with the serpents, which darted out of these vessels when they flew to pieces, they were seized with dread, retired in disorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

Services of so important a nature seemed to secure for ever to Hannibal A. Rom. 566. an undisturbed asylum at that prince's court.⁶ However, the Romans would not suffer him to be easy there, but deputed Q. Flaminius to Prusias, to complain of the protection he gave Hannibal. The latter easily guessed the motive of

this embassy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. At first he attempted to secure himself by flight; but perceiving that the seven secret outlets, which he had contrived in his palace, were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by perfidiously betraying his guest, was desirous of making his court to the Romans: he ordered the poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion, to be brought him: and taking it in his hand, *Let us, says he, free the Romans from the disquiet with which they have so long been tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. The victory which Flaminius gains over a man disarmed and betrayed, will not do him much honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their fathers sent notice to Pyrrhus, to desire he would become a traitor who intended to poison him, and that at a time when this prince was at war with them in the very centre of Italy; but their sons have deputed a person of consular dignity to spirit up Prusias, impiously to murder one who is not only his friend but his guest.* After calling down curses upon Prusias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors and avengers of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the poison,⁷ and died at seventy years of age.

This year was remarkable for the death of three great men, Hannibal, Philopemen, and Scipio, who had this in common, that they all died out of their native countries, by a death little correspondent to the glory of their actions. The two first died by poison: Hannibal being betrayed by his host; and Philopemen being taken prisoner in a battle against the Messenians, and thrown into a dungeon, was forced to swallow poison. As to Scipio, he banished himself, to avoid an unjust prosecution which was carried on against him at Rome, and ended his days in a kind of obscurity.

The Character and Eulogium of Hannibal.

This would be the proper place for representing the excellent qualities of Hannibal, who reflected so much glory on Carthage. But as I have attempted to draw his character elsewhere,⁸ and to give a just idea of him, by making a comparison between him and Scipio, I think myself dispensed from giving his eulogium at large in this place.

Persons who devote themselves to the profession of arms, cannot spend too much time in the study of this great man, who is looked upon, by the best judges, as the most complete general, in almost every respect, that ever the world produced.

During the whole seventeen years that the war lasted, two errors only are objected to him: First, his not marching, immediately after the battle of Canne, his victorious army to Rome, in order to besiege that city: Secondly, his suffering their courage to be softened and enervated, during their winter-quarters in Capua: errors, which only show that great men are not so in all things; *summi enim sumi, homines tamen;*⁹ and which, perhaps, may be partly excused.

But then, for these two errors, what a multitude of shining qualities appears in Hannibal! How extensive were his views and designs, even in his most tender years! What greatness of soul! What intrepidity! What presence of mind must he have possessed, to be able, even in the fire and heat of action, to turn every thing to advantage! With what surprising address must he have managed the minds of men, that, amidst so great a variety of nations which composed his army, who often were in want both of money and provisions, his camp was not once disturbed with any insurrection, either against himself or any of his generals!

¹ Plutarch, according to his custom, assigns him three different deaths. Some, says he, relate, that having wrapped his cloak about his neck, he ordered his servant to fix his knees against his buttocks, and not to leave twisting till he had strangled him. Others say, that, in imitation of Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. Livy tells us, that Hannibal drank a poison which he always carried about him; and taking the cup into his hands, cried, *Let us free, &c. In vita Flamini.*

² Vol. ii. Of the method of Studying and Teaching the Belles Lettres. • Quintil.

¹ Liv. l. xxxvi. p. 41.

² Corne. Nep. in Annib. c. 9, 10. Justin. l. xxii. c. 4.

³ These statues were thrown out by him, in a place of public resort, as things of little value. *Corne. Nep.*

⁴ Corne. Nep. in Annib. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxii. c. 4.

⁵ Justin. l. xxii. c. 4. Corne. Nep. in vit. Annib.

⁶ Liv. l. xxxix. c. 51.

With what equity, what moderation, must he have behaved towards his new allies, to have prevailed so far as to attach them inviolably to his service, though he was reduced to the necessity of making them sustain almost the whole burden of the war, by quartering his army upon them, and levying contributions in their several countries! In short, how fruitful must he have been in expedients, to be able to carry on for so many years, a war in a remote country, in spite of the violent opposition made by a powerful faction at home, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occasions! It may be affirmed, that Hannibal, during the whole series of this war, seemed the only prop of the state, and the soul of every part of the empire of the Carthaginians, who could never believe themselves conquered till Hannibal confessed that he himself was so.

But our acquaintance with Hannibal will be very imperfect, if we consider him only at the head of armies. The particulars we learn from history, concerning the secret intelligence he held with Philip of Macedonia; the wise counsels he gave to Antiochus, king of Syria; the double reformation he introduced in Carthage, with regard to the management of the public revenues and the administration of justice, prove, that he was a great statesman in every respect. So superior and universal was his genius, that it took in all parts of government; and so great were his natural abilities, that he was capable of acquitting himself in all the various functions of it with glory. Hannibal shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field; equally able to fill the civil as the military employments. In a word, he united in his own person the different talents and merits of all professions, the sword, the gown, and the finances.

He had some learning; and though he was so much employed in military labours, and engaged in so many wars, he, however, found some leisure to devote to literature.¹ Several smart repartees of Hannibal, which have been transmitted to us, show that he had a great fund of natural wit; and this he improved by the most polite education that could be bestowed at that time, and in such a republic as Carthage. He spoke Greek tolerably well, and even wrote some books in that language. His preceptor was a Lacedæmonian, named Sosilus, who with Philenius, another Lacedæmonian, accompanied him in all his expeditions. Both these undertook to write the history of this renowned warrior.

With regard to his religion and moral conduct, he was not altogether so profligate and wicked as he is represented by Livy:² "cruel even to inhumanity, more perfidious than a Carthaginian; regardless of truth, of probity, of the sacred ties of oaths; fearless of the gods, and utterly void of religion." *Inhumana crudelitas, perfidum plusquam Punica; nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum iusjurandum, nulla religio.* According to Polybius,³ he rejected a barbarous proposal that was made him before he entered Italy, which was to eat human flesh, at a time when his army was in absolute want of provisions. Some years after,⁴ so far from treating with barbarity, as he was advised to do, the dead body of Sempronius Grac-

chus, which Mago had sent him; he caused his funereal obsequies to be solemnized in presence of the whole army. We have seen him, on many occasions, evince the highest reverence for the gods; and Justin,⁵ who copied Trogius Pompeius, an author worthy of credit, observes, that he always showed uncommon moderation and continence with regard to the great number of women taken by him during the course of so long a war; insomuch that no one would have imagined he had been born in Africa, where incontinence is the predominant vice of the country. *Pudicitiamque eum laqueam inter tot captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quibus negaret.*

His disregard of wealth, at a time when he had so many opportunities to enrich himself by the plunder of the cities he stormed and the nations he subdued, shows that he knew the true and genuine use which a general ought to make of riches, viz. to gain the affection of his soldiers, and to attach his allies to his interest, by diffusing his beneficence on proper occasions, and not being sparing in his rewards: a quality very essential, and at the same time as uncommon in a commander. The only use Hannibal made of money was to purchase success; firmly persuaded, that a man who is at the head of affairs is sufficiently recompensed by the glory derived from victory.

He always led a very regular, austere life;⁶ and even in times of peace, and in the midst of Carthage, when he was invested with the first dignity of the city, we are told that he never used to recline himself on a bed at meals, as was the custom in those ages, and that he drank but very little wine. So regular and uniform a life may serve as an illustrious example to our commanders, who often include, among the privileges of war and the duty of officers, the keeping of splendid tables, and living luxuriously.

I do not, however, pretend altogether to exculpate Hannibal from all the errors with which he is charged. Though he possessed an assemblage of the most exalted qualities, it cannot be denied but that he had some little tincture of the vices of his country; and that it would be difficult to excuse some actions and circumstances of his life. Polybius observes,⁷ that Hannibal was accused of avarice in Carthage, and of cruelty in Rome. He adds, on the same occasion, that people were very much divided in opinion concerning him; and it would be no wonder, as he had made himself so many enemies in both cities, that they should have drawn him in disadvantageous colours. But Polybius is of opinion, that though it should be taken for granted, that all the defects with which he is charged are true; yet that they were not so much owing to his nature and disposition, as to the difficulties with which he was surrounded, in the course of so long and laborious a war; and to the complacency he was obliged to show to the general officers, whose assistance he absolutely wanted, for the execution of his various enterprises; and whom he was not always able to restrain, any more than he could the soldiers who fought under them.

¹ Lib. xxxii. c. 4.

² Cibi potitionisque, desiderio naturali, non voluptate, modus finitus. *Liv.* l. xxi. n. 4.

Constat Annibalem, nec tum cum Romano tantum bello Italia contremuit, nec cum reversus Carthaginem summum imperium tenuit, aut cubantem cenasse, aut plura quam sextario vini induluisse. *Justin.* l. xxii. c. 4.

³ Excerpt. à Polyb. p. 34, 37.

¹ Atque hic tantus vir, tantique bellis districtus, non nihil temporis tribuit litteris, &c. *Corn. Nep. in vitâ Annib.* cap. 13.

² Excerpt. à Polyb. p. 33.

³ Lib. xxi. n. 4.

⁴ Excerpt. à Diod. p. 282. *Liv.* l. xxv. c. 17.

HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

BOOK II.

PART II

SECTION II.—DISSENTIONS BETWEEN THE CARTHAGINIANS AND MASINISSA, KING OF NUMIDIA.

AMONG the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which enacted, that they should restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the war; and farther, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had shown towards the Romans, had added to his dominions those of Syphax. This present afterwards gave rise to disputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

These two princes, Syphax and Masinissa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned over different nations. The subjects of Syphax were called Masæsulæ, and their capital was Cirtha. Those of Masinissa were the Massyli: but they are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them both. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. They always rode without saddles, and some even without bridles, whence Virgil calls them *Numidæ infræni*.¹

In the beginning of the second Punic war,² Syphax siding with the Romans, Gala, the father of Masinissa, to check the career of so powerful a neighbour, thought it his interest to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly sent out against Syphax a powerful army under the conduct of his son, at that time but seventeen years of age. Syphax being overcome in a battle, in which it is said he lost 30,000 men, escaped into Mauritania. However, the face of things was afterwards greatly changed.

Masinissa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin;³ being driven from his kingdom by a usurper; pursued warmly by Syphax; in danger every instant of falling into the hands of his enemies; destitute of forces, money, and of every resource.

He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse, and from that time continued inviolably attached to the Roman interest. Syphax, on the contrary, having married the famous Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.⁴

The fate of these two princes again changed, but no change was not final.⁵ Syphax lost a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophonisba, whose charms and endearments he was unable to resist. To secure this princess to himself, he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to send her a dose of poison, as her nuptial present; this being the only way he could devise to keep his promise with his queen, and preserve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a considerable error in itself, and one that could not fail to disoblige a nation that was so jealous of its authority: but this young prince gloriously made amends for his fault, by the signal services he afterwards rendered to Scipio. We observed, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were bestowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to restore all he possessed before.⁶ This gave rise to the divisions which we are now going to relate.

A territory situated towards the sea-side, near the lesser Syrtis, was the subject of the dispute.⁷ The country was very rich, and the soil extremely fruitful; a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis alone, which belonged to that territory, paid daily a talent to the Carthaginians by way of tribute. Masinissa had seized part of this territory. Each side despatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cause of their respective superiors before the senate. This assembly thought proper to send Scipio Africanus, with two other commissioners, to examine the controversy upon the spot. However, they returned without coming to any decision, and left the business in the same uncertain state in which they had found it. Possibly they acted in this manner by order of the senate, and had received private instructions to favour Masinissa, who was then possessed of the district in question.

Ten years after,⁸ new commissioners having been appointed to examine the same affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.

After the like distance of time, the Carthaginians again brought their complaint before the senate, but with greater importunity than before.⁹

They represented, that besides the lands at first contested, Masinissa had, during the two preceding years, dispossessed them of upwards of seventy towns and castles; their hands were bound up by that article of the last treaty, which forbade their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans: that they could no longer bear the insolence, the avarice, and cruelty, of that prince: that they were deputed to Rome with three requests (one of which they desired might be immediately complied with), viz. either that the affair might be examined and decided by the senate; or, secondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themselves by arms; or, lastly, that, if favour was to prevail over justice, they then entreated the Romans to specify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were desirous should be given up to Masinissa, that they, by this means, might hereafter know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would show some moderation in their behalf, at a time that this prince set no other bounds to his pretensions, than his insatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beseeching the Romans, that if they had any cause of complaint against the Carthaginians since the conclusion of the last peace, that they themselves would punish them; and not to give

A. M. 3823.
A. Rom. 567.

A. M. 3833.
A. Rom. 577.

¹ Æn. l. iv. ver. 41.
² Id. l. xxix. n. 29—34.
³ Id. l. xxx. n. 11, 12.

⁴ Liv. l. xxiv. n. 48, 49.
⁵ Id. l. xxix. n. 23.

⁶ Liv. l. xxx. n. 44.
⁷ Id. l. xl. n. 47.

⁸ Id. xxxiv. n. 69.
⁹ Id. xlii. n. 23, 24.

them up to the wild caprice of a prince, by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives insupportable. After ending their speech, being pierced with grief, shedding floods of tears, they fell prostrate upon the earth; a spectacle that moved all who were present to compassion, and raised a violent hatred against Masinissa. Gulusa, his son, who was then present, being asked what he had to reply, answered, that his father had not given him any instructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only desired the senate to reflect, that the circumstances which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was, the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to the side of the Romans. The senate, after hearing both sides, answered, that they were inclined to do justice to either party to whom it might be due: that Gulusa should set out immediately with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded to send immediately deputies with those of Carthage: that they would do all that lay in their power to serve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians: that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans, to have the Carthaginians dispossessed, during the peace, of those territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then dismissed with the usual presents.

But all these assurances were but mere words.¹ It is plain that the Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians, or do them the least justice; and that they protracted the business, on purpose to give Masinissa time to establish himself in his usurpation, and weaken his enemies.

A new deputation was sent to examine the affair upon the spot, and A. Rom. 582. Cato was one of the commissioners.²

On their arrival, they asked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Masinissa readily complied. The Carthaginians answered that they had fixed a rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded by Scipio, and desired that their cause might be examined with all possible rigour. They therefore could not come to any decision. The deputies visited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage; and they were surprised to see it, after having been involved in such a calamity, so soon again raised to so exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The deputies, on their return, did not fail to acquaint the senate with this circumstance; and declared, Rome could never be in safety, so long as Carthage should subsist. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion, and *I conclude that Carthage ought to be destroyed.* This grave senator did not give himself the trouble to prove, that bare jealousy of the growing power of a neighbouring state, is a warrant sufficient for destroying a city, contrary to the faith of treaties. Scipio Nasica, on the other hand, was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth; because that the Romans having then no rival to fear, would quit the ancient severity of their manners and abandon themselves to luxury and pleasures, the never-failing subverters of the most flourishing empire.

In the mean time, divisions broke out in Carthage.³ The popular faction, being now become superior to that of the grandees and senators, sent forty citizens into banishment: and bound the people by an oath, never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masinissa, who dispatched Gulusa and Micipsa, his two sons, to Carthage, to solicit their recall. However the gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic. This gave occasion to a new war, and accordingly armies were levied on both sides. A battle was fought; and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was spec-

tator of it. He had been sent from Lucullus, who was then carrying on war in Spain, and under whom Scipio then served, to Masinissa, to desire some elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement, he stood upon a neighbouring hill; and was surprised to see Masinissa, then upwards of eighty years of age, mounted (agreeably to the custom of his country) on a horse without a saddle; flying from rank to rank like a young officer, and sustaining the most arduous toils. The fight was very obstinate, and continued from morning till night, but at last the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio used to say afterwards, that he had been present at many battles, but at none with so much pleasure as at this; having never before beheld so formidable an army engaged, without any danger or trouble to himself. And being very conversant in the writings of Homer, he added, that, till his time, there were but two more who had had the pleasure of being spectators of such an action, viz. Jupiter from mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the sight of 100,000 men (for so many there were) butchering one another, can administer a real pleasure; or whether such a pleasure is consistent with the sentiments of humanity, so natural to mankind.

The Carthaginians,⁴ after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their contests with Masinissa. Accordingly, he heard both parties, and the Carthaginians consented to yield up the territory of Emporium,⁵ which had been the first cause of the dispute, to pay Masinissa 200 talents of silver down, and 800 more, at such times as should be agreed. But Masinissa insisting on the return of the exiles, and the Carthaginians being unwilling to agree to this proposition, they did not come to any decision. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants for which he had been sent.

The king,⁶ immediately after the battle was over, had blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor provisions could come to them. During this interval, there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the senate to decide the quarrel, in case the king should be defeated; otherwise, to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the strongest assurances of the continuation of their friendship; and they complied with the latter injunction. In the mean time, the famine daily increased in the enemy's camp; and to add to their calamity, it was followed by a plague, which made dreadful havoc. Being now reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered to Masinissa, promising to deliver up the deserters, to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and restore the exiles, notwithstanding their oaths to the contrary. They all submitted to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke,⁷ and were dismissed, with only one suit of clothes for each. Gulusa, to satiate his vengeance for the ill treatment, which, as we before observed, he had met with, sent out against them a body of cavalry, whom, from their great weakness, they could neither escape nor resist. So that of 58,000 men, very few returned to Carthage.

The third Punic War.

The third Punic War, which was less considerable than either of the A. M. 3855.

¹ App. de bell. Pen. 40.

² Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Lesser Syrtis, in which Leptis stood. No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this. Polybius, l. i. says that the revenue that arose from this place was so considerable, that all their hopes were almost founded on it, *ἐν αὐτῇ* (viz. their revenues from Emporia) *ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν* *ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν*. To this was owing their care and state-jealousy above mentioned, lest the Romans should sail beyond the Fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage, and become acquainted with a country which might induce them to attempt the conquest of it.

³ Appian. de bell. Pen. p. 40.

⁴ *Ille furent tous passés sous le joug*: Sub jugum missi a kind of gallows (made by two forked sticks, standing upright) was erected, and a spear laid across, under which vanquished enemies were obliged to pass. *Festus.*

A. C. 497. two former, with regard to the number. 599. ber and greatness of the battles, and Ant. J. C. 149. its continuance, which was only four years, was still more remarkable with respect to the success and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and destruction of Carthage.

The inhabitants of this city,¹ from their last defeat, knew what they had to fear from the Romans, who had uniformly displayed great ill will towards them, as often as they had addressed them upon their disputes with Masinissa. To prevent the consequences of it, the Carthaginians by a decree of the senate, impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces,² as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of the war against the king of Numidia. They then sent a deputation to Rome, to inquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was desired of them. The deputies were coldly answered, that it was the business of the senate and people of Carthage to know what satisfaction was due to the Romans. A second deputation bringing them no clearer answer, they fell into the greatest dejection; and being seized with the strongest terrors, from the recollection of their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imagined to themselves all the dismal consequences of a long siege, and of a city taken sword in hand.

In the mean time,³ the senate debated at Rome on the measures it would be proper for them to take; and the disputes between Cato the elder and Scipio Nasica, who entertained totally different opinions on this subject, were renewed. The former, on his return from Africa, had declared, in the strongest terms, that he had found in Carthage, not as the Romans supposed it to be, exhausted of men or money, or in a weak and humble state; but, on the contrary, that it was crowded with vigorous young men, abounded with immense quantities of gold and silver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all war-stores; and was so haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is farther said, that, after he had ended his speech, he threw, out of the lap of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs; and, as the senators admired their beauty and size, *Know, says he, that it is but three days since these figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the enemy and us.*

Cato and Nasica had each of them their reasons for voting as they did.⁴ Nasica, observing that the people had risen to such a height of insolence, as led them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them with a pride which the senate itself was not able to check; and that their power was become so enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every mad design they might undertake; Nasica, I say, observing this, was desirous that they should continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this might serve as a curb to restrain and check their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans; and at the same time too strong to be considered by them in a contemptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought that as his countrymen had become haughty and insolent by success, and plunged headlong into profligacy of every kind; nothing could be more dangerous, than for them to have for a rival and an enemy, a city that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident than ever; and not to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power; since they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities of indulging themselves in excesses of every kind.

To lay aside, for one instant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine which of these two great men reasoned most justly, according to the maxims

of sound policy, and the true interests of a state. One undoubted circumstance is, that all the historians have observed that there was a sensible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage;⁵ that vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by stealth, but appeared bare-faced, and seized, with astonishing rapidity, upon all orders of the republic: that the senators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions, abandoned themselves to luxury and voluptuousness without moderation or sense of decency; which occasioned, as it must necessarily, the ruin of the state. *The first Scipio, says Paterculus, speaking of the Romans, had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. For, after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with that city, had been totally destroyed, the depravity of manners was no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once into the utmost excess of corruption.*

Be this as it may,⁶ the senate resolved to declare war against the Carthaginians; and the reasons or pretences urged for it were, their having maintained ships contrary to the tenor of the treaty; their having sent an army out of their territories, against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they had treated ill at the time that he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.

An event,⁷ that chance occasioned to happen very fortunately, at the A. M. 3856. time that the senate of Rome was A. Rom. 600. debating on the affair of Carthage, doubtless contributed very much to make them take that resolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender up themselves, their effects, their lands, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, vastly rich, and had a port equally spacious and commodious; it stood within sixty furlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but formally proclaimed war. M. Manlius, and L. Marcus Censorinus, the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible. They had secret orders from the senate, not to end the war but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were 80,000 foot and about 4000 horse.

The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at Rome.⁸ The answer brought back by their deputies, had only increased their fears, viz. *It was the business of the Carthaginians to consider what satisfaction was due to them.*⁹ This made them not know what course to take. At last they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should see fitting; and even (what the former wars could never make them stoop to) to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clause, *se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was submitting themselves, without reserve, to the power of the Romans, and acknowledging themselves their vassals. Nevertheless, they did not expect any great success from this condescension, though so very mortifying; because, as the

* Ubi Carthago, emula imperii Romani ab stirpe interit, fortuna sevire ac miscere omnia cepit. *Salustius de bell. Catilin.*

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placidè modestèque inter se Rempublic tractabant.—Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, illic ea, que secundum res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. *Idem in bello Jugurthino.*

† Potentem Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxurie posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthagine metu, sublatâque imperii emulâ, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu à virtute decitum, ad vitia transcursum. *Vel. Patere. l. i. c. 1.*

* App. p. 42.

* App. p. 42.

† Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

‡ To the Romans.

† Appian. p. 41, 42.

‡ The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their respective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian, Βασιλεὺς.

† Plut. in vitâ Cat. p. 352.

† Plin. l. xv. c. 18.

† Plut. ibid. in vitâ Cat.

Uticans had been beforehand with them on that occasion, this circumstance had deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary submission.

The deputies on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was set out. The Romans had despatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the senate; and to inform that city, that the Roman fleet had sailed. The deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they possessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered, that since they had at last taken a right step, the senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other possessions, whether public or private, provided that, within the space of thirty days, they should send as hostages, to Lilybæum, 300 young Carthaginians of the first distinction, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with inexpressible anxiety; but the concern they were under would not allow them to make the least reply, or to demand an explanation; nor indeed would it have been to any purpose. They therefore set out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embassy.

All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians; but the silence of the Romans, with respect to the cities of which no notice was taken in the concessions which that people was willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. But all they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent losses which the Carthaginians had sustained, they were by no means in a condition to resist such an enemy, since they had not been able to oppose Masinissa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the rest.

They did not think it proper to wait till the thirty days, which had been allowed them, were expired, but immediately sent their hostages, in hopes of softening the enemy by the readiness of their obedience, though they dared not flatter themselves with the expectation of meeting with favour on this occasion. These hostages were the flower, and the only hopes, of the noblest families of Carthage. Never was any spectacle more moving; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing seen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations. But above all, the disconsolate mothers, bathed in tears, tore their dishevelled hair, beat their breasts, and, as if grief and despair had distracted them, they yelled in such a manner as might have moved the most savage breasts to compassion. But the scene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their separation was come; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ship, they bid them a long last farewell, persuaded that they should never see them more; bathed them with their tears; embraced them with the utmost fondness; clasped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breasts. The hostages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the consuls told the deputies, that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

In such a situation of affairs,³ nothing can be more grievous than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars, gives occasion to the mind to image to itself every misery. As soon as it was known that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp; signifying that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive their commands, when they were ready to obey. The consul, after praising their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they consented to, but besought him to reflect on the sad condition to which he was reducing them, at a

time when Asdrubal, whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause than their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, was advanced almost to their gates, with an army of 20,000 men. The answer returned them was, that the Romans would set that matter right.

This order was immediately put in execution.⁴ There arrived in the camp, a long train of waggons, loaded with all the preparations of war taken out of Carthage; 200,000 complete sets of armour, a numberless multitude of darts and javelins, with 2000 engines for shooting darts and stones.⁵ Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the most venerable senators and priests, who came purposely to try to move the Romans to compassion in this critical moment, when their sentence was going to be pronounced, and their fate would be irreversible. Censorinus, the consul, for it was he who had all along spoken, rose up for a moment at their coming, and expressed some kindness and affection for them; but suddenly resuming a grave and severe countenance: *I cannot, says he, but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have resolved to destroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions which you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of eighty stadia⁶ from the sea.*

The instant the council pronounced this fulminating decree,⁶ nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable shrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunderstruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themselves in the dust, tearing their clothes, and unable to vent their grief any otherwise, than by broken sighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of suppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice towards a people, who would soon be reduced to the extremes of despair. But as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they soon changed them into reproaches and imprecations; bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were such beings as avenging deities, whose severe eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far, as to get the execution of this order suspended, till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, to attempt, if possible, to get it revoked. They were forced to set out immediately, and carry the answer to Carthage.

The people waited for their return with such an impatience and terror, as words could never express.⁷ It was scarce possible for them to break through the crowd that flocked round them, to hear the answer that was but too strongly painted in their face. When they were come into the senate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general shriek informed the people of their fate; and from that instant, nothing was seen and heard in every part of the city, but howling and despair, madness and fury.

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the course of the history for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is a great pity that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, should⁸ exactly in the most interesting part of this narrative. I should set a much higher value on one short reflection of so judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian ascribes to the deputies and the consul. I can never believe, that so rational, judicious, and just a man as Polybius could have approved the proceedings of the Romans on the present occasion. We do not here discover in my opinion, any of the characteristics which distinguished them anciently; that greatness

¹ Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

² Polyb. p. 975. Appian. p. 45, 46.

³ Appian, p. 46.

⁴ Baliste or Catapultæ.

⁵ Four leagues or twelve miles.

⁶ Appian. p. 46—53.

⁷ Ib. p. 52, 54.

of soul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impostures, which, as is somewhere said, formed no part of the Roman disposition: *Minime Romanis artibus*. Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why should they declare expressly in a treaty (a most solemn and sacred thing) that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws; and understand, at the same time, certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? Why should they conceal, under the scandalous omission of the word *city* in this treaty, the perfidious design of destroying Carthage? as if, beneath the cover of such an equivocation, they might destroy it with justice. In short, why did the Romans not make their last declaration till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hostages and arms; that is, till they had absolutely rendered them incapable of disobeying their most arbitrary commands? Is it not manifest, that Carthage, notwithstanding all its defeats and losses, though it was weakened and almost exhausted, was still a terror to the Romans, and that they were persuaded they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous to be possessed of so much power, as to be able to commit injustice with impunity, and with a prospect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages shows, that states seldom scruple to commit injustice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans,¹ differs widely from what was practised here. That people, says he, far from using artifice and deceit towards their allies, in order to enlarge their power, did not think themselves allowed to employ them even against their enemies, considering only those victories as solid and glorious, which were obtained sword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns, in the same place, that there then remained among the Romans but very faint traces of the ancient generosity of their ancestors; and he thinks it incumbent on him (as he declares) to make this remark, in opposition to a maxim which was grown very common in his time among persons in the administration of the government, who imagined, that sincerity is inconsistent with good policy; and that it is impossible to succeed in the administration of state affairs, either in war or peace, without using fraud and deceit on some occasions.

I now return to my subject. The consuls made no great haste to march against Carthage,² not suspecting they had any thing to fear from that city, as it was now disarmed. The inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay to put themselves in a posture of defence, being all unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general, without the walls, Asdrubal, who was at the head of 20,000 men, and to whom deputies were sent accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country's sake, the injustice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops, within the walls, was given to another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied themselves to the making arms with incredible expedition. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made 140 shields, 300 swords, 500 pikes or javelins, 1000 arrows, and a great number of engines to discharge them; and because they wanted materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair and abundantly supplied their wants on this occasion.

Masinissa was very much disgusted at the Romans,³ because, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner of their design, which circumstance caused some coldness between them.

During this interval,⁴ the consuls were advancing towards the city, in order to besiege it. As they expected nothing less than a vigorous resistance, the incredible resolution and courage of the besieged filled them with the utmost astonishment. The Carthaginians were for ever making the boldest sallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines and to harass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, served then as tribune in the army: and distinguished himself above the rest of the officers, no less by his prudence than by his bravery. The consul, under whom he fought, committed many oversights, by having refused to follow his advice. This young officer extricated the troops from several dangers into which the imprudence of their leaders had plunged them. A renowned officer, Phameas by name, who was general of the enemies' cavalry, and continually harassed the foragers, did not dare ever to keep the field, when it was Scipio's turn to support them, so capable was he of keeping his troops in good order, and posting himself to advantage. So great and universal a reputation excited some envy against him at first; but as he behaved, in all respects, with the utmost modesty and reserve, that envy was soon changed into admiration; so that when the senate sent deputies to the camp, to inquire into the state of the siege, the whole army gave him unanimously the highest commendation; the soldiers, as well as officers, nay, the very generals, with one voice extolled the merit of young Scipio: so necessary is it for a man to deaden, if I may be allowed the expression, the splendour of his rising glory, by a sweet and modest carriage; and not to excite jealousy, by haughty and self-sufficient behaviour, as this naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itself odious.

About the same time Masinissa,⁵ finding his end approach, sent to A. M. 3857. desire a visit from Scipio, in order A. Rom. 601. that he might invest him with full powers to dispose, as he should see proper, of his kingdom and property, in behalf of his children. But on Scipio's arrival, he found that monarch dead. Masinissa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I shall give no farther account here of the family and prosperity of Masinissa, because that would interrupt too much the history of Carthage.

The high esteem which Phameas had entertained for Scipio,⁶ induced him to forsake the Carthaginians and go over to the Romans. Accordingly he joined them with above 2000 horse, and was afterwards of great service at the siege.

Calpurnius Piso⁷ the consul, and L. Mancinus, his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were considerably increased; they daily got new allies; and even sent an express as far as Macedonia, to the counterfeited Philip;⁸ who pretended to be the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans, to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promising to furnish him with money and ships.

This occasioned some uneasiness at Rome.⁹ The people began to doubt the success of a war, which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at first been imagined. As much as they were dissatisfied with the dilatoriness of the generals, and exclaimed against their conduct, so much did they unanimously agree in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He was come to Rome, in order to stand candidate for the edileship. The instant he appeared in the assembly, his name, his countenance, his reputation, &

¹ Polyb. l. xiii. p. 671, 672.

² Appian. p. 55. Strabo. l. xvii. p. 833. ³ Appian. p. 55.

⁴ Appian. p. 55—63.

⁵ Ib. p. 66.

⁶ Ib. p. 63.

⁷ Andronicus.

⁸ Ib. p. 65.

⁹ Appian. p. 68.

general persuasion that he was designed by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the second; these several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people; and though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edileship which he sued for, the people, disregarding for once the laws, con-

A. M. 3858.ferred the consulship upon him, and A. Rom. 602. assigned him Africa for his province, without casting lots for the provinces as usual, and as Drusus his colleague demanded.

As soon as Scipio had completed his recruits,¹ he set out for Sicily, and arrived soon after in Utica. He came very seasonably for Mancinus, Piso's lieutenant, who had rashly fixed himself in a post where he was surrounded by the enemy; and would have been cut to pieces that very morning, had not the new consul, who, on his arrival, heard of the danger he was in, re-embarked his troops, in the night, and sailed with the utmost speed to his assistance.

Scipio's first care,² after his arrival, was to revive discipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the least regularity, subordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feasting and diversions. He drove from the camp all useless persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers, and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for soldiers, studiously banishing all dainties and luxuries.

After he had made these regulations which cost him but little time and pains, because he himself first set the example, he was persuaded that those under him were soldiers, and thereupon he prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, he led them in the dead of the night, and without the least noise, to a district of the city, called Megara; when ordering them to give a sudden and general shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were at first in the utmost terror; however, they defended themselves so courageously, that Scipio could not scale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forsaken, and which stood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of intrepid and resolute soldiers, who, by the help of pontons,³ got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, the gates of which they broke down. Scipio entered it immediately after, and drove the enemies out of that post; who, terrified at this unexpected assault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, whither they were followed by those forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it necessary for them to fly to a place of security.

Before I proceed further,⁴ it will be proper to give some account of the situation and dimensions of Carthage, which in the beginning of the war against the Romans, contained 700,000 inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf, surrounded by the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck, that is, the isthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five stadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninsula was 360 stadia, or eighteen leagues round. On the west side there projected from it a long neck of land, half a stadium, or twelve fathoms broad; which, advancing into the sea, divided it from a morass, and was fenced on all sides with rocks and a single wall. On the south side, towards the continent where stood the citadel called Byrsa, the city was surrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, exclusive of the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being fourscore fathoms. Every tower was four stories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls to hold 300 elephants with the fodder, and over these were stables for 4000

horses, and lofts for their food. There likewise was room enough to lodge 20,000 foot, and 4000 horse. All these were contained within the walls alone. In one place only the walls were weak and low; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours, which were on the west side. Of these there were two, which communicated with each other, but had only one entrance, seventy feet broad, shut up with chains. The first was appropriated for the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second, or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which stood an island called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large quays, in which were distinct receptacles⁵ for sheltering from the weather 220 ships, over these were magazines or storehouses, wherein was lodged whatever is necessary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order. So that both the harbour and the Island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. In this island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea, though no one from thence could see what was transacting in the inward part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men of war; the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate that led to the city, without passing through the other harbour. So that Carthage may be divided into three parts:⁶ the harbour, which was double, and called sometimes Cothon, from the little island of that name; the citadel, named Byrsa: the city properly so called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.

At day-break,⁷ Asdrubal⁸ perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and, at the same time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken upon the walls, in sight of the whole army. There he put them to the most exquisite torture; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noses, ears, and fingers; tearing their skin from their body with iron rakes or barrows, and then threw them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: however, he did not spare even them, but murdered many senators who had ventured to oppose his tyranny.

Scipio,⁹ finding himself absolute master of the isthmus, burnt the camp, which the enemy had deserted, and built a new one for his troops. It was of a square form, surrounded with large and deep entrenchments, and fenced with strong palisades. On the side which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower, he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the isthmus, that is, twenty-five stadia.¹⁰ The enemy, who were within bow-shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to put a stop to this work; but as the whole army were employed upon it day and night without intermission, it was finished in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work: First, his forces were lodged more safely and commodiously than before: Secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, to whom none could now be brought but by sea; which was attended with many difficulties, both because the sea is frequently very tempestuous in that place, and because the Roman fleet kept a strict guard. This proved one of the chief causes of the famine which raged soon after in the city. Besides, Asdrubal distributed the corn that was

¹ Νεμισίονος, Strabo.

² Boch. in Phal. p. 512.

³ Appian. p. 72.

⁴ It was he who had first commanded without the city, but having caused the other Asdrubal, Masinissa's grandson to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the walls.

⁵ Appian. p. 73.

⁶ Four miles and three quarters.

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¹ Appian. p. 69.

² Ib. p. 70.

³ A sort of moveable bridge.

⁴ Appian. p. 56, 57. Strabo. l. xvii. p. 839.

brought, only among the 30,000 men who served under him, caring very little what became of the rest of the inhabitants.

To distress them still more by the want of provisions,¹ Scipio attempted to stop up the mouth of the haven, by a mole, beginning at the above-mentioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. The besieged, at first looked upon this attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly they insulted the workmen: but, at last, seeing them make an astonishing progress every day, they began to be afraid; and to take such measures as might, if possible, render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, to the women and children, fell to work, but so privately, that all that Scipio could learn from the prisoners, was, that they had heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not know the occasion of it. At last, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a sudden, a new outlet on the other side of the haven; and appeared at sea with a numerous fleet, which they had just then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they must infallibly have taken it; because, as no such attempt was expected, and every man was elsewhere employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, soldiers, or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed. Having therefore only offered a kind of insult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

Two days after,² they brought forward their ships, with a resolution to fight in good earnest, and found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. The conflict was long and obstinate, each exerting themselves to the utmost; the one to save their country, now reduced to the last extremity, and the other to complete their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and, when briskly attacked, retreated with surprising swiftness, and returned immediately to the charge. At last, after the two armies had fought with equal success till sun-set, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themselves overcome, but in order to begin the fight again on the morrow. Part of their ships, not being able to run swiftly enough in the harbour, because the mouth of it was too narrow, took shelter under a very spacious terrace, which had been thrown up against the walls to unload goods, on the side of which a small rampart had been raised during this war, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and lasted till late at night. The Carthaginians suffered very much, and the few ships which got off, sailed for refuge to the city. Morning being come, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it, though with great difficulty; after which he made a lodgment there, and fortified himself on it, and built a brick wall close to those of the city, and of the same height. When it was finished, he commanded 4000 men to get on the top of it, and to discharge from it a perpetual shower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution; because, as the two walls were of equal height, almost every dart took effect. Thus ended this campaign.

During the winter-quarters,³ Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much harassed the convoys that brought his provisions, and protected such as were sent to the besieged. For this purpose he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Netheris, where they used to shelter themselves. In the last action, about 70,000 of the enemy, as well soldiers as peasants, who had been enlisted, were cut to pieces; and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after sustaining a siege of two-and-twenty days. The seizure of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strong holds of Africa; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itself, into which, from that time, it was almost impossible to bring any provisions.

Early in the spring,⁴ Scipio attacked at one and the same time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel. A. M. 3859. A. Rom. 603. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was near it, from whence was an ascent to the citadel, up three streets, on each side of which were houses, from the tops whereof a shower of darts was discharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houses they came first to, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat which was carried on from the tops, and in every part of the houses, continued six days, during which a dreadful slaughter was made. To clear the streets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aside, with hooks, the bodies of such of the inhabitants as had been slain, or precipitated headlong from the houses; and threw them into pits, the greatest part of them being still alive and panting. In this toil, which lasted six days and as many nights, the soldiers were relieved from time to time by fresh ones, without which they would have been quite spent. Scipio was the only person who did not take a wink of sleep all this time; giving orders in all places, and scarce allowing himself leisure to take the least refreshment.

There was every reason to believe,⁵ that the siege would last much longer, and occasion a great effusion of blood. But on the seventh day, there appeared a company of men in the posture and habit of suppliants, who desired no other conditions, than that the Romans would please to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel: which request was granted them, only the deserters were excepted. Accordingly, there came out 50,000 men and women, who were sent into the fields under a strong guard. The deserters, who were about 900, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of Æsculapius, with Asdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but small, they might have held out a long time, because the temple stood on a very high hill, upon rocks, the ascent to which was by sixty steps. But at last, exhausted by hunger and watching, oppressed with fear, and seeing their destruction at hand, they lost all patience; and abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermost story, resolved not to quit it but with their lives.

In the mean time, Asdrubal being desirous of saving his life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive-branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio showed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage and fury at the sight, vented millions of imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. Whilst it was kindling, we are told, that Asdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself with her two children in sight of Scipio, addressed him with a loud voice: *I call not down, says she, curses upon thy head. O Roman; for thou only takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, according to his deserts, the false wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife his children!* Then directing herself to Asdrubal:—*Perverfious wretch, says she, thou basest of men! this fire will presently consume both me and my children; but as to thee, unworthy general of Carthage, go, adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror; suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the tortures thou so justly deservest.* She had no sooner pronounced these words, than seizing her children, she cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards rushed into them herself; in which she was imitated by all the deserters.

With regard to Scipio,⁶ when he saw this famous city, which had been so flourishing for 700 years, and might have been compared to the greatest empires, on account of the extent of its dominions, both by sea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; while the Carthaginians were even sup-

¹ Appian. p. 74.² Ib. p. 75.³ Ib. p. 78.⁴ Appian. p. 79.⁵ Ibid. p. 81.⁶ Ibid. p. 82.

prior to other nations by their courage and greatness of soul. as notwithstanding their being deprived of arms and ships, they had sustained, for three whole years, all the hardships and calamities of a long siege: seeing, I say, this city entirely ruined, historians relate, that he could not refuse his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no less than private men; that the like sad fate had befallen Troy, anciently so powerful; and, in later times, the Assyrians, Medes and Persians, whose dominions were once of so great an extent; and very recently, the Macedonians, whose empire had been so glorious throughout the world. Full of these mournful ideas, he repeated the following verses of Homer:

Ἐσσεύεται ἡμῶν, ὅταν ποτ' ἐλάλη
καὶ Πριάμος, καὶ λαὸς ἱερμῆλιος Πριάμοιο.
Il. 5. 164, 165.

The day shall come, that great avenging day
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay;
When Priam's powers and Priam's self shall fall,
And one prodigious ruin swallow all.—Pope.

Thereby denouncing the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who desired Scipio to explain himself on that occasion.

Had the truth enlightened his soul, he would have discovered what we are taught in the Scriptures, that *because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another.*¹ Carthage is destroyed, because its avarice, perfidiousness, and cruelty, have attained their utmost height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious and delusive show of justice and virtue, shall have compelled the sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, to give the universe an important lesson in its fall.

Carthage being taken in this manner,² Scipio gave the plunder of it (the A. M. 3859. gold, silver, statues, and other offerings which should be found in the Ant. J. C. 145. temples, excepted) to his soldiers for some days. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly distinguished themselves, viz. Tib. Gracchus and Caius Fannius, who first scaled the walls. After this, adorning a small ship (an excellent sailer) with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome with the news of the victory.

At the same time he invited the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the pictures and statues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars.³ When he restored to the citizens of Agrigentum, Phalaris's famous bull,⁴ he told them that this bull, which was, at one and the same time, a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings and of the lenity of their present sovereigns, ought to make them sensible which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded, on the most severe penalties, his family not to take or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome,⁵ the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as if the public tranquillity had not been secured till that instant. They revolved in their minds all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for sixteen years together; during which, Hannibal had plundered 400 towns, destroyed in different engagements 300,000

men, and reduced Rome itself to the utmost extremity. Amidst the remembrance of these past evils, the people in Rome would ask one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men emulously strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards the gods; and the citizens were, for many days, employed only in solemn sacrifices, in public prayers, games, and spectacles.

After these religious duties were ended,⁶ the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country for the time to come. The first care was, to demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage.⁷ Rome,⁸ though mistress of almost the whole world, could not believe herself safe so long as even the name of Carthage was in being. So true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, lasts even beyond the time when all cause of fear is removed; and does not cease till the object that occasions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that, it should never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any parts of it, especially those called Byrsa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who desired it, was admitted to see Carthage; Scipio being well pleased, to have people view the sad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire.⁹ The commissioners decreed farther, that those cities which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be razed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the rest they made tributary and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a prætor was sent annually.

All matters being thus settled,¹⁰ Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but statues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curiosities, which the Carthaginians had, for many years, been collecting in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treasury, which amounted to immense sums.

Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt,¹¹ in less than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's lifetime, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony consisting of 6000 citizens for that purpose. The senate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundation of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over scrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithstanding all these bad presages, and finished it in a few days. This was the first Roman colony that was ever sent out of Italy.

It is probable, that only a kind of huts were built there, since we are told,¹² that when Marius retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, consoling

¹ Appian. p. 84.

² We may guess at the dimensions of this famous city, by what Florus says, viz. that it was seventeen days on fire, before it could be consumed. *Quanta urbe deleta sit, ut de cæteris tacemus, vel ignium mora probari potest; quippe per continous decem et septem dies vit potuit incendium extinguere.* Lib. ii. c. 15.

³ Neque se Roma, jam terrarum orbe superato, securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortum ultra metum durat et ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse desinit, quam esse desit. *Vel. Patere.* l. i. c. 12.

⁴ Ut ipse locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio, certant, vestigia calamitatis ostenderet. *Cic. Agrar.* li. n. 50.

⁵ Appian. p. 84. ⁶ Ib. p. 85. Plut. in vit. Gracch. p. 839.

⁷ Marius cursum in Africam direxit, inopemque vicum in tegorio ruinorum Carthaginensium toleravit: cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio. *Vel. Patere.* li. c. 10.

Ecclesi. x. 8.

² Appian. p. 83.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Quem taurum Scipio cum redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur, equum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Scalis utilis, cuius servare, a populo R. obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticæ crudelitatis, et nostræ mansuetudinis haberent. *Cic. verr.* vi. n. 73.

⁵ Appian. p. 83.

himself by the sight of so astonishing a spectacle; himself serving, in some measure, as a consolation to that ill-fated city.

Appian relates,¹ that Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, having crossed into Africa, saw, in a dream, an army composed of a prodigious number of soldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, struck with the vision, he writ down in his pocket-book the design which he formed on this occasion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but having been murdered soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar, his adopted son, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the spot where it stood formerly, in order that the imprecations which had been vented, at the time of its destruction, against those who should presume to rebuild it, might not fall upon him.

I know not what foundation Appian has for this story; but we read in Strabo,² that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the same time by Cæsar, to whom he gives the name of god, by which title, a little before,³ he had plainly intended Julius Cæsar; and Plutarch,⁴ in the life of that emperor, ascribes expressly to him, the establishment of these two colonies; and observes, that one remarkable circumstance in these two cities is, that as both had been taken and destroyed at the same time, they likewise were at the same time rebuilt and repopled. However this be, Strabo affirms that in his time Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it rose to be the capital of Africa, under the succeeding emperors. It existed for about 700 years after, in splendour, but at last was so completely destroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the seventh century, that neither its name, nor the least footsteps of it, are known at this time in the country.

A Digression on the Manners and Character of the second Scipio Africanus.

Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, was son to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus, the last king of Macedonia; and consequently grandson to that Paulus Æmilius who lost his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the son of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being so united, pursuant to the law of adoptions. He supported,⁵ with equal lustre, the dignity of both houses, by all the qualities that can confer honour on the sword and gown. The whole tenor of his life, says an historian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts, or words, was deserving of the highest praise. He distinguished himself particularly (a eulogium that, at present, can seldom be applied to persons of the military profession), by his exquisite taste for polite literature, and all the sciences, as well as by the uncommon regard he showed to learned men. It is universally known, that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the most polite and elegant writings which the Romans could boast. We are told of Scipio,⁶ that no man could blend more happily repose and action, nor employ his leisure hours with greater delicacy and taste: thus he was divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exercised his body in toils of war, or his mind in the study of the sciences. By this he showed, that nothing does greater honour to a person of distinction, of what quality or profession soever he be, than the adorning his mind with knowledge. Cicero, speaking of Scipio, says,⁷ that he always had Xenon-

phon's works in his hands, which are so famous for the solid, and excellent instructions they contain both in regard to war and policy.

He owed this exquisite taste for polite learning and the sciences,⁸ to the excellent education, which Paulus Æmilius bestowed on his children. He had put them under the ablest masters in every art; and did not spare any expense on that occasion, though his circumstances were very narrow: P. Æmilius himself was present at all their lessons, as often as the affairs of the state would permit; becoming, by this means, their chief preceptor.

The intimate union between Polybius and Scipio put the finishing stroke to the exalted qualities which, by the superiority of his genius and disposition, and the excellency of his education, were already the subject of admiration.⁹ Polybius, with a great number of Achæans, whose fidelity the Romans suspected during the war with Perseus, was detained in Rome, where his merit soon caused his company to be coveted by all persons of the highest quality in that city. Scipio, when scarce eighteen, devoted himself entirely to Polybius; and considered as the greatest felicity of his life, the opportunity he had of being instructed by so great a master, whose society he preferred to all the vain and idle amusements which are generally so alluring to young persons.

Polybius's first care was to inspire Scipio with an aversion for those equally dangerous and ignominious pleasures, to which the Roman youth were so strongly addicted; the greatest part of them being already depraved and corrupted by the luxury and licentiousness which riches and new conquests had introduced in Rome. Scipio, during the first five years that he continued in so excellent a school, made the greatest improvement in it; and despising the ridicule, as well as the pernicious examples, of persons of the same age, with himself, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a model of discretion and wisdom.

From hence, the transition was easy and natural to generosity, to a noble disregard of riches, and to a laudable use of them; all virtues so requisite in persons of illustrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the most exalted pitch, as appears from some instances of this kind related by Polybius, which are highly worthy our admiration.

Æmilie,¹⁰ wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great estate to the latter. This lady, besides the diamonds and jewels which are worn by women of her high rank, possessed a great number of gold and silver vessels used in sacrifices, together with several splendid equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes; the whole suited to the opulence of the august house into which she had married. At her death, Scipio made over all those rich possessions to Papiria his mother, who, having been divorced a considerable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumstances to support the dignity of her birth, lived in great obscurity, and never appeared in the assemblies or public ceremonies. But when she again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generosity of Scipio did him great honour, especially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their conversations, and in a city whose inhabitants, says Polybius, were not easily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no less admired on another occasion. He was bound, in consequence of the estate that had fallen to him by the death of his grandmother, to pay at three different times to the two daughters of Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, half their portions, which amounted to 50,000 French crowns.¹¹ The time for the payment of the first sum being expired, Scipio put the whole money into the hands of a banker. Tibe-

¹ Appian. p. 85.

² Page 831.

³ Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternique L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus sæculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit aut sensit. *Vel. Patere.* l. i. c. 12.

⁴ Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispartit: semperque aut belli aut pacis servitibus, semper inter arma ac studia versatus aut corporis periculis, aut animi disciplinis excoxit. *Ib. c. 13.*

⁵ Africanus semper Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat. *Tusc. Quæst. l. ii. n. 62.*

⁶ Strab. l. xvii. p. 833.

⁷ Page 733.

⁸ Plut. in vit. Æmil. Paul. p. 258.

⁹ Excerpt. de Polyb. p. 147—163.

¹⁰ She was sister of Paulus Æmilius, father of the second Scipio Africanus.

¹¹ Or, 11,250*l.* sterling.

rius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who had married the two sisters, imagining that Scipio had made a mistake, went to him and observed, that the laws allowed him three years to pay this sum in, and at three different times. Young Scipio answered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occasion; that they might indeed be executed in their greatest rigour towards strangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with a more generous simplicity; and therefore desired them to receive the whole sum. They were struck with such admiration at the generosity of their kinsman, that in their return home, they reproached themselves for their narrow way of thinking,¹ at a time when they made the greatest figure, and had the highest regard paid to them, of any family in Rome. This generous action, says Polybius, was the more admired, because no person in Rome, so far from consenting to pay 50,000 crowns before they were due, would pay even 1000 before the time for payment was elapsed.

It was from the same noble spirit that, two years after, Paulus Æmilius his father being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not so wealthy as himself, the part of their father's estate which was his (Scipio's) due (amounting to above 60,000 crowns),² in order that there might not be so great a disparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being desirous to exhibit a show of gladiators after his father's decease, in honour of his memory (as was the custom in that age), and not being able to defray the expenses on this occasion, which amounted to a very heavy sum, Scipio made him a present of 15,000³ crowns, in order to defray at least half the charges of it.

The splendid presents which Scipio had made his mother Papiria, reverted to him, by law as well as equity, after her demise; and his sisters, according to the custom of those times, had not the least claim to them. Nevertheless, Scipio thought it would have been dishonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his sisters whatever he had presented to their mother, which amounted to a very considerable sum; and by this fresh proof of his glorious disregard of wealth, and the tender friendship he had for his family, acquired the applause of the whole city.

These different benefactions, which amounted altogether to a prodigious sum, seem to have received a brighter lustre from the age in which he bestowed them, he being still very young; and yet more from the circumstances of the time when they were presented, as well as the kind and obliging carriage he assumed on those occasions.

The incidents I have here related are so repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reason to fear the reader would consider them merely as the rhetorical flourishes of an historian who was prejudiced in favour of his hero; if it was not well known, that the predominant characteristic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a sincere love for truth, and an utter aversion to adulation of every kind. In the very passage whence this relation is extracted, he has thought it necessary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio; and he observes, that as his writings were to be perused by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he could not fail of being convicted by them, should he venture to advance any falsehood; an affront, to which it is not probable that an author, who has ever so little regard for his reputation, would expose himself, especially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already observed, that Scipio had never given in to the fashionable debaucheries and excesses to which the young people at Rome so generally abandoned themselves. But he was sufficiently compensated for this self-denial of all destructive pleasures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the rest of his life, which enabled him to taste pleasure of a

much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected so much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his darling exercise, contributed also very much to invigorate his constitution, and enabled him also to endure the hardest toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging to the utmost of his desire his passion in this respect; for the chase which was the usual diversion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aside for some years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, studious of procuring his son virtuous pleasures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from those which reason prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himself in his favourite sport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The illustrious youth employed his leisure hours in an exercise which suited so well his age and inclination; and was as successful in this innocent war against the beasts of Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on against the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedonia, that he met with Polybius in Rome; and contracted the strict friendship with him, which was afterwards so beneficial to our young Roman; and did him almost as much honour in after-ages as all his conquests. We find, from history, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day, when himself and Scipio were alone, the latter unbosomed himself freely to him, and complained, but in the mildest and most gentle terms, that he, in their conversations at table, always directed himself to his brother Fabius, and never to him. *I am sensible*, says he, *that this indifference arises from your supposing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedless young man, and wholly averse to the taste which now prevails in Rome, because I do not devote myself to the studies of the bar, nor cultivate the graces of elocution. But how should I do this? I am told perpetually, that the Romans expect a general, and not an orator from the house of the Scipios. I will confess to you (pardon the sincerity with which I reveal my thoughts) that your coldness and indifference grieve me exceedingly.* Polybius, surprised at this unexpected address, made Scipio the kindest answer; and assured the illustrious youth, that though he generally directed himself to his brother, yet this was not out of disrespect to him, but only because Fabius was the eldest; not to mention (continued Polybius), that, knowing that you possessed but one soul, I conceived that I addressed both when I spoke to either of you. He then assured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command; that with regard to the sciences, for which he discovered the happiest genius, he would have opportunities sufficient to improve himself in them from the great number of learned Grecians who resorted daily to Rome: but that as to the art of war, which was properly his profession, and his favourite study, he (Polybius) might be of some little service to him. He had no sooner spoke these words than Scipio, grasping his hand in a kind of rapture; *O when*, says he, *shall I see the happy day, when, disengaged from all other avocations, and living with me, you will be so much my friend, as to direct your endeavours to improve my understanding and regulate my affections? It is then I shall think myself worthy of my illustrious ancestors.* From that time Polybius, overjoyed to see so young a man breathe such noble sentiments, devoted himself particularly to our Scipio, who ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

However, Scipio did not esteem Polybius only as an excellent historian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, as an able warrior and a profound politician. Accordingly, he consulted him on every occasion, and always took his advice, even when he was at the head of his army; concerting in private with Polybius all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterprises against the enemy, and the several measures proper for rendering them successful.

¹ Καταγνώσκεις τῆς αὐτῶν ἀμελείας.

² Or, 13,000*l.* sterling.

³ Or, 3,375*l.* sterling.

In a word, it was the common report, that our illustrious Roman did not perform any great or good action; nor even commit an error, except when he acted without consulting him.

I request the reader to excuse this long digression, which may be thought foreign to my subject, as I am not writing the Roman history. However, it appeared to me so well adapted to the general design I propose to myself in this work, viz. the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not directly its proper place. And indeed, these examples show, how important it is that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education; and the great benefit they reap, by frequenting and corresponding early with persons of merit; for these were the foundations whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But above all, how noble a model for our age (in which the most inconsiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animosities between brothers and sisters, and disturb the peace of families) is the generous disinterestedness of Scipio; who, whenever he had an opportunity of serving his relations, thought lightly of bestowing the largest sums upon them! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to that book, where, treating of the taste for solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the ancients held riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I therefore thought myself indispensably obliged to restore, on this occasion, to young students, what I could not but blame myself for omitting elsewhere.

The History of the Family and Posterity of Masinissa.

I promised, after finishing what related to the republic of Carthage, to return to the family and posterity of Masinissa. This piece of history forms a considerable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my subject.

From the time that Masinissa had A. M. 3875. declared for the Romans under the A. Rom. 601. first Scipio, he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almost unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconsul of Africa, under whose standards the younger Scipio then fought, to desire that that Roman might be sent to him; adding, that he should die with satisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will. But believing that he should be dead before it could be possible for him to receive this consolation, he sent for his wife and children, and spoke to them as follows: *I know no other nation but the Romans, and, among this nation, no other family but that of the Scipios. I now, in my expiring moments, empower Scipio Æmilianus to dispose, in an absolute manner, of all my possessions, and to divide my kingdom among my children. I require, that whatever Scipio may decree, shall be executed as punctually as if I myself had appointed it by my will.* After saying these words, he breathed his last, being upwards of ninety years of age.²

This prince,³ during his youth, had met with strange reverses of fortune, having been dispossessed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thousand times in danger of his life. Being supported, says the historian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured till his death, with a perpetual series of prosperity, unruined by any sinister accident; for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy; and extending his dominions from Mauritania, as far as Cyrene, he became the most powerful prince of all Africa. He was blessed, till he left the world, with the greatest health and vigour, which doubtless was owing to his extreme temperance, and the care he had taken to inure himself to fatigue. Though ninety

years of age, he performed all the exercises used by young men,⁴ and always rode without a saddle; and Polybius observes (a circumstance preserved by Plutarch),⁵ that the day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Masinissa was seen, sitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

He left fifty-four sons,⁶ of whom three only were legitimate, viz. Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between these three, and gave considerable possessions to the rest; but the two last dying soon after, Micipsa became sole possessor of these extensive dominions. He had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and with them he educated in his palace Jugurtha his nephew, Mastanabal's son, and took as much care of him as he did of his own children. This last-mentioned prince possessed several eminent qualities,⁷ which gained him universal esteem. Jugurtha, who was finely shaped and very handsome, of the most delicate wit and the most solid judgment, did not devote himself as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure. He used to exercise himself with persons of his own age, in running, riding, and throwing the javelin; and though he surpassed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chase was his only delight; but it was that of lions and other savage beasts. To finish his character, he excelled in all things, and spoke very little of himself; *Plurimum facere, et minimum ipse de se loqui.*

Merit so conspicuous, and so generally acknowledged, began to excite some anxiety in Micipsa. He saw himself in the decline of life, and his children very young. He knew the prodigious length which ambition is capable of going, when a crown is in view;⁸ and that a man, with talents much inferior to those of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by so glittering a temptation, especially when united with such favourable circumstances. In order therefore to remove a competitor so dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he sent to the assistance of the Romans, who at that time were besieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the most heroic bravery, he flattered himself, that he probably would rush upon danger, and lose his life. However, he was mistaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage the utmost presence of mind; and, a circumstance very rarely found in persons of his age, he preserved a just medium between a timorous foresight and an impetuous rashness.⁹ In this campaign, he won the esteem and friendship of the whole army. Scipio sent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the most advantageous testimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to the course which he ought to pursue: for, knowing mankind so well, he in all probability had discovered certain sparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared would one day break out into a flame.

Micipsa, pleased with the high character that was sent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and resolved, if possible, to win his affection by kindness. Accordingly he adopted him; and by his will, made him joint-heir with his two sons. When he found his end approaching, he sent

² Cicero introduces Cato speaking as follows of Masinissa's vigorous constitution: *Arbitror te audire, Scipio, hospes tuus Masinissa quem faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus: cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operio sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem. Itaque ceterique omnia regis officia et munera.* De Senectute.

³ An seni gerenda sit Resp. p. 791.

⁴ Appian. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

⁵ All this history of Jugurtha is extracted from Sallust.

⁶ Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii, et præcepit ad explemand animi cupidinem: præterea opportunitas sue liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam medicorum viros prædæ transverberaret. Sallust.

⁷ An senè, quod diffœcilium imprimis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus concilio; quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adfœro plerumque solet.

¹ Pausan. in Arcad. l. viii. p. 505.

² App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

³ App. p. 65.

for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in presence of the whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind of all his kindness to him; conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect, on all occasions, his children; who, being before related to him by the ties of blood, were now become his brethren, by his (Micipsa's) bounty. He told him,¹ that neither arms nor treasure constitute the strength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms nor gold, but by real services and inviolable fidelity. Now where (says he) can we find better friends than our brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repose any confidence in, or depend on, strangers? He exhorted his sons to pay the highest reverence to Jugurtha; and to dispute no otherwise with him, than by their endeavour to equal, and, if possible, to surpass his exalted merit. He concluded with entreating them to observe for ever an inviolable attachment towards the Romans; and to consider them as their benefactor, their patron, and master. A few days after this, Micipsa expired.

Jugurtha soon threw off the mask, A. M. 3887. and began by ridding himself of Hi-
A. Rom. 631. mpsal, who had expressed himself to him with great freedom, and therefore he caused him to be murdered. This bloody

action proved but too evidently
A. M. 3888. Adherbal what he himself might natu-
A. Rom. 632. rally fear. Numidia is now divided,

and sides severally with the two brothers. Mighty armies are raised by each party. Adherbal, after losing the greatest part of his fortresses, is vanquished in battle, and forced to make Rome his asylum. However, this gave Jugurtha no very great uneasiness, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore sent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief senators. In the first audience to which they were introduced, Adherbal represented the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injustice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his brother, the loss of almost all his fortresses; but the circumstance on which he laid the greatest stress was, the commands of his dying father, viz. to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring, that the friendship of this people would be a stronger support both to himself and his kingdom, than all the troops and treasures in the universe. His speech was of a great length, and extremely pathetic. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following answer: That Hiempsal had been killed by the Numidians, because of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggressor, and yet, after having been vanquished was come to make complaints, because he had not committed all the excesses he desired; that their sovereign entreated the senate to form a judgment of his behaviour and conduct in Africa, from that he had shown at Numantia; and to lay a greater stress on his actions, than on the accusations of his enemies. But these ambassadors had secretly employed an eloquence much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The whole assembly was for Jugurtha, a few senators excepted, who were not so void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The senate came to this resolution, That commissioners should be sent from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the spot between the two brothers. The reader will naturally suppose, that Jugurtha was not sparing of his treasure on this occasion: the division was made to his advantage; and yet a specious appearance of equity was preserved.

This first success of Jugurtha augmented his courage, and increased his boldness. Accordingly, he attacked his brother by open force; and whilst the latter loses his time in sending deputations to the Romans, he storms several fortresses; carries on his conquests; and, after defeating Adherbal, besieges

him in Cirtha, the capital of his kingdom. "During this interval, ambassadors arrived from Rome, with orders, in the name of the senate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms, and cease all hostilities. Jugurtha, after protesting that he would obey, with the most profound reverence and submission, the commands of the Roman people, added that he did not believe it was their intention to hinder him from defending his own life, against the treacherous snares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with saying, that he would send ambassadors forthwith to Rome, to inform the senate of his conduct. By this vague answer he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait upon Adherbal.

Though the latter was so closely blocked up in his capital, he yet found means to send to Rome,² to implore the assistance of the Romans against his brother, who had besieged him five months, and intended to take away his life. Some senators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately against Jugurtha; but still his influence prevailed, and the Romans only ordered an embassy to be sent, composed of senators of the highest distinction, among whom was *Æmilius Scaurus*, a factious man, who had a great ascendant over the nobility, and concealed the blackest vices under the specious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at first; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly sent them back without coming to any conclusion. Upon this, Adherbal, who had lost all hopes, surrendered upon condition of having his life spared; nevertheless, he was immediately murdered with a great number of Numidians.

But though the greatest part of the people at Rome were struck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the senate. However, *C. Memmius*, the tribune of the people, an active man, and one who hated the nobility, prevailed with the people, not to suffer so horrid a crime to go unpunished; and, accordingly, war being proclaimed against Jugurtha, *Calpurnius Bestia* the consul was appointed to carry it on. He was endued with excellent qualities,³ but they were all depraved and rendered useless by his
A. M. 3894. avarice. *Scaurus* set out with him. A. Rom. 638. They at first took several towns; but *Ant. J. C. 110.* Jugurtha's bribes checked the progress of these conquests; and *Scaurus* himself,⁴ who till now had expressed the strongest animosity against this prince, could not resist so powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to submit to the Romans, and thirty elephants, some horses, with a very inconsiderable sum of money, were delivered to the questor.

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome displayed itself in the strongest manner. *Memmius* the tribune inflamed them by his speeches. He caused *Cassius*, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha; and to engage him to come to Rome, under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an inquiry might be made in his presence, who those persons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The sight of him raised the anger of the people still higher; but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the session, and at last dissolved it. A Numidian prince, grandson of *Masimæ*, called *Massiva*, being at that time in the city, was advised to solicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which, coming to the ears of the

¹ He chose two of the nimblest of those who had followed him into Cirtha; and these, induced by the great rewards he promised them, and pitying his unhappy circumstances, undertook to pass through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring shore, and from thence to Rome. *Ex iis qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit: eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat, ut per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romanam pergerent.* Sallust.

² Multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat.

³ Magnitudo pecunie a bono honestoque in prævum abstractus est.

⁴ Non exercitum, neque thesauri, præsidia regni sunt, verum amici: quos neque armis coherere, neque auro parare possis: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior quam pater fratri? aut quem alienum fidem inventes, si tuis hostis fuerit?

latter, he caused him to be assassinated in the midst of Rome. The murderer was seized and delivered up to the civil magistrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart Italy. Upon leaving the city, he cast back his eyes several times towards it, and said, *Rome would sell itself, could it meet with a purchaser; and were one to be found, it were inevitably ruined.*¹

And now the war broke out anew. At first the indolence, or perhaps connivance, of Albinus the consul, made it go on very slowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the public assemblies,² the Roman army, by the unskilfulness of his brother Anlus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out, surrendered ignominiously to the enemy, who forced the Romans to submit to the ceremony of passing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally imagine in what light so shameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was considered at Rome. They could not flatter themselves with the hope of being successful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the consul. To all the rest of the virtues which constitute the great captain,³ he added a perfect disregard of wealth; a quality most essentially requisite against such an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money than his sword. But the African monarch found Metellus as invincible in this, as in all other respects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmost bravery, through the defect of an expedient which now began to fail him. Accordingly, he signalized himself in a surprising manner; and showed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention, of an illustrious general, to whom despair adds new vigour, and suggests new lights: he was, however, unsuccessful, because opposed by a consul, who did not suffer the most inconsiderable error to escape him, nor ever let slip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greatest concern was, how to secure himself from traitors. From the time he had been told that Bomilcar, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, had a design upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himself safe any where; but all things, by day as well as by night, the citizen as well as the foreigner, were suspected by him; and the blackest terrors sat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got a wink of sleep, except by stealth; and often changed his bed in a manner unbefitting his rank. Starting sometimes from his slumbers, he would snatch his sword, and utter loud cries; so strongly was he haunted by fear, which almost drove him to frenzy.

Marius was Metellus's lieutenant. His boundless ambition induced him to endeavour to lessen his general's character secretly in the minds of his soldiers; and becoming soon his professed enemy and slanderer, he at last, by the most grovelling and perfidious arts, prevailed so far as to supplant Metellus, and get himself nominated in his room, to carry on the war against Jugurtha. With what strength of mind soever Metellus might be endowed on other occasions, he was totally dejected by this unforeseen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and compelled him to utter such expressions as were altogether unworthy so great a man.⁴ There was something very dark and vile in Marius's conduct, and displays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and shows that it extinguishes, in those who abandon themselves to it, all sense of honour and integrity. Metellus having anxiously en-

deavoured to avoid a man whose sight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with universal acclamations. A triumph was decreed him, A. M. 3898 and the surname of Numidicus conferred upon him. A. Rom. 642

I thought it would be proper to reserve for the Roman history, a particular account of the events that happened in Africa, under Metellus and Marius, all of which are very circumstantially described by Salust, in his admirable history of Jugurtha. I therefore hasten to the conclusion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly distressed in his affairs, had recourse to Bocchus, king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the shores of the Mediterranean opposite to Spain.⁵ The Roman name was scarce known in it, and the people were absolutely unknown to the Romans. Jugurtha insinuated to his father-in-law, that should he suffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtless be involved in its ruin; especially as the Romans, who were sworn enemies to monarchy, seemed to have vowed the destruction of all the thrones in the universe. He therefore prevailed with Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occasions, very considerable succours from that king.

This confederacy, which was cemented on either side by no other tie than that of interest, had never been strong; and a last defeat which Jugurtha met with broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated the dark design of delivering up his son-in-law to the Romans. For this purpose he desired Marius to send him a trusty person. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and served under him as questor, was thought every way qualified for this negotiation. He was not afraid to put himself into the hands of the barbarian king; and accordingly set out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus, who, like the rest of his countrymen, did not pride himself on sincerity, and was for ever projecting new designs, debated within himself, whether it would not be his interest to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating in this uncertainty, and conflicting with a contrariety of sentiments: and the sudden changes which displayed themselves in his countenance, in his air, and in his whole person, showed evidently how strongly his mind was affected. At length returning to his first design, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was sent immediately to Marius.

Sylla,⁶ says Plutarch,⁷ acted on this occasion, like a young man fired with a strong thirst of glory, the sweets of which he had just begun to taste. Instead of ascribing to the general under whom he fought all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim, he reserved the greater part of it to himself, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was represented receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he used ever after as his signet. But Marius was so highly exasperated at this kind of insult that he could never forgive him; and this circumstance gave rise to the implacable hatred between these two Romans, which afterwards broke out with so much fury, and cost the republic so much blood.

Marius entered Rome in triumph,⁸ exhibiting such a spectacle to the Romans, as they could scarce believe. A. M. 3901 A. Rom. 645 they saw, when it passed before their Ant. J. C. 103 eyes; I mean Jugurtha in chains: that so formidable an enemy, during whose life, they had not dared to flatter themselves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war; so well was his courage sustained by stratagem and artifice, and his genius so fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were most desperate. We are told, that

¹ *Postquam Roma aggressus est, sepe tacitus eo respiciens, postremo dixit: Urbem venalem et maturè perituram, si emptorem inveniret.*

² For electing magistrates. *Sal.*

³ In Numidium proficiscitur, magnâ spe civium eôm propter artes bonas, tum maximè quòd adversarum divitiarum invictum animus gerebat.

⁴ Quibus rebus supra bonum actum honestum periculum, neque lachrymas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir agrestis in aliis artibus, nimis mollior aegritudinem pati.

⁵ Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.

⁶ Plut. in vit. Marii.

⁷ *Οτι νῦν ἐκείνου παρὰ τὸ εὖ καὶ γενναίως, οὐκ ἔτι κατεστὸν τὸ ὑποζυγῆσαι.* Plut. Præcept. reip. gerend. p. 806

⁸ Plut. Præcept. reip. gerend. p. 806.

Jugurtha ran distracted, as he was walking in the triumph; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into prison; and that the victors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition, he was cast, quite naked, and in the utmost terror, into a deep dungeon, where he spent six days in struggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a strong desire of life to his last gasp; an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds, Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greatest crimes might be committed to satiate his ambition; ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

Juba, king of Mauritania, reflected so much honour on polite literature and the sciences, that I could not, without impropriety, omit him in the history of the family of Masinissa, to whom his father, who also was named Juba, was great-grandson, and grandson of Gulussa. The elder Juba signalized himself in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter. He slew himself after the battle of Thapsus, in which

A. M. 3959. his forces and those of Scipio were engaged. A. Rom. 703. he was finally defeated. Juba, his son, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from history, that a noble education was bestowed upon Juba in Rome, where

he imbibed such a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the most learned among the Grecians. He did not leave that city till he went to take possession of his father's dominions. Augustus restored them to him, when, by the death of Marc Antony, the provinces of the A. M. 3974. empire were absolutely at his disposal. A. Rom. 719. Juba, by the lenity of his government, Ant. J. C. 30. gained the hearts of all his subjects;

who, out of a grateful sense of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pausanias speaks of a statue which the Athenians erected in his honour. It was indeed just, that a city, which had been consecrated in all ages to the Muses, should give public testimonies of its esteem for a king who made so bright a figure among the learned. Suidas ascribes several works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant.¹ He had written the history of Arabia; the antiquities of Assyria, and those of the Romans; the history of theatres, of painting and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals; of grammar, and similar subjects; a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's short dissertation on the life and works of the younger Juba,² whence I have extracted these few particulars.

¹ In voce 'Ιδωε.

² Vol. iv. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 457.

THE

HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

BOOK III.

This book will contain the history of the Assyrian empires both of Nineveh and Babylon, the kingdom of the Medes and the kingdom of the Lydians.
For the author's Introduction to this part of the work, see Preface, page 21.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST EMPIRE OF THE ASSYRIANS.

SECTION I.—DURATION OF THAT EMPIRE.

THE Assyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the most powerful in the world. With respect to its duration, two opinions have chiefly prevailed. Some authors, as Ctesias, whose opinion is followed by Justin, gave it a duration of 1300 years: others reduce it to 520, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or probably the interruption of power, which happened in this vast empire, might possibly give occasion to this difference of opinions, and may perhaps serve in some measure to reconcile them.

The history of those early times¹ is so obscure, the monuments which convey it down to us so contrary to each other, and the systems of the moderns upon

that matter so different, that it is difficult to lay down any opinion about it, as certain and incontestable. But where certainty is not to be had, I suppose a reasonable person will be satisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Assyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now we learn from the Holy Scripture, that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and in all probability the first and most ancient of all those who have ever aspired after that denomination.

The Babylonians,² as Callisthenes, a philosopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Aristotle, reckoned themselves at least to be 1903 years' standing when that prince entered triumphant into Babylon, which makes their origin reach back to the year of the world 1771, that is to say, 115 years after the deluge. This computation comes within a few years of the time in which we suppose Nimrod to have founded that city. Indeed, this testimony of Callisthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that matter, is not esteemed authentic by the learned; but the conformity we find between it and the Holy

M. Perret upon the Assyrian empire, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; for the first see Tome 3. and for the other, Tome 5; as also what Father Tournemine has written upon this subject in his edition of Menuchius

¹ Porphyrt. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de celo

² They that are curious to make deeper researches into this matter, may read the dissertations of Abbé Banier and

Scriptures should make us regard it. Upon these grounds, I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the first Assyrian empire, which subsisted with more or less extent and glory upwards of 1450 years,¹ from the time of Nimrod to that of Sardanapalus, the last king, that is to say, from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.

NIMROD. He is the same with A. M. 1800. Belus,² who was afterwards worshipped as a god under that appellation.

He was the son of Chus, grandson of Ham, and great-grandson of Noah. He was, says the Scripture, a mighty hunter before the Lord.³ In applying himself to this laborious and dangerous exercise, he had two things in view; the first was, to gain the people's affection by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beasts; the next was to train up numbers of young people by this exercise of hunting to endure labour and hardship, to form them to the use of arms, to inure them to a kind of discipline and obedience, that at a proper time, after they had been accustomed to his orders and seasoned in arms, he might make use of them for other purposes more serious than hunting.

In ancient history we find some footsteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus, his son: for Diodorus has these words:⁴ *Ninus, the most ancient of the Assyrian kings mentioned in history, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike disposition, and ambitious of the glory that results from valour, he armed a considerable number of young men, that were brave and vigorous like himself; trained them up a long time in laborious exercises and hardships, and by that means accustomed them to bear the fatigues of war patiently, and to face dangers with courage and intrepidity.*

What the same author adds,⁵ that Ninus entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is a piece of ancient tradition, which informs us, that the sons of Chus, and by consequence the brothers of Nimrod, all settled themselves in Arabia, along the Persian Gulf, from Havilah to the Ocean; and lived near enough to their brother to lend him succours, or to receive them from him. And what the same historian farther says of Ninus, that he was the first king of the Assyrians, agrees exactly with what the Scripture says of Nimrod, *that he began to be mighty upon the earth*; that is, he procured himself settlements, built cities, subdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the same authority, by the band of the same polity and the same laws, and formed them into one state; which, for these early times, was of a considerable extent though bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which in succeeding ages, made new acquisitions by degrees, and at length extended its conquests very far.

The capital city of his kingdom, says the Scripture, *was Babylon*.⁶ Most of the profane historians ascribe the founding of Babylon to Semiramis,⁷ others to Belus. It is evident, that both the one and the other are mistaken, if they speak of the first founder of that city; for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis nor to Nimrod, but to the foolish vanity of those persons mentioned in Scripture,⁸ who desired to build a tower and a city, that should render their memory immortal.

Josephus relates,⁹ upon the testimony of a Sibyl (who must have been very ancient, and whose fictions cannot be imputed to the indiscreet zeal of any Christians), that the gods threw down the tower by

an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane. Had this been the case, Nimrod's temerity must have been still greater, to rebuild a city and a tower which God himself had overthrown with such marks of his displeasure. But the Scripture says no such thing; and it is very probable, the building remained in the condition it was, when God put an end to the work by the confusion of languages; and that the tower consecrated to Belus, which is described by Herodotus,¹⁰ was this very tower, which the sons of men pretended to raise to the clouds.

It is farther probable, that this ridiculous design having been defeated by such an astonishing prodigy as none could be the author of but God himself, every body abandoned the place, which had given Him offence; and that Nimrod was the first who encompassed it afterwards with walls, settled therein his friends and confederates, and subdued those that lived round about it, beginning his empire in that place, but not confining it to so narrow a compass: *Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon*. The other cities, which the Scripture speaks of in the same place, were in the laud of Shinar, which was certainly the province of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Assyria, and there built Nineveh: *De terra illa egressus est Assur, et edificavit Nineveh*.¹¹ This is the sense in which many learned men understand the word Assur, looking upon it as the name of a province and not of the first man who possessed it; as if it were *egressus est in Assur, in Assyriam*. And this seems to be the most natural construction, for many reasons not necessary to be cited in this place. The country of Assyria is described, in one of the prophets,¹² by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: *Et pascent terram Assur in gladio, et terram Nimrod in lanceis ejus; et liberabit ab Assur, cum venerit in terram nostram*. It derived its name from Assur, the son of Shen, who without doubt had settled himself and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under subjection by the usurper Nimrod.

The conqueror having possessed himself of the provinces of Assur,¹³ did not ravage them like a tyrant, but filled them with cities, and made himself as much beloved by his new subjects, as he was by his old ones; so that the historians,¹⁴ who have not examined into the bottom of this affair, have thought that he made use of the Assyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities, he built one more large and magnificent than the rest, which he called Nineveh, from the name of his son Ninus, in order to immortalize his memory. The son, in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had served him as their king should adore him as their god, and induce other nations to render him the same worship. For it appears evident, that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the first king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who showed others the way to that sort of immortality which human acquirements are supposed capable of bestowing.

I intend to speak of the mighty strength and greatness of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, under the kings to whom their building is ascribed by profane authors, because the scripture says little or nothing on that subject. This silence of Scripture, so little satisfactory to our curiosity, may become an instructive lesson to our piety. The holy permian has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and seems to have put them so near together on purpose, that we should see an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men, and in the latter of what is acceptable and well pleasing to God. These two persons, so unlike one another, are the first two and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives, and with different principles;¹⁵ the one self-love, and a desire of temporal advantages,

¹ Here I depart from the opinion of Archbishop Usher, my ordinary guide, with respect to the duration of the Assyrian empire, which he supposes, with Herodotus, to have lasted but 520 years; but the time when Nimrod lived and Sardanapalus died, I take from him.

² Belus or Bad signifies Lord.

³ Lib. ii. p. 90.

⁴ Lib. ii. p. 90.

⁵ Lib. ii. p. 90.

⁶ Lib. ii. p. 90.

⁷ Semiramis enim considerat, vult ut perierit tradidero.

⁸ Belus, cujus regia ostenditur. Q. Curt. lib. v. c. 1.

⁹ Gen. xi. 4.

¹⁰ His. Jud. i. t. c. 4.

¹¹ Lib. i. c. 181.

¹² Gen. x. 11.

¹³ Gen. x. 11.

¹⁴ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

¹⁵ Eecertunt civitates duas amores duo: terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei: celestem vero amorem Dei usque ad contemptum sui. S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xiv. c. 28.

¹⁶ Gen. x. 11.

¹⁷ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

¹⁸ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

¹⁹ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

²⁰ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

²¹ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

²² Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

²³ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

²⁴ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

²⁵ Diod. i. lib. p. 90.

carried even to the contemning of the Deity; the other, the love of God, even to the contemning of one's self.

NINUS. I have already observed, that most of the profane authors look upon him as the first founder of the Assyrian empire, and for that reason ascribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

Having a design to enlarge his conquests,¹ the first thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his designs. And having received powerful succors from the Arabians his neighbours, he took the field, and in the space of seventeen years conquered a vast extent of country, from Egypt as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack.

At his return, before he entered upon any new conquests, he conceived the design of immortalizing his name by the building of a city answerable to the greatness of his power; he called it Nineveh, and built it on the eastern banks of the Tigris.² Possibly he did no more than finish the work his father had begun. His design, says Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largest and noblest city in the world, and to put it out of the power of those that came after him ever to build or hope to build such another. Nor was he deceived in his view; for never did any city come up to the greatness and magnificence of this: it was 150 stadia (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety stadia (or eleven miles and one quarter) in breadth: and consequently was an oblong square. Its circumference was 480 stadia, or sixty miles. For this reason we find it said in the prophet Jonah, that *Nineveh was an exceeding great city, of three days' journey*,³ which is to be understood of the whole circuit or compass of the city.⁴ The walls of it were 100 feet high, and of so considerable a thickness, that three chariots might go abreast upon them with ease. They were fortified and adorned with 1500 towers 200 feet high.

After he had finished this prodigious work, he resumed his expedition against the Bactrians. His army according to the relation of Ctesias, consisted of 1,700,000 foot, 200,000 horse, and about 16,000 chariots armed with scythes. Diodorus adds that this ought not to appear incredible, since, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the city of Syracuse alone in the time of Dionysius the Tyrant, furnished 120,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, besides 400 vessels well equipped and provided. And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to send into the field near 1,000,000 of men. Ninus made himself master of a great number of cities, and at last laid siege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have seen all his attempts miscarry, had it not been for the diligence and assistance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and peculiarly exempt from the weakness of her sex. She was born at Ascalon, a city of Syria. I think it needless to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nursed and brought up by pigeons, since that historian himself looks upon it only as a fabulous story. It was Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and thus became master of the city, in which he found immense treasure. The husband of Semiramis having killed himself, to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent passion for his wife, Ninus married her.

After his return to Nineveh, he had a son by her, whom he called Ninias. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom. She, in honour of his memory, erected a magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Nineveh.

I find no appearance of truth in what some authors

relate concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne.⁵ According to them, having secured the chief men of the state, and attached them to her interest by her benefactions and promises, she solicited the king with great importunity to put the sovereign power into her hands for the space of five days. He yielded to her entreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. These orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death, either immediately, or after some years' imprisonment.

SEMIRAMIS. This princess applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name,⁶ and to cover the meanness of her extraction by the greatness of her enterprises. She proposed to herself to surpass all her predecessors in magnificence, and to that end she undertook the building of the mighty Babylon,⁷ in which work she employed 2,000,000 of men, which were collected out of all the provinces of her vast empire. Some of her successors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embellishments. I shall here speak of them altogether, in order to give the reader a more clear and distinct idea of that stupendous city.

The principal works which rendered Babylon so famous, are the walls of the city; the quays and the bridge; the lake, banks, and canals, made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of such a surprising magnificence, as is scarce to be comprehended. Dr. Prideaux having treated this subject with great extent and learning, I have only to copy, or rather abridge him.

I. The Walls.

Babylon stood on a large plain,⁸ in a very fat and rich soil. The walls were every way prodigious. They were in thickness eighty-seven feet, in height 350, and in compass 360 furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact square, each side of which was 120 furlongs⁹ or fifteen miles, in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth of that country, which binds much stronger and firmer than mortar, and soon grows much harder than the bricks or stones themselves which it cements together.

These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch, full of water, and lined with bricks on both sides. The earth that was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore, from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch.

In every side of this great square were twenty-five gates, that is, 100 in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, too, when God promises to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him,¹⁰ that he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass. Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates in each side of this great square went twenty-five streets, in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them, in the opposite side; so that the whole number of the streets was fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty-five went one way, and twenty-five the other directly crossing each other at right angles. And be-

¹ Plat. in Mor. p. 753.

² Diod. l. ii. p. 95.

³ Diod. l. ii. p. 90—95.

⁴ Diodorus says it was on the banks of the Euphrates, and speaks of it as if it was so, in many places, but he is mistaken.

⁵ Jon. iii. 3.

⁶ It is hard to believe that Diodorus does not speak of the extent of Nineveh with some exaggeration; therefore some learned men have reduced the stadium to little more than one half, and reckon fifteen of them to the Roman mile instead of eight, the *æsa* computation.

⁷ We are not to wonder, if we find the founding of a city ascribed to different persons. It is common even among the profane writers, to say, Such a prince built such a city, whether he was the person that first founded it, or that only embellished or enlarged it.

⁸ Herod. l. i. c. 178, 180. Diod. l. ii. p. 95, 96. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

⁹ I relate these as I find them in the ancient authors, which Dean Prideaux has also done; but I cannot help believing that great abatements are to be made in what he says as to the immense extent of Babylon and Nineveh.

¹⁰ Isa. xliv. 2.

sides these, there were also four half streets, which had houses only on one side, and the wall on the other; these went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them 200 feet broad; the rest were about 150. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was cut out into 676 squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. Round these squares,¹ on every side towards the street, stood the houses (which were not contiguous, but had void spaces between them), all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was likewise all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses; so that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, near one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.

II. The Quays and Bridge.

A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite across the city,² from the north to the south side; on each side of the river was a quay, and a high wall built of brick and bitumen, of the same thickness as the walls that went round the city. In these walls, over-against every street that led to the river, were gates of brass, and from them descents by steps to the river, for the convenience of the inhabitants, who used to pass over from one side to the other in boats, having no other way of crossing the river before the building of the bridge. The brazen gates were always open in the day time, and shut in the night.

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings, either in beauty or magnificence; it was a furlong in length,³ and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. The arches were made of huge stones, fastened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they began to build the bridge, they turned the course of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in so doing, besides that of laying the foundations more commodiously, as I shall explain hereafter. And as every thing was prepared beforehand, both the bridge and the quays, which I have already described, were built in that interval.

III. The Lakes, Ditches, and Canals, made for the draining of the River.

These works, objects of admiration for the skillful in all ages, were still more useful than magnificent. In the beginning of the summer,⁴ on the sun's melting the snow on the mountains of Armenia, there arises a vast increase of waters, which, running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July, and August, makes it overflow its banks, and occasions such another inundation as the Nile does in Egypt. To prevent the damage which both the city and country received from these inundations,⁵ at a very considerable distance above the town, two artificial canals were cut, which turned the course of these waters into the Tigris, before they reached Babylon. And to secure the country yet more from the danger of inundations,⁶ and to keep the river within its channel, they raised prodigious banks on both sides of the river, built with brick cemented with bitumen, which began at the head of the artificial canals, and extended below the city.

To facilitate the making of these works, it was necessary to turn the course of the river; for which purpose, to the west of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake, forty miles square,⁷ 160 in compass, and thirty-five feet deep, according to Herodotus, and

seventy-five according to Megasthenes. Into this lake was the whole river turned, by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till the whole work was finished, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates, in the time of its increase might not overflow the city, through the gates on its sides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was still preserved. The water received into the lake at the time of these overflows was kept there all the year, as in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices, at convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. The lake, therefore, was equally useful in defending the country from inundations, and making it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon as they are delivered to us by the ancients; but there are some of them which are scarce to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the vast extent of the lake, which I have just described.

Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Josephus and Eusebius, make Nebuchadnezzar the author of the most of these works; but Herodotus ascribes the bridge, the two quays of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might finish what her father left imperfect at his death, on which account that historian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

IV. The Palaces, and Hanging Gardens.

At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces,⁸ which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river, at the time of its being dry. The old palace which stood on the east side of the river, was thirty furlongs (or three miles and three quarters) in compass; near which stood the temple of Belus, of which we shall soon speak. The new palace, which stood on the west side of the river, opposite to the other, was sixty furlongs (or seven miles and a half) in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, with considerable spaces between them. These walls, as also those of the other palace, were embellished with an infinite variety of sculptures, representing all kinds of animals, to the life. Amongst the rest was a curious hunting-piece, in which Semiramis on horseback was throwing her javelin at a leopard, and her husband Ninus piercing a lion.

In this last palace,⁹ were the hanging gardens, so celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a square of 400 feet on every side, and were carried up in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches, raised upon other arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall, surrounding it on every side, of twenty-two feet in thickness. On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long, and four broad; over these was a layer of reeds, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together with plaster. The whole was covered with thick sheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this flooring was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away through the arches. The earth laid hereon was so deep, that the greatest trees might take root in it; and with such the terraces were covered, as well as with other plants and flowers that were proper to adorn a pleasure-garden. In the upper terrace there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the spaces between the several arches, upon which this whole structure rested, were large and magnificent apartments, that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful prospect.

Amytis,¹⁰ the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country), had been much delighted with the mountains and woody parts of that country.

¹ Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

² Herod. l. i. c. 180, 186. Diod. l. ii. p. 96.

³ Diodorus says, this bridge was five furlongs in length, which can hardly be true, since the Euphrates was but one furlong broad. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

⁴ Strab. l. xvi. p. 740. Plin. l. v. c. 26.

⁵ Abyd. an. Eus. Præp. Evang. lib. ix.

⁶ Abyd. ib. Herod. l. i. c. 185.

⁷ The author follows Herodotus, who makes it 420 furlongs, or 32 miles square; but I choose to follow Dean Prideaux, who prefers the account of Megasthenes.

⁸ Diod. l. ii. p. 96, 97.

⁹ Diod. l. ii. p. 98, 99. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1.

¹⁰ Beros. ap. Jos. cont. App. l. i. c. 6.

And as she desired to have something like it in Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify her, caused this prodigious edifice to be erected. Diodorus gives much the same account of the matter, but without naming the persons.

V. The Temple of Belus.

Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus,¹ which stood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace. It was most remarkable for a prodigious tower, that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compass, and (according to Strabo) it was also a furlong in height. It consisted of eight towers, built one above the other, decreasing regularly to the top, for which reason Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. It is not only asserted, but proved, that this tower much exceeded the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reason to believe, as Bochart asserts,² that this is the very same tower which was built there at the confusion of the languages: and the rather, because it is attested by several profane authors, that this tower was all built of bricks and bitumen, as the Scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. The ascent to the top was by stairs on the outside round it; that is, perhaps, there was an easy sloping ascent in the side of the outer wall, which turning by very slow degrees in a spiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the same appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In these different stories were many large rooms, with arched roofs supported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, by the benefit of which the Babylonians became more expert in astronomy than all other nations, and made, in a short time, the great progress in it ascribed to them in history.

But the chief use to which this tower was designed, was the worship of the god Belus or Baal, as also that of several other deities; for which reason there was a multitude of chapels in different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in statues, tables, censers, cups, and other sacred vessels, all of massy gold, were immense. Among other images, there was one forty feet high, which weighed 1000 Babylonish talents. The Babylonish talent, according to Pollox in his *Onomasticon*, contained 7600 Attic drachmas, and consequently was a sixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but 6000 drachmas.

According to the calculation which Diodorus makes of the riches contained in this temple, the sum total amounts to 6300 Babylonish talents of gold.

The sixth part of 6300 is 1050; consequently 6300 Babylonish talents of gold are equivalent to 7350 Attic talents of gold.

Now 7350 Attic talents of silver are worth upwards 2,100,000l. sterling. The proportion between gold and silver among the ancients we reckon as ten to one; therefore 7350 Attic talents of gold amount to above 21,000,000l. sterling.

The temple stood till the time of Xerxes;³ but he on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished it entirely, after having first plundered it of all its immense riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purposed to have rebuilt it; and in order thereto, set 10,000 men to work to rid the place of its rubbish; but, after they had laboured herein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.

Such were the chief works which rendered Babylon so famous; the greater part of them are ascribed by profane authors to Semiramis, to whose history it is now time to return.

When she had finished all these great undertakings,⁴ she thought fit to make a progress through the several parts of her empire; and wherever she came, left monuments of her magnificence by many noble structures which she erected, either for the convenien-

cy or ornament of her cities; she was particularly careful to have water brought by aqueducts to such places as wanted it, and to make the highways easy, by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were still monuments to be seen in many places, with her name inscribed upon them.

The authority this queen had over her people seems very extraordinary;⁵ since we find her presence alone capable of appeasing a sedition. One day, as she was dressing herself, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon she went out immediately, with her head half dressed, and did not return till the disturbance was entirely appeased. A statue was erected in remembrance of this action, representing her in that very attitude and address, which had not hindered her from flying to her duty.

Not satisfied with the vast extent of dominions left her by her husband, she enlarged them by the conquest of a great part of Ethiopia. Whilst she was in that country, she had the curiosity to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to inquire of the oracle how long she had to live. According to Diodorus, the answer she received was, that she should not die till her son Ninus conspired against her, and that after her death one part of Asia would pay her divine honours.

Her greatest and last expedition was against India. On this occasion she raised an innumerable army out of all the provinces of her empire, and appointed Bactra for the rendezvous. As the strength of the Indians consisted chiefly in their great number of elephants, she caused a multitude of camels to be accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. It is said that Perseus long after used the same stratagem against the Romans; but neither of them succeeded in this artifice. The Indian king having notice of her approach, sent ambassadors to ask her who she was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, she came out of wantonness to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldness should soon meet with the punishment it deserved. *Tell your master,* replied the queen, *that in a little time, I myself will let him know who I am.* She advanced immediately towards the river,⁶ from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a sufficient number of boats, she attempted to pass it with her army. This passage was a long time disputed, but after a bloody battle she put her enemies to flight. Above 1000 of their boats were sunk, and above 100,000 of their men taken prisoners. Encouraged by this success, she advanced directly into the country, leaving 60,000 men behind to guard the bridge of boats which she had built over the river. This was just what the king desired, who fled on purpose to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. As soon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a second engagement ensued, more bloody than the first. The counterfeit elephants could not long sustain the shock of the real ones: these routed her army, crushing whatever came in their way. Semiramis did all that lay in her power to rally and encourage her troops, but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her, and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The swiftness of her horse soon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crowded to the bridge to repass the river, great numbers of them perished, through the disorder and confusion unavoidable on such occasions. When those that could save themselves were safely over, she destroyed the bridge, and by that means stopped the enemy; and the king likewise, in obedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to pass the river, nor pursue Semiramis any farther. The queen having made an exchange of prisoners at Bactra, returned to her own dominions with scarce one-third of her army, which (according to Ctesias) consisted of 3,000,000 foot and 500,000 horse, besides the camels and chariots armed for war, of which she had a very considerable number. I have no doubt that this account is highly exaggerated, or that there is some mistake in the numeral characters. She, and

¹ Herod. l. i. c. 181. Diod. l. ii. p. 98. Strab. l. xxi. p. 68.

² Herod. l. i. c. 183. Strab. l. xxi. p. 73. Arrian. l. vii. p. 480.

³ Diod. l. ii. p. 100—108.

⁴ Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Alexander after her, were the only persons that ever ventured to carry the war beyond the river Iudus.

I must own I am somewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raised against the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they do not seem to agree with the times so near the deluge: I mean, such vast armies, such a numerous cavalry, so many chariots armed with scythes, and such immense treasures of gold and silver; all which seem to be of a later date. The same thing may likewise be said of the magnificence of the buildings, ascribed to them. It is probable the Greek historians, who came so many ages afterwards, deceived by the similarity of names, by their ignorance in chronology, and the resemblance of one event with another, may have ascribed such things to more ancient princes, as belonged to those of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterprises to one, which ought to be divided amongst a series of them, succeeding one another.

Semiramis, sometime after her return, discovered that her son was plotting against her, and one of her principal officers had offered him his assistance. She then called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Annon; and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any punishment on the officer, who was taken into custody, she voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her son, and withdrew from the sight of men, hoping speedily to have divine honours paid to her, according to the promise of the oracle. And indeed, we are told, she was worshipped by the Assyrians, under the form of a dove. She lived sixty-two years, of which she reigned forty-two.

There are in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters,¹ two learned dissertations upon the Assyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.

What Justin² says of Semiramis, namely, that after her husband's decease, not daring either to commit the government to her son, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herself, she governed under the name and habit of Ninyas; and that, after having reigned in that manner above forty years, falling passionately in love with her own son, she endeavoured to induce him to comply with her criminal desires, and was slain by him: all this, I say, is so void of all appearance of truth, that to go about to confute it would be but losing time. It must however be owned, that almost all the authors, who have spoken of Semiramis, give us but a disadvantageous idea of her chastity.

I do not know but that the glorious reign of this queen might partly induce Plato³ to maintain, in his Commonwealth, that women as well as men ought to be admitted into the management of public affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of states; and, by necessary consequence, ought to be trained up in the same exercises as men, as well for the forming of the body as the mind. Nor does he so much as except those exercises, wherein it was customary to fight stark naked, alleging⁴ that the virtue of the sex would be a sufficient covering for them.

It is just matter of surprise to find a philosopher so judicious in other respects, openly combating the most common and most natural maxims of modesty and decency, virtues which are the principal ornament of the female sex, and insisting so strongly upon a principle, sufficiently confuted by the constant practice of all ages, and of almost all nations in the world.

Aristotle,⁵ wiser in this than his master Plato, without doing the least injustice to the real merit and essential qualities of the sex, has with great judgment marked out the different ends to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind, wherewith they are endowed by the

Author of Nature, who has given the one strength of body and intrepidity of mind, to enable him to undergo the greatest hardships, and face the most imminent dangers; whilst the other, on the contrary, is of a weak and delicate constitution, accompanied with a natural softness and modest timidity, which render her more fit for a sedentary life, and dispose her to keep within the precincts of the house, and employ herself in the concerns of prudent and industrious economy.

Xenophon is of the same opinion with Aristotle,⁶ and in order to set off the occupation of the wife who confines herself within her house, agreeably compares her to the mother-bee, commonly called the queen-bee, who alone governs, and has the superintendence of, the whole hive, who distributes all their employments, encourages their industry, presides over the building of their little cells, takes care of the nourishment and subsistence of her numerous family, regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpose, and at fixed and proper seasons sends abroad the new swarms in colonies, to ease and disburden the hive of its superfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Aristotle, the difference of constitution and inclinations, designedly made by the author of Nature between man and woman, to point to each of them their proper and peculiar offices and functions.

This allotment, far from degrading or lessening the woman, is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of domestic empire and government, administered only by gentleness, reason, equity, and good nature; and in giving her frequent occasions of concealing the most valuable and excellent qualities under the inestimable veil of modesty and submission. For it must ingenuously be owned, that at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women, who by a real solid merit have distinguished themselves above their sex; as there have been innumerable instances of men, who by their defects have dishonoured theirs. But these are only particular cases, which form no rule, and which ought not to prevail against an establishment founded in nature, and prescribed by the Creator himself.

NINYAS.⁷ This prince was in no respect like those from whom he received his birth, and to whose throne he succeeded. Wholly intent upon his pleasures, he kept himself shut up in his palace, and seldom showed himself to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Nineveh a certain number of regular troops, furnished every year from the several provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were succeeded by the like number of other troops on the same conditions; the king putting a commander at the head of them, on whose fidelity he could depend. He made use of this method, that the officers might not have time to gain the affections of the soldiers, and so form any conspiracies against him.

His successors, for thirty generations, followed his example, and even surpassed him in indolence. Their history is absolutely unknown, there remaining no footsteps of it.

In Abraham's time the Scripture speaks of Amraphael, king of Shinar, the country where Babylon A. M. 2092. Ant. J. C. 1912. was situated, who with two other princes followed Chedorlaomer, king of the Elamites, whose tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter against five kings of the land of Canaan.

It was under the government of these inactive princes that Sesosis, king of Egypt, extended his A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1491. conquests so far in the East. But as his power was of a short duration, and not supported by his successors, the Assyrian empire soon returned to its former state.

Plato,⁸ a curious observer of antiquities, makes the kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priam, dependent on the Assyrian empire. And A. M. 2830. Ant. J. C. 1184.

¹ Vol. iii. p. 343, &c.

² Lib. i. c. 2.

³ Lib. v. de. Rep. p. 451—457.

⁴ *Ἐπειὴν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρείας.*

⁵ De cura rei fam. l. i. c. 3.

⁶ De administr. dom. p. 839.

⁷ Diad. l. ii. p. 100.

⁸ De Leg. l. iii. 685.

Ctesias says that Tentamus, the twentieth king after Ninus, sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, at a time when the Assyrian empire had subsisted above 1000 years; which agrees exactly with the time wherein I have placed the foundation of that empire. But the silence of Homer concerning so mighty a people, and one which must needs have been well known, renders this fact exceeding doubtful. And it must be owned, that whatever relates to the times of the ancient history of the Assyrians, is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter.

PUL.¹ The Scripture informs us A. M. 3233. that Pul, king of Assyria, being Ant. J. C. 771. come into the land of Israel, had 1000 talents of silver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him assistance, and secure him on his throne.

This Pul is supposed to be the king of Nineveh who repented with all his people, at the preaching of Jonah.

He is also thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, called, according to the custom of the eastern nations, Sardanul; that is to say, Sardan, the son of Pul.²

SARDANAPALUS.³ This prince surpassed all his predecessors in effeminacy, luxury and cowardice. He never went out of his palace, but spent all his time among a company of women, dressed and painted like them, and employed like them at the distaff. He placed all his happiness and glory in the possession of immense treasures, in feasting and rioting, and indulging himself in all the most infamous and criminal pleasures. He ordered two verses to be put upon his tomb, which imported, that he carried away with him all that he had eaten, and all the pleasures he had enjoyed, but left all the rest behind him.

Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exaurata libido
Hauit: at illa jacent multa et præclara relicta.*

An epitaph, says Aristotle, fit for a hog.

Arbaces, governor of Media, having found means to get into the palace, and having with his own eyes seen Sardanapalus in the midst of his infamous orgoglio; enraged at such a spectacle, and not able to endure that so many brave men should be subject to a prince, more soft and effeminate than the women themselves, immediately formed a conspiracy against him. Belesis, governor of Babylon, and several others, entered into it. On the first rumour of this revolt, the king hid himself in the inmost part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with some forces which he had assembled, he at first gained three successive victories over the enemy, but was afterwards overcome, and pursued to the gates of Nineveh; wherein he shut himself, in hopes the rebels would never be able to take a city so well fortified, and stored with provisions for a considerable time: the siege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declared by an ancient oracle, that Nineveh could never be taken, unless the river became an enemy to the city. These words buoyed up Sardanapalus, because he looked upon the thing as impossible. But

A. M. 3257. when he saw that the Tigris, by a Ant. J. C. 747. violent inundation, had thrown down twenty stadia⁵ of the city wall, and by that means opened a passage to the enemy, he understood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himself lost. He resolved, however, to die in such a manner, as, according to his opinion, should cover the infamy of his scandalous and effeminate life. He ordered a pile of wood to be made in his palace, and setting

fire to it, burnt himself, his eunuchs, his women, and his treasures. Athenæus makes these treasures amount to a thousand myriads of talents of gold,⁶ and ten times as many talents of silver, which, without reckoning any thing else, is a sum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains 10,000; and one single myriad of talents of silver is worth 30,000,000 of French money, or about 1,400,000*l.* sterling. A man is lost, if he attempts to sum up the whole value; which induces me to believe, that Athenæus must have very much exaggerated in his computation; however, we may be assured, from his account, that the treasures were immensely great.

Plutarch,⁷ in his second treatise, dedicated to the praise of Alexander the Great, wherein he examines in what the true greatness of princes consists, after having shown that it can arise from nothing but their own personal merit, confirms it by two very different examples, taken from the history of the Assyrians, in which we are now engaged.—Semiramis and Sardanapalus (says he) both governed the same kingdom; both had the same people, the same extent of country, the same revenues, the same forces and number of troops; but they had not the same dispositions, nor the same views. Semiramis, raising herself above her sex, built magnificent cities, equipped fleets, armed legions, subdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Asia, spreading consternation and terror every where. Whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounced his sex, spent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually surrounded with a company of women, whose dress and even manners he had adopted, applying himself with them to the spindle and the distaff, neither understanding nor doing any other thing than spinning, eating and drinking, and wallowing in all manner of infamous pleasure. Accordingly, a statue was erected to him, after his death, which represented him in the posture of a dancer, with an inscription upon it, in which he addressed himself to the spectator in these words: *Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing else is nothing*:⁸ an inscription very suitable to the epitaph he himself had ordered to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch in this place judges of Semiramis, as almost all the profane historians do of the glory of conquerors. But if we would make a true judgment of things, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much less blameable, than the dissolute effeminacy of Sardanapalus? Which of the two vices did most mischief to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Assyrian empire should fall under such a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having passed through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all states, even to the greatest, during the course of several ages. This empire had subsisted above 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vast empire were formed three considerable kingdoms; that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conspiracy, restored to its liberty; that of the Assyrians of Babylon, which was given to Belesis, governor of that city; and that of the Assyrians of Nineveh, the first king whereof took the name of Ninus the younger.

In order to understand the history of the second Assyrian empire, which is very obscure and of which little is said by historians, it is proper, and even absolutely necessary, to compare what is said of it by profane authors with what we are informed concerning it by Holy Scripture: that by the help of that double light we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Nineveh and Babylon, which for some time were separate and distinct, and afterwards united and confounded together. I shall first treat of this second Assyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.

¹ 2 Kings, xv. 19.

² Diod. l. ii. p. 100—115.

³ Just. l. i. c. 3.

⁴ Κτίψ' ἔτασον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ ἑλθὼν πανταλίανται.
Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bovis, non in regis sepulchro, inserieres? Hæc habere se mortuum dicit, quæ ne vivus quidem diutius habebat, quàm fruebatur Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 101.

⁵ Sardan, the Son of Pul.

⁶ Athen. l. xii. p. 529, 530.

⁷ Plutarch, l. ii. c. 1.

⁸ Plutarch, l. ii. c. 1.

⁶ About 1,400,000,000*l.* sterling.

⁷ Pag. 335. 336.

⁸ Ἐστὶν. πινε, ἀρκεδονιστὶ τ' ἄλλα δ' οὐδὲν.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND ASSYRIAN EMPIRE BOTH OF NINEVEH AND BABYLON.

THIS second Assyrian empire continued 210 years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become absolute master of the East by the death of his father Cambyses, and his father-in-law Cyaxeres, published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a seventy years' captivity at Babylon.

Kings of Babylon.

BELESI.¹ He is the same as A. M. 3257. Nabonassar, from whose reign began the famous astronomical epochs Ant. J. C. 747. at Babylon, called from his name the *Era of Nabonassar*. In the Holy Scriptures he is called Baladin. He reigned but twelve years, and was succeeded by his son.

MERODACH-BALADAN.² This is the prince who sent ambassadors to king Hezekiah, to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we shall speak hereafter. After him there reigned several other kings of Babylon,³ with whose story we are entirely unacquainted. I shall therefore proceed to the kings of Nineveh.

Kings of Nineveh.

TIGLATH-PILESER. This is the name given by the Holy Scriptures A. M. 3257. to the king, who is supposed to be the first that reigned at Nineveh, after the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire. He is called Tilganus, by Elian.⁴ He is said to have taken the name of Ninus the younger, in order to honour and distinguish his reign by the name of so ancient and illustrious a prince.

Ahaz,⁵ king of Judah, whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaimed, either by the divine favours or chastisements, finding himself attacked at the same time by the kings of Syria and Israel, robbed the temple of part of its gold and silver, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, to purchase his assistance; promising him besides to become his vassal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Assyria, finding so favourable an opportunity of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily accepted the proposal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damascus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Isaiah and Amos.⁶ From thence he marched against Pekah, and took all that belonged to the kingdom of Israel beyond Jordan, as well as all Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection, still exacting of him such exorbitant sums of money, that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but to take all the gold and silver of the temple. Thus this alliance served only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Nineveh; who afterwards became so many instruments in the hand of God for the chastisement of his people.

SHALMANESER.⁷ Sabacus, the A. M. 3278. Ethiopian, whom the Scripture calls Ant. J. C. 723. So, having made himself master of Egypt, Hoshea, king of Samaria, entered into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to shake off the Assyrian yoke. To this end he withdrew from his dependence upon Shalmaneser, refusing to pay him any further tribute, or make him the usual presents.

Shalmaneser, to punish him for his presumption, marched against him with a powerful army; and after having subdued all the plain country, shut him up in Samaria, where he kept him closely besieged for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hoshea with chains, and threw him into

prison for the rest of his days; carried away the people captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes, destroyed, as God had often threatened by his prophets. This kingdom, from the time of its separation from that of Judah, lasted about 250 years.

It was at this time that Tobit,⁸ with Anna his wife, and his son Tobias, was carried captive into Assyria, where he became one of the principal officers of king Shalmaneser.

Shalmaneser died after having reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son.

SENNACHERIB.⁹ He is also called Sargon in Scripture.

A. M. 3287.
Ant. J. C. 717.

As soon as this prince was settled on the throne, he renewed the demand exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refusal, he declared war against him, and entered into Judea with a mighty army. Hezekiah, grieved to see his kingdom pillaged, sent ambassadors to him to desire peace upon any terms he would prescribe. Sennacherib, seemingly mollified, entered into treaty with him, and demanded a very great sum of gold and silver. The holy king exhausted both the treasures of the temple, and his own coffers, to pay it. The Assyrian regarding neither the sanction of oaths, nor treaties, still continued the war, and pushed on his conquest more vigorously than ever. Nothing was able to withstand his power, and of all the strong places of Judah, none remained untaken but Jerusalem, which was likewise reduced to the utmost extremity. At this very juncture Sennacherib was informed,¹⁰ that Tirhakab king of Ethiopia, who had joined his forces with those of the king of Egypt, was coming up to succour the besieged city. Now it was contrary to the express command of God, as well as the remonstrances of Isaiah and Hezekiah, that the chief men at Jerusalem had required any foreign assistance. The Assyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having written a letter to Hezekiah, full of blasphemy against the God of Israel, whom he insolently boasted he would speedily vanquish, as he had done all the gods of the other nations round about him. In short, he discomfited the Egyptians, and pursued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and returned laden with spoil.

It was probably during Sennacherib's absence,¹¹ which was pretty long, or at least some little time before, that Hezekiah fell sick, and was cured in a miraculous manner; and that (as a sign of God's fulfilling the promise he had made him of curing him so perfectly, that within three days he should be able to go to the temple) the shadow of the sun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being informed of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah, sent ambassadors to him, with letters and presents, to congratulate him upon that occasion, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle that had happened in the land at this juncture, with respect to the sun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely sensible of the honour done him by that prince, and very forward to show his ambassadors the riches and treasures he possessed, and to let them see the whole magnificence of his palace. Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable; but in the eyes of the supreme Judge, which are infinitely more piercing and delicate than ours, this action discovered a lurking pride, and secret vanity, with which his righteousness was offended. Accordingly, he instantly informed the king by his prophet Isaiah, that the riches and treasures which he had been showing to those ambassadors with so much ostentation, should one day be transported to Babylon; and that his children should be carried thither, to become servants in the palace of that monarch. This

¹ 2 Kings, xx. 12.

² Ibid.

³ Can. Ptol.

⁴ Lib. xii. Hist. Anim. c. 21. Cæstor apud Usch. Chron. p. 40.

⁵ 2 Kings, xvi. 7, &c.

⁶ 2 Kings xvii.

⁷ Is. viii. 4 Amos. i. 2

⁸ Tob. c. i.

⁹ Is. xx. i. 2 Kings, xviii. xix.

¹⁰ 2 Kings, xix. 9.

¹¹ 2 Kings, xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24—31.

was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are speaking of, was then in friendship and alliance with Jerusalem, as appears by her having sent ambassadors thither; nor did Jerusalem then seem to have any thing to fear, but from Nineveh; whose power was at that time formidable, and who had entirely declared against her. But the fortune of those two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accomplished.

But to return to Sennacherib. After he had ravaged Egypt, and taken a vast number of prisoners,¹ he came back with his victorious army, encamped before Jerusalem, and besieged it anew. The city seemed to be inevitably lost: it was without resource, and without hope from the hands of men; but had a powerful protector in Heaven, whose jealous ears had heard the impious blasphemies uttered by the king of Nineveh against his sacred name. In one single night 185,000 men of his army perished by the sword of the destroying angel. After so terrible a blow, this pretended king of kings (for so he called himself), this triumpher over nations, and conqueror even of gods, was obliged to return to his own country with the miserable remnant of his army, covered with shame and confusion; nor did he survive his defeat more than a few months, only to make a kind of open confession of his crime to God, whose supreme majesty he had presumed to insult, and who now, to use the Scripture terms, having put a ring into his nose and a bridle into his mouth, as a wild beast, made him return in that humbled, afflicted condition, through those very countries, which a little before had beheld him so haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Nineveh, being enraged at his disgrace, he treated his subjects in the most cruel and tyrannical manner. The effects of his fury fell more heavily upon the Jews and Israelites,² of whom he caused great numbers to be massacred every day, ordering their bodies to be left exposed in the streets, and suffering no man to give them burial. Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himself for some time, and suffer all his effects to be confiscated. In short, the king's savage temper rendered him so insupportable to his own family, that his two eldest sons conspired against him, and killed him in the temple,³ in the presence of his god Nisroch, as he lay prostrate before him. But these two princes being obliged after this parricide to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Esarhaddon, their youngest brother.

ESARHADDON.⁴ We have already A. M. 3294. observed, that after Merodach-Baladan there was a succession of kings at Babylon, of whom history has transmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an eight years' interregnum, full of troubles and commotions. Esarhaddon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himself master of Babylon, and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years.

After having re-united to the Assyrian empire Syria and Palestine, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign, he entered the land of Israel, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Assyria, except an inconsiderable number that escaped his pursuit. But that the country might not become a desert, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. The prediction of Isaiah was then fulfilled; *within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, it at it be no more a people.*⁵ This was exactly the space of time which elapsed between the prediction and the event; and the people of Israel did then cease to be a visible nation, that was left of them being altogether mixed and confounded with other nations.

This prince having possessed himself of the land of Israel,⁶ at some of his generals with part of his army into Judæa, to reduce that country likewise un-

der his subjection. These generals defeated Manasseh, and having taken him prisoner, brought him to Esarhaddon, who put him in chains, and carried him with him to Babylon. But Manasseh, having afterwards appeased the wrath of God by a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem.

Meantime the colonies,⁷ that had been sent into Samaria, in the room of its ancient inhabitants, were grievously infested with lions. The king of Babylon being told that the cause of this calamity was their not worshipping the God of the country, ordered an Israelitish priest to be sent to them, from among the captives brought from that country, to teach them the worship of the God of Israel. But these idolaters did no more than admit the true God amongst their ancient divinities, and worshipped him jointly with their false deities. This corrupt worship continued afterwards, and was the primary source of the aversion entertained by the Jews against the Samaritans.

Esarhaddon, after a prosperous reign of thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was succeeded by his son.

SAOSDUCHINUS. This prince is called in Scripture Nabuchodonosor, which name was common to Ant. J. C. 669. the kings of Babylon. To distinguish this from the others, he is called Nabuchodonosor the First.

Tobit was still alive at this time,⁸ and dwelt among other captives at Nineveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold to his children the sudden destruction of that city; of which at that time there was not the least appearance. He advised them to quit the city before its ruin came on, and to depart as soon as they had buried him and his wife.

The ruin of Nineveh is at hand, says the good old man; abide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. These last words are very remarkable, the wickedness of the city will occasion its destruction. Men will be apt to impute the ruin of Nineveh to any other reason; but we are taught by the Holy Ghost, that her unrighteousness was the true cause of it, as it will be with other states that imitate her crimes.

Nabuchodonosor defeated the king of the Medes,⁹ in a pitched battle, fought the twelfth year of his reign upon the plain of Ragau, took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom, and returned triumphant to Nineveh. When we come to treat of the history of the Medes, we shall give a more particular account of this victory.

It was immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was besieged by Holofernes, one of Nabuchodonosor's generals; and that the famous enterprise of Judith was accomplished.

SARACUS,¹⁰ otherwise called CHYNALADANUS. This prince succeeded A. M. 3356. Saosduchinus; and having rendered Ant. J. C. 648. himself contemptible to his subjects, by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolassar, the Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, usurped that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned over it one-and-twenty years.

NABOPOLASSAR. This prince, the better to maintain his usurped sovereignty, made an alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. With their joint forces they besieged and took Nineveh, killed Saracus, and utterly destroyed that great city. We shall speak more largely of this great event, when we come to the history of the Medes. From this time forwards the city of Babylon became the only capital of the Assyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having destroyed Nineveh, became so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the jealousy of all their neighbours. Necho, king of Egypt, was so alarmed at their power, that to stop their progress he marched towards the Eu-

¹ 2 Kings, xix. 35—37.

² Tobit, i. 18—21.

³ 2 Kings, xix. 37.

⁴ Can. Psal.

⁵ Is. vii. 8.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 13.

⁷ 2 Kings, xvii. 24—41.

⁸ Tobit, xiv. 4—15.

⁹ Judith, i. 5, 6. 13—15.

¹⁰ Alex. Polyhist.

phrates at the head of a powerful army, and made several considerable conquests. See the history of the Egyptians for what relates to this expedition, and the consequences that attended it.

Nabopolassar finding, that after the taking of Carchemish by Necho, all Syria and Palestine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in person to recover them, he made his son Nabuchodonosor partner with him in the empire, and sent him with an army to reduce those countries to their former subjection.

From this time the Jews begin to
A. M. 3398. reckon the years of Nabuchodonosor,
Ant. J. C. 606. viz. from the end of the third year of
Jehoiakim, king of Judah, or rather
from the beginning of the fourth. But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.

NABUCHODONOSOR II.² This prince defeated Necho's army, near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemish. From thence he marched towards Syria and Palestine, and reunited those provinces to his dominions.

He likewise entered Judea,³ besieged Jerusalem, and took it: he caused Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a design to have him carried to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance and affliction, he restored him to the throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the rest, some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither all the treasures of the king's palace, and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple, were likewise transported. Thus was the judgment which God had denounced by the prophet Isaiah to king Hezekiah accomplished. From this famous epocha, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but twelve years old,⁴ was carried captive among the rest; and Ezekiel sometime afterwards.

Toward the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, died Nabopolassar, king of Babylon,⁵ after having reigned one-and-twenty years. As soon as his son Nabuchodonosor had news of his death, he set out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the nearest way through the desert, attended only with a small retinue, leaving the bulk of his army with his generals, to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and spoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of those that had carefully preserved it for him, and so succeeded to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Chaldaea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, over which, according to Ptolemy, he reigned forty-three years.

In the fourth year of his reign he
A. M. 3401. had a dream,⁶ at which he was great-
Ant. J. C. 603. ly terrified, though he could not call
it again to mind. He therefore con-
sulted the wise men and soothsayers of his kingdom,
requiring of them to make known to him the substance
of his dream. They all answered that it was beyond
the reach of their art to discover it; and that the
utmost they could do, was to give the interpretation
of his dream, when he had made it known to them.
As absolute princes are not accustomed to meet with
opposition, but will be obeyed in all things, Nabuchodonosor, imagining they dealt insincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to die. Now Daniel and his three companions were included in the sentence, as being ranked among the wise men. But Daniel having first invoked his God desired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole substance of his dream. *The thing thou sawest, says he to him, was an image of an enormous size, and a terrible countenance. The head thereof was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the feet part of iron*

and part of clay. And as the king was attentively looking upon that vision, behold a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and the stone smote the image upon his feet, and brake them to pieces; the whole image was ground as small as dust, and the stone became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. When Daniel had related the dream, he gave the king likewise the interpretation thereof, showing him how it signified the three great empires, which were to succeed that of the Assyrians, namely, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or (according to some) that of the successors of Alexander the Great. After these kingdoms, continued Daniel, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and this kingdom shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand for ever. By which Daniel plainly foretold the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The king, ravished with admiration and astonishment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared, that the God of the Israelites was truly the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the highest offices in the kingdom, made him chief of the governors over all the wise men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council, that always attended the court. His three friends were also promoted to honours and dignities.

At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon,⁷ whose generals, that were still in Judah, marched against him, and committed all kinds of hostilities upon his country. *He slept with his fathers, is all the Scripture says of his death.* Jeremiah had prophesied, that he should neither be regretted nor lamented; but should be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem; this was no doubt fulfilled, though it is not known in what manner.

Jechonias succeeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father.⁸ Nabuchodonosor's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jerusalem, in three months' time he himself came at the head of his army, and made himself master of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace of all their treasures, and sent them away to Babylon, together with all the golden vessels remaining, which Solomon had made for the use of the temple; he carried away likewise a vast number of captives, amongst whom were king Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias he set upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwise called Zedekiah.

This prince had as little religion and prosperity as his forefathers.⁹ Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter soon chastised him for it, and immediately laid siege to Jerusalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army gave the besieged a gleam of hope; but their joy was very short lived; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror returned against Jerusalem, and renewed the siege, which lasted near a twelvemonth. At last the city was taken by storm, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Zedekiah's two sons were, by Nabuchodonosor's orders, killed before
A. M. 3415.
Ant. J. C. 589. their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judah. Zedekiah himself had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in prison as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burnt, and all their fortifications demolished.

Upon Nabuchodonosor's return to Babylon,¹⁰ after his successful war against Judea, he ordered a golden statue to be made, sixty cubits high,¹¹ assembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his subjects to worship it, threatening to cast those that should refuse

¹ Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. and con. Ap. l. l.

² Jer. xli. 2. ³ 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

⁴ Dan. i. 1-7. ⁵ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.

⁶ Some imagine him to have been eighteen years of age at this time.

⁷ Can. Ptol. Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. and Ion. Ap. l. x.

⁸ Dan. ii.

⁹ 2 Kings. xxiv. 1, 2.

¹⁰ *Al.* Jechonias. ¹¹ 2 Kings. xxiv. 6-18.

¹² 2 Kings. xxiv. 17-20. and xxv. 1-10

¹³ Dan. iii.

¹⁴ Ninety feet

into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Upon this occasion it was that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, who with an invincible courage refused to comply with the king's impious ordinance, were preserved after a miraculous manner in the midst of the flames. The king himself a witness of this astonishing miracle, published an edict, whereby all persons whatsoever were forbidden, upon pain of death, to speak any thing amiss against the God of Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. He likewise promoted these three young men to the highest honours and employments.

Nabuchodonosor, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, marched again into Syria, and besieged Tyre, at the time when Ithobal was king thereof. Tyre was a strong and opulent city, which had never been subject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce; by which many of its citizens were become like so many princes in wealth and magnificence.¹ It had been built by the Sidonians 240 years before the temple of Jerusalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of its inhabitants made their escape in ships, and founded the city of Tyre. And for this reason we find it called in Isaiah, *the daughter of Sidon*.² But the daughter soon surpassed the mother in grandeur, riches, and power. Accordingly, at the time we are speaking of, she was in a condition to resist, thirteen years together, a monarch, to whose yoke all the rest of the East had submitted.

It was not till after so long an interval,³ that Nabuchodonosor made himself master of Tyre. His troops suffered incredible hardships before it; so that, according to the prophet's expression, *every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled*. Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, a mile from the shore, where they built a new city; the name and glory whereof extinguished the remembrance of the old one, which from thenceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of ancient Tyre.

Nabuchodonosor and his army having undergone the utmost fatigues during so long and difficult a siege,⁵ and having found nothing in the place to requite them for the service they had rendered Almighty God (it is the expression of the prophet) in executing his vengeance upon that city, to make them amends, God was pleased to promise by the mouth of Ezekiel, that he would give them the spoils of Egypt. And indeed they soon after conquered that country, as I have more fully related in the history of the Egyptians.

When this prince had happily finished all his wars, and was in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity, he employed himself in putting the last hand to the building, or rather to the embellishing, of Babylon. The reader may see in Josephus an account of the magnificent structures ascribed to this monarch by several writers.⁶ I have mentioned a great part of them in the description already given of that stately city.

Whilst nothing seemed wanting to complete this prince's happiness, a frightful dream disturbed his repose, and filled him with great anxiety.⁷ *He saw a tree in the midst of the earth, whose height was great: the tree grew and was strong, and the height of it reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit much: and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwell in the boughs thereof; and all flesh was fed of it. Then a watcher and a holy one came down from heaven, and cried, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from its branches. Nevertheless leave the stump of its roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew*

of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's; and let a beast's heart be given unto him: and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

The king, justly terrified at this dreadful dream, consulted all his wise men and magicians, but to no purpose. He was obliged to have recourse to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king himself, plainly declaring to him, *That he should be driven from the company of men for seven years, should be reduced to the condition and fellowship of the beasts of the field, and feed upon grass like an ox; that his kingdom nevertheless should be preserved for him, and he should repossess his throne, when he should have learnt to know and acknowledge, that all power is from above, and cometh from heaven*. After this he exhorted him to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities by showing mercy to the poor.

All these things came to pass upon Nabuchodonosor, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he said, *Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power and for the honour of my majesty?* Would a secret impulse of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the sight of such noble structures erected by himself, appear to us so very criminal? And yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven and pronounced his sentence: *In the same hour his understanding went from him; he was driven from men, and did eat grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws*.

After the expiration of the appointed time, he recovered his senses, and the use of his understanding: *He lifted up his eyes unto heaven, (says the Scripture) and blessed the Most High; he praised and honoured him that liveth forever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation: confessing, That all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will, in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?* Now he recovered his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to seek him; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than ever. Penetrated with the heartiest gratitude, he caused, by a solemn edict, to be published through the whole extent of his dominions, what astonishing and miraculous things God had wrought in his person.

One year after this he died, having reigned forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greatest monarchs that ever reigned in the east. He was succeeded by his son.

EVIL-MERODACH.⁸ As soon as he was settled in the throne, he A. M. 3441. released Jechonias, king of Judah, Ant. J. C. 463. out of prison, where he had been confined near seven-and-thirty years.

In the reign of this Evil-Merodach, which lasted but two years, the learned place Daniel's detection of the fraud practised by the priests of Bel; the innocent artifice by which he contrived to destroy the dragon which was worshipped as a god; and the miraculous deliverance of the same prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

Evil-Merodach rendered himself so odious by his debauchery and other extravagances, that his own relations conspired against him, and put him to death.

NERIGLISSOR, his sister's husband, A. M. 3444. reigned in his stead. Ant. J. C. 560.

¹ Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. Is. xliii. 8 Just. l. xviii. c. 3.
² Is. xliii. 12. ³ Jos. Ant. l. x. c. 11. et con. Ap. l. i.
⁴ Ezek. xxix. 18, 19. ⁵ Ezek. xxix. 13-20.
⁶ Antiq. l. x. c. 11. ⁷ Dan. iv.

⁸ 2 Kings, xxv. 27-30.

⁹ Beros. Megasthenes.

Immediately on his accession to the crown,¹ he made great preparations for war against the Medes, which made Cyaxares send for Cyrus out of Persia, to his assistance. This story will be more particularly related by and by, where we shall find that this prince was slain in battle in the fourth year of his reign.

A. M. 3448. LABOROSARCHOD, his son, succeeded to the throne. This was a very wicked prince. Being born with the most vicious inclinations,

he indulged them without restraint when he came to the crown; as if he had been invested with sovereign power, only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the most infamous and barbarous actions. He reigned but nine months; his own subjects conspiring against him, put him to death. His successor was

A. M. 3449. LAEYNTUS, or NABONIDUS. This prince had likewise other names, and in Scripture that of Belshazzar. It is on good grounds supposed that he was the son of Evil-Merodach, by his wife Nitocris, and consequently grandson to Nabuchodonosor, to whom, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, the nations of the east were to be subject, as also to his son, and his grandson after him: *All nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land shall come.*²

Nitocris is that queen that raised so many noble edifices in Babylon.³ She caused her own monument to be placed over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription, dissuading her successors from touching the treasures laid up in it, without the most urgent and indispensable necessity. The tomb remained closed till the reign of Darius, who upon breaking it open, instead of those immense treasures he had flattered himself with discovering, found nothing but the following inscription:—

IF THOU HADST NOT AN INSATIABLE THIRST AFTER MONEY, AND A MOST SORDID, AVARICIOUS SOUL, THOU WOULDST NEVER HAVE BROKEN OPEN THE MONUMENTS OF THE DEAD.

In the first year of Belshazzar's reign,⁴ Daniel had the vision of the four beasts, which represented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Messiah, which was to succeed them. In the third year of the same reign he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat,⁵ which prefigured the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, would bring upon the Jews. I shall hereafter make some reflections upon these prophecies, and give a larger account of them.

Belshazzar,⁶ whilst his enemies were besieging Babylon, gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain festival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing. The joy of this feast was greatly disturbed by a vision, and still more so by the explication which Daniel gave of it to the king. The sentence written upon the wall imported, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. That very night the city was taken, and Belshazzar killed.

Thus ended the Babylonian empire, after having subsisted 210 years from the destruction of the great Assyrian empire.

The particular circumstances of the siege, and the taking of Babylon, shall be related in the history of Cyrus.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF THE MEDES.

A. M. 3257. I TOOK notice, in speaking of the destruction of the ancient Assyrian empire, that Arbaces, general of the Median army, was one of the chief

authors of the conspiracy against Sardanapalus: and several writers believe, that he then immediately became sovereign master of Media,⁷ and many other provinces, and assumed the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I shall relate what that celebrated historian says upon the subject.

The Assyrians,⁸ who had for many ages held the empire of Asia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of several nations. The Medes first threw off their yoke, and maintained for some time the liberty they had acquired by their valour; but that liberty degenerating into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy worse than their former subjection. Injustice, violence, and rapine, prevailed every where, because there was nobody that had either power enough to restrain them, or sufficient authority to punish the offenders. But all these disorders at length induced the people to settle a form of government, which rendered the state more flourishing than ever it was before.

The nation of the Medes was then divided into six tribes. Almost all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the son of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the state into a monarchy. This person, seeing the great disorders that prevailed throughout all Media, resolved to take advantage of those troubles, and make them serve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He had a great reputation in his own country, and passed for a man not only regular in his own conduct, but possessed of all the prudence and equity necessary to govern others.

As soon as he had formed the design of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been observed in him, more conspicuous than ever: he succeeded so well, that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himself with great prudence; and his cares had all the success that had been expected from them; for he brought the people of that village to a sober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, whom perpetual disorders suffered not to live in quiet, observing the good order Dejoces had introduced in the place where he presided as judge, began to apply to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increasing, all such as had any affair of consequence brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces, which they could meet with no where else.

When he found himself thus far advanced in his designs, he judged it a proper time to set his last engines to work for the compassing his point. He therefore retired from business, pretending to be overtaken with the multitude of people that resorted to him from all quarters: and would not exercise the office of judge any longer, notwithstanding all the importunity of such as wished well to the public tranquillity. Whenever any person addressed themselves to him, he told them, that his own domestic affairs would not allow him to attend to those of other people.

The licentiousness which had been for some time restrained by the judicious management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, so soon as he had

* This country, considered as a province of the Persian empire, was of various extent at various periods. In the days of Herodotus, its extent was much smaller than after the times of the Macedonian conquests, when it contained Aderbajan or the lesser Media. It was bounded as one of the Satrapies of Darius Hyastapes, by Assyria on the west, from which it was divided by the range of Zagros; on the N. W. by the range of Orontes, which separated it from Mariene (more properly Mardiene) (comprehending the modern province of Ardelan) and by the great range of the Koflan Koh or Koflan Dag, stretching north to the Kizil Ozan or river of Gozan; on the N. and N. E. by Hyrcania and Parthia, on the south by Persia, and on the S. W. by Susiana. These limits constituted the proper Media in the days of Herodotus, and which was clearly distinguished therefore from Mariene (or Mardiene) the tract watered by the river of Gozan, and the country afterwards denominated Atropatia, and now called Aderbajan.

¹ Cyrop. l. I. ² Jer. xxi. 2. ³ Herod. l. I. cap. 283. &c. ⁴ Dan. vii. ⁵ Dan. viii. ⁶ Dan. ix.

withdrawn himself from the administration of affairs; and the evil increased to such a degree, that the Medes were obliged to assemble, and deliberate upon the means of putting a stop to the public disorder.

There are different sorts of ambition: some, violent and impetuous, carry every thing as it were by storm, hesitating at no kind of cruelty or murder; another sort, more gentle, like that we are speaking of, puts on an appearance of moderation and justice, working under ground (if I may use that expression,) and yet arrives at her point as surely as the other.

Dejoces, who saw things succeeding according to his wish, sent his emissaries to the assembly, after having instructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for stopping the course of the public evils came to be proposed, these emissaries, speaking in their turn, represented, that, unless the face of the republic was entirely changed, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the present disorders was to elect a king, who should have authority to restrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could prosecute his own affairs in peace and safety; whereas the injustice that now reigned in all parts, would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approved; and the whole company was convinced, that no expedient could be devised more effectual for curing the present evil, than that of converting the state into a monarchy. The only thing then to be done, was to choose a king; and about this their deliberations were not long. They all agreed, there was not a man in Media so capable of governing as Dejoces; so that he was immediately with common consent elected king.

If we reflect in the least on the first establishment of kingdoms, in any age or country whatsoever, we shall find, that the maintenance of order, and the care of the public good, was the original design of monarchy. Indeed there would be no possibility of establishing order and peace, if all men were resolved to be independent, and would not submit to an authority which takes from them a part of their liberty in order to preserve the rest. Mankind must be perpetually at war, if they will always be striving for dominion over others, or refuse to submit to the strongest. For the sake of their own peace and safety, they must have a master, and must consent to obey him. This is the human origin of government.¹ And the scripture teaches us, that the Divine Providence has not only allowed of the project, and the execution of it, but consecrated it likewise by an immediate communication of his own power.

There is nothing certainly nobler or greater than to see a private person, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the highest employments, and yet through inclination and modesty preferring a life of obscurity and retirement: than to see such a man sincerely refuse the offer made to him, of reigning over a whole nation, and at last consent to undergo the toil of government, from no other motive than that of being serviceable to his fellow-citizens. His first disposition, by which he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and consequently with the dangers, annexed to a sovereign power, shows him to have a soul more elevated and great than greatness itself; or, to speak more justly, a soul superior to all ambition: nothing can show him so perfectly worthy of that important charge, as the opinion he has of his not being so, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he generously sacrifices his own quiet and satisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the public, it is plain he understands what that sovereign power has in it really good, or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of procuring it many advantages, and of redressing various evils; of causing law and justice to flourish, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of establishing peace and plenty: and he comforts himself for the cares and troubles to which he is exposed, by the prospect of the many benefits

resulting from them to the public. Such a governor was Numa, at Rome; and such have been some other emperors, whom the people found it necessary to compel to accept the supreme power.

It must be owned (I cannot help repeating it,) that there is nothing nobler or greater than such a disposition. But to put on the mask of modesty and virtue, in order to satisfy one's ambition, as Dejoces did; to affect to appear outwardly what a man is not inwardly; to refuse for a time, and then accept with a seeming repugnancy, what a man earnestly desires, and what he has been labouring by secret, underhand practices to obtain; this double-dealing has so much meanness in it, that it necessarily lessens our opinion of the person, and extremely sullies the lustre of those good qualities, which, in other respects, he possesses.

² DEJOCES reigned fifty-three years. When he had ascended the throne, he endeavoured to convince the people, that they were not mistaken in the choice they had made of him, for restoring order. At first he resolved to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inspire an awe and respect for his person. He obliged his subjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he strongly fortified, and chose out from among his people such persons as he judged fittest to be his guards, from their attachment to his interests, and his reliance on their fidelity.

After having thus provided for his own security, he applied himself to polish and civilize his subjects who, having been accustomed to live in the country and in villages, almost without laws and without polity, had contracted the disposition and manners of savages. To this end he commanded them to build a city, marking out himself the place and circumference of the walls. This city was compassed about with seven distinct walls, all disposed in such a manner, that the outermost did not hinder the parapet of the second from being seen, nor the second that of the third, and so of all the rest. The situation of the place was extremely favourable for such a design, for it was a regular hill, whose ascent was equal on every side. Within the last and smallest enclosure stood the king's palace, with all his treasures: in the sixth, which was next to that, there were several apartments for lodging the officers of his household; and the intermediate spaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people: The first and largest enclosure was about the bigness of Athens. The name of this city was Ecbatana.³

¹ Herod. l. i. c. 96—101.

² [That this celebrated city occupied the site of the modern Hamadan is unquestionable, from the great number of authorities that agree in proving this, although many, as Mallet, Ortelius, Golnitz, Teixeira, Della Valle, Sir John Chardin, the learned authors of the Universal History, Gibbons, and Jones have referred it to Tauris in Aderbijan. Isidore of Charax, in his Parthian Stations, places it on the road from Seleucia to Parthia. Pliny makes it equidistant from Seleucia and Susa, and places the capital of Atropatia (Aderbijan) midway between Ecbatana and Ariaxata, and finally says that it lay on the road from Nineveh to Rages or Rey. This is also evident from Xenophon's account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, who being arrived at a place where the Tigris was unfordable, and an almost impassable range of mountains in front, examined the prisoners respecting the direction of their course, who told them, that four roads branched off at that place; one led south to Babylon and Media, another to the east led to Susa and Ecbatana, a third led west over the Tigris to Lydia and Ionia, and a fourth went north to the Carduchian territories. At this day such a branching off of four different roads actually takes place at the very spot mentioned by Xenophon. It is the modern village of Hattarrah, forty miles S. E. of the city of Zaku; where one road leads to Mosul and Bagdad, south; another to Hamadan by the pass of Derbend, or the Iron Gate over the Kara Dagh or Zagros; a third to Amadia, the ancient Marde; and a fourth into Mesopotamia, or Al-Jezzerah, by a ford over the Tigris, a few miles north of Eski or Old Mosul. This clearly identifies Hamadan with Ecbatana.]

Hamadan contains a great number of Mohammedan an-N

The prospect of it was magnificent and beautiful; for, besides the disposition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours where-with the several parapets were painted formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finished, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to settle in it, he turned all his thoughts to composing of laws for the good of the state. But being persuaded, that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off, [*major ex longinquo reverentia*, Tacit.] he began to keep himself at a distance from his people; was almost inaccessible, and, as it were, invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak or communicate their affairs to him, but only by petitions, and the interpositions of his officers. And even those that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor spit in his presence.

This able statesman acted in this manner, in order the better to secure to himself the possession of the crown. For having to deal with men yet uncivilized, and no very good judges of true merit, he was afraid that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occasion plots and conspiracies against a growing power, which is generally looked upon with invidious and discontented eyes. But by keeping himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, and making himself known only by the wise laws he made, and the strict justice he took care to administer to every one, he acquired the respect and esteem of his subjects.

It is said, that from the innermost part of his palace he saw every thing that was done in his dominions, by means of his emissaries, who brought him accounts, and informed him of all transactions. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stopped the course of violence and injustice.

Things might possibly pass in this manner to a certain degree during his administration: but there is nothing more obvious than the great inconveniences necessarily resulting from the custom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the rest of the Eastern potentates; the custom I mean, of living concealed in his palace, of governing by spies dispersed throughout his kingdom, of relying solely upon their sincerity for the truth of facts; of not suffering truth, the complaints of the oppressed, and the just reasons of innocent persons, to be conveyed to him any other way than through foreign channels, that is, by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted; men that stopped up all avenues to remonstrances, or the reparation of injuries, and that were capable of doing the greatest of injustice themselves, with so much the more ease and assurance, as their iniquity remained undiscovered, and consequently unpunished. But besides all this, methinks, that very affectation in princes of making themselves invisible, shows them to be conscious of their slender merit, which shuns the light, and dares not stand the test of a near examination.

Dejoces was so wholly taken up in humanizing and softening the manners, and in making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterprise against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he did not die till after having reigned fifty-three years.

PHRAORTES reigned twenty-two

years.¹ After the death of Dejoces, his son Phraortes, called otherwise

A. M. 3347
Ant. J. C. 657.

Apbraartes,² succeeded. The affinity between these two names would alone make one believe that this is the king called in Scripture Arphaxad; but that opinion has many other substantial reasons to support it, as may be seen in Father Montfaucon's learned dissertation, of which I have here made great use. The passage in Judith,³ *That Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Ec-batana*, has deceived most authors, and made them believe, that Arphaxad must be Dejoces, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the Vulgate translation renders *edificavit*, says only, *That Arphaxad added new buildings to Ec-batana*.⁴ And what can be more natural, than that, the father not having entirely perfected so considerable a work, the son should put the last hand to it, and make such additions as were wanting?

Phraortes,⁵ being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media left him by his father, attacked the Persians; and defeating them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. Then strengthened by the accession of their troops, he attacked other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the upper Asia, which comprehends all that lies north of Mount Taurus from Media as far as the river Haly.

Elate with this good success, he ventured to turn his arms against the Assyrians, at that time indeed weakened through the revolt of several nations, but yet very powerful in themselves. Nabuchodonosor, their king, otherwise called Sossoduchinus, raised a great army in his own country, and sent ambassadors to several other nations in the East, to require their assistance. They all refused him with contempt, and ignominiously treated his ambassadors, letting him see, that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greatest part of them in a slavish subjection.

The king, highly enraged at such insolent treatment, swore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all those nations, and put them every one to the sword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau.⁶ A great battle ensued there, which proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned and put into disorder, and Nabuchodonosor gained a complete victory. Then taking advantage of the defeat and confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquest even to Ec-batana, forced the towers and the walls by storm, and gave the city to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered it, and stripped it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at last into the hands of Nabuchodonosor, who cruelly caused him to be shot to death with darts. After that, he returned to Nineveh with all his army, which was still very numerous, and for four months together did nothing but feast and divert himself with those that had accompanied him in this expedition.

In Judith we read that the king of Assyria sent Holofernes with a powerful army, to revenge himself

tiqities, as sepulchral stones, towers, mosques, old bazars, and Cufick inscriptions. Great numbers of Arsacidan and Sassanian coins are also to be found here, of which latter, Sir R. K. Porter brought away nine to England. A cylindrical stone with Persepolitan figures and characters on it fell into Merier's hands; Merier supposes that if excavations were permitted to be made on what he judges was the site of the royal treasury, that valuable discoveries would be made. In the days of Benjamin of Tudela, the Spanish Jew, 50,000 Jews resided at this place. It was captured and totally ruined by Timur Bek in the 14th century, and though partly rebuilt, has never fully recovered its ancient splendour; and a great proportion of the population is now employed in tanning and dressing leather, the best that is manufactured in Persia.]

¹ Herod. c. 102.

² He is called so by Eusebius, Chron. Græc. and by Geor Syncl.

³ Judith, i. 1, 2.

⁴ *Ἐπεκράτισεν ἐν Ἐκβατάνῃ.* Judith, Text. Gr.

⁵ Herod. l. i. c. 102.

⁶ This is a large and extensive plain to the south of Teheran, the present capital of Persia. It extends east and west to a great distance, and is bounded on the north by the mountains of Mazandaran, and south by an inferior range that separates it from the western limit of the Great Salt Desert. I suppose the mountains of Ragau, to which the unfortunate Phraortes fled, to have been those of Mazandaran, as being difficult of access, in a great degree to cavalry, and therefore the fittest place to which he could have fled.

of those that had refused him succours; the progress and cruelty of that commander, the general consternation of all the people, the courageous resolution of the Israelites to withstand him, in assurance that their God would defend them, the extremity to which Bethulia, and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the complete overthrow of the Assyrian army, are all related in the same book.

CYAXARES I. reigned forty years.¹ This prince succeeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave, enterprising prince, and knew how to make his advantage of the late overthrow of the Assyrian army. He first settled himself well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all Upper Asia. But what he had most at heart, was to go and attack Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father by the destruction of that great city.

The Assyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of that great army, which was destroyed before Bethulia. A battle ensued, wherein the Assyrians were defeated, and driven back to Nineveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid siege to the city, which was upon the point of falling inevitably into his hands, but the time had not yet come, when God designed to punish that city for her crimes, and for the calamities she had brought upon his people, as well as other nations. It was delivered from its present danger in the following manner.

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Paulus Maotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was still marching under the conduct of king Madyes in pursuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to escape from the Scythians, who had advanced as far as Media. Cyaxares, hearing of this irruption, raised the siege from before Nineveh, and marched with all his forces against that mighty army, which like an impetuous torrent, was going to overrun all Asia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquished. The Barbarians, finding no other obstacle in their way, overspread not only Media, but almost all Asia. After that, they marched towards Egypt, from whence Psammiticus diverted their course by presents. They then returned into Palestine, where some of them plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, the most ancient of the temples dedicated to that goddess. Some of the Scythians settled at Bethshan, a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which from them was afterwards called Scythopolis.

The Scythians for the space of twenty-eight years were masters of the Upper Asia, namely, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Chelchis and Iberia; during which time they spread desolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of getting rid of them, but by a dangerous stratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and strengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was made in every family. Each master of the feast made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the Scythians massacred. The Medes then repossessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their ancient boundary westward.

The remaining Scythians,² who were not at this feast, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia to king Halyattes, who received them with great humanity. This occasioned a war between the two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the space of five years, with almost equal advantage on both sides. But the battle fought in the sixth year was very remarkable on account of an eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, when on a sudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Milesian, had

foretold this eclipse. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both sides, and made peace. Syenesis king of Cilicia, and Nabuchodonosor,³ king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render it more firm and inviolable, the two princes were willing to strengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed, that Halyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, eldest son of Cyaxares.

The manner these people had of contracting an alliance with one another, is very remarkable. Besides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks, they had this in particular; the two contracting parties made incisions in their own arms and licked one another's blood.

Cyaxares's first care,⁴ as soon as he found himself again in peace, was to resume the siege of Nineveh, which the irruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, joined with him in a league against the Assyrians. Having therefore united their forces they besieged Nineveh, took it, killed Saracus the king, and utterly destroyed that mighty city.⁵

God had foretold by his prophets above 100 years before, that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city, for the blood of his servants, wherewith the kings thereof had gorged themselves, like ravenous lions; that he himself would march at the head of the troops that should come to besiege it; that he would cause consternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the merciless hands of the soldiers; that all the treasures of the city should fall into the hands of rapacious and insatiable plunderers; and that the city itself should be so totally and utterly destroyed, that not so much as a vestige of it should be left; and that the people should ask hereafter, Where did the proud city of Nineveh stand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themselves:—Woe unto the bloody city (cries Nahum,⁶ it is full of lies and robbery: he that dasheth it in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and Israel.⁷ I

¹ In Herodotus he is called Labynetus.

² Herod. l. i. c. 106.

³ "On the eastern bank of the Tigris, but a mile higher up the stream than the city of Mosul, situated on its western bank." (says Kinnier, who visited this place in 1814) "are two extensive mounds and large ramparts supposed to be the ruins of ancient Nineveh. The first is three-fourths of a mile in circumference, 150 feet in height, and has the same appearance as the mounds at Shush, the ancient Susa. The circumference of the other is not so great, but its elevation is higher, and on its summit stands a tomb reputed by the natives to be that of the prophet Jonah, near which a village called Nunia has been erected. The Jews go in pilgrimage to this tomb, which is a small and magnificent building crowned with a cupola." In the days of Tacitus, as we are informed by that annalist, there was a city called Nineveh, near the site of the ancient city. Perhaps this modern city answers to the city of Mosul, which was a large and populous city in the times of the Khalifate and the seat of an independent principality. It contains at present from 30,000 to 24,000 houses, and 15 Khans or caravanseries for lodging strangers. The number of Christian families resident here is 1200, one fourth of whom are Nestorians, the rest are Jacobites. Few of those born in the city speak the Syriac language, but it is still spoken in the country villages. The Turks and Christians live together in remarkable harmony. The Jews amount to 150 families and are remarkably ill treated and despised. It is situated in a very barren sandy plain, and its external appearance is much in its favour, being encompassed with stately walls of solid stone, over which the minarets or steeples of the mosques and other lofty buildings are seen with increased effect. The Tigris is very broad here, being crossed by a bridge of 30 boats, to an island from which to the opposite shore is a stone causeway, which may be crossed on foot when the river is low. When the inundations of the river take place the bridge of boats is taken away.

⁴ Nahum. iii. 1.

⁵ ii. 1, 2.

near already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the bounding chariots. The horseman lifted up both the bright sword, and the glittering spear.¹ The shield of his mighty men is made red; the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning.² God is jealous; the Lord revegeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger?³ Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts: I will strip thee of all thy ornaments.⁴ Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty and void, and waste. Nineveh is destroyed; she is overthrown; she is desolate.⁵ The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved.⁶ And Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves taberning upon their breasts.⁷ I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcasses; and there is no end of their corpses: they stumbled upon their corpses.⁸ Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-places of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid:⁹ where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine.¹⁰ The Lord shall destroy Assur. He shall depopulate that city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling-place for wild beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, shall it be said, see that proud city, which was so stately, and so exalted; which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her, shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures.¹¹

The two armies enriched themselves with the spoils of Nineveh: and Cyaxares prosecuting his victories, made himself master of all the cities of the kingdom of Assyria, except Babylon and Chaldea, which belonged to Nabopolassar.

After this expedition Cyaxares died, and left his dominions to his son Astyages.

ASTYAGES reigned thirty-five years. A. M. 3409. This prince is called in Ant. J. C. 595. Scripture Ahasuerus. Though his reign was very long, no less than thirty-five years, yet have we no particulars recorded of it in history. He had two children, whose names are famous, namely, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandane, by a former marriage. In his father's life-time he married Mandane to Cambyzes, the son of Achemenes, king of Persia. from this marriage sprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes.

CYAXARES II. This is the prince whom the Scripture calls Darius the Mede.

Cyrus, having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyzes, he united the kingdom of the Medes and the Persians into one: in the sequel, therefore, they will be considered only as one empire. I shall begin the history of that empire with the reign of Cyrus; which will include also what is known of the reigns of his two predecessors, Cyaxares and Astyages. But I shall

previously give some account of the kingdom of Lydia, because Croesus, its king, has a considerable share in the events of which I am to speak.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE LYDIANS.

THE kings who first reigned over the Lydians¹⁰ are by Herodotus called Attyadæ, that is, descendants from Atys. These, he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the son of Atys; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who before this time were called Meonians.

These Attyadæ were succeeded by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, who possessed this kingdom for the space of 505 years.

ARGO, great-grandson of Alcæus, son of Hercules, was the first of A. M. 2781. the Heraclidæ who reigned in Ly Ant. J. C. 1223. dia. The last was

CANDAULES. This prince was married to a lady of exquisite beauty; and being infatuated by his passion for her, was perpetually boasting of her charms to others. Nothing could serve him, but that Gyges, one of his chief officers, should see and judge of them by his own eyes; as if the husband's own knowledge of them was not sufficient for his happiness,¹² or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his silence. The king to this end placed Gyges secretly in a convenient place; but notwithstanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it. Judging, as the historian represents it, that the most valuable treasure of a woman is her modesty, she studied a signal revenge for the injury she had received; and, to punish the fault of her husband, committed a still greater crime. Possibly, a secret passion for Gyges had as great a share in that action, as her resentment for the dishonour done her. Be that as it will, she sent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime, either by his own death or the king's, at his own option. After some remonstrances to no purpose, he resolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules became master of his queen and his throne. By this means the kingdom A. M. 3286. passed from the family of the Hera Ant. J. C. 718. clidæ into that of the Mermnadæ.

Archilochus, the poet, lived at this time, and as Herodotus informs us, spoke of this adventure of Gyges in his poems.

I cannot forbear mentioning in this place what is related by Herodotus, that amongst the Lydians, and almost all other Barbarians, it was reckoned shameful and infamous even for a man to appear naked. These footsteps of modesty, which are met with amongst pagans, ought to be reckoned valuable.¹⁴ We are assured, that among the Romans, a son, who was coming to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a son-in-law with his father-in-law: this modesty and decency were looked upon by them as enjoined by the law of nature, the violation whereof was criminal. It is astonishing, that amongst us our magistrates take no care to prevent this disorder, which in the midst of Paris, at the season of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a disorder so visibly contrary to the rules of common decency, so dangerous to young persons of both sexes, and so severely condemned by paganism itself.

Plato¹⁵ relates the story of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus. He tells us that Gyges

¹ Nahum. iii. 2, 3.

² ii. 3, 4.

³ i. 2, 5, 6.

⁴ iii. 5.

⁵ ii. 9, 10.

⁶ The author in this place renders it, Her temple is destroyed to the foundations. But I have chosen to follow our English Bible, though in the Latin it is *templum*.

⁷ Nahum. ii. 6.

⁸ iii. 3.

⁹ This is a noble image of the cruel avarice of the Assyrian kings, who pillaged and plundered all their neighbouring nations, especially Judæa, and carried away the spoils of them to Nineveh.

¹⁰ Nahum. ii. 11, 12.

¹¹ Zephaniah. ii. 13—15

¹² Herod. l. i. c. 7—13.

¹³ Non contentus voluptatum earum tacitâ conscientiâ prorsus quasi silentium dampnum pulchritudinis esset. *Justin. l. i. c. 7.*

¹⁴ Nostris quidem morem parentibus puberes filii, cum sociis generi, non lavantur. Retinenda est igitur hujus generis verecundia, præsertim naturâ ipsâ magistram educto, *Cic. l. i. de Offic. n. 129.*

¹⁵ Nudare se nefas esse credebatur. *Fal. Maz. . ii. cap. 1*

¹⁶ Plato de Rep. l. ii. p. 259

wore a ring, the stone of which, when turned towards him, rendered him invisible; so that he had the advantage of seeing others, without being seen himself; and that by means of this ring, with the concurrence of the queen, he deprived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably signifies, that in order to compass his criminal design, he used all the tricks and stratagems, which the world calls subtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the most secret purposes of others, without making the least discovery of its own. This story, thus explained, carries in it a greater appearance of truth, than what we read in Herodotus.

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, that if a wise man had such a ring, he would not use it to any wicked purpose; because virtue considers what is honourable and just, and has no occasion for darkness.

GYGES reigned thirty-eight years.¹ The murder of Candaules Ant. J. C. 718. raised a sedition among the Lydians. The two parties, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphic oracle, which declared in favour of Gyges. The king made large presents to the temple of Delphi, which undoubtedly preceded, and had no little influence upon the oracle's answer. Among other things of value, Herodotus mentions six golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amounting to near a million of French money, which is about 48,000*l.* sterling.

As soon as he was in peaceable possession of the throne, he made war against Miletus, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states.

After he had reigned thirty-eight years, he died, and was succeeded by his son.

ARDYS, who reigned forty-nine years.² It was in the reign of this prince, that the Cimmerians, driven out of their country by the Scythæ Nomades, went into Asia, and took the city of Sardis, with the exception of the citadel.

SADYATTES reigned twelve years.³ This prince declared war against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In those days the sieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and lasted many years. This king died before he had finished that of Miletus, and was succeeded by his son.

HALYATTES reigned fifty-seven years.⁴ This is the prince who made Ant. J. C. 619. war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia. He attacked and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorously prosecuted the war against the Milesians, begun by his father; and continued the siege of their city, which had lasted six years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner: Halyattes, upon an answer he received from the Delphic oracle, had sent an ambassador into the city, to propose a truce for some months. Thrasylbulus, tyrant of Miletus, having notice of his coming, ordered all the corn, and other provisions, assembled by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the public market; and commanded the citizens, at the sight of a signal that should be given, to be all in a general humour of feasting and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambassador at his arrival was in the utmost surprise to see such plenty in the market, and such cheerfulness in the city. His master, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, preferred peace to no

apparently fruitless a war, and immediately raised the siege.

CRO-SUS. His very name, which is become a proverb, conveys an idea of immense riches. The Ant. J. C. 562. wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the presents he made to the temple of Delphi, must have been excessively great. Most of these presents were still to be seen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth several millions. We may partly account for the treasures of this prince,⁵ from certain mines that he had, situate, according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarnæ; as also from the little river Pactolus, the sand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time this river had no longer the same advantage.

What is very extraordinary,⁷ this affluence did not enervate or soften the courage of Croesus. He thought it unworthy of a prince to spend his time in idleness and pleasure. For his part, he was perpetually in arms, made several conquests, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, at Phrygia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus observes, that he was the first conqueror of the Greeks, who till then had never been subject to a foreign power. Doubtless he must mean the Greeks settled in Asia Minor.

But what is still more extraordinary in this prince, though he was so immensely rich, and so great a warrior, yet his chief delight was in literature and the sciences. His court was the ordinary residence of those famous learned men, so revered by antiquity and distinguished by the name of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.

Solon,⁸ one of the most celebrated amongst them after having established new laws at Athens, thought he might absent himself for some years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis, where he was received in a manner suitable to the reputation of so great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appeared in all his regal pomp and splendour, dressed in the most magnificent apparel, which was all over enriched with gold, and glittered with diamonds. Notwithstanding the novelty of this spectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was the least moved at it, nor did he utter a word which discovered the least surprise or admiration; on the contrary, people of sense might sufficiently discern from his behaviour, that he looked upon all this outward pomp, as an indication of a little mind, which knows not in what true greatness and dignity consist. This coldness and indifference in Solon's first approach, gave the king no favourable opinion of his new guest.

He afterwards ordered that all his treasures, his magnificent apartments and costly furniture, should be showed him; as if he expected, by the multitude of his fine vessels, jewels, statues, and paintings, to conquer the philosopher's indifference. But these things were not the king; and it was the king that Solon was come to visit, and not the walls and chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgment of the king, or an estimate of his worth, by these outward appendages, but by himself and his own personal qualities. Were we to judge at present by the same rule, we should find many of our great men wretchedly naked and desolate.

When Solon had seen all, he was brought back to the king. Croesus then asked him, which of mankind in all his travels he had found the most truly happy? One Tellus, replied Solon, a citizen of Athens, a very honest and good man, who, after having lived all his days without indigence, having always seen his country in a flourishing condition, has left children that are universally esteemed, has had the satisfaction of seeing those children's children, and at last died gloriously in fighting for his country.

Such an answer as this, in which gold and silver

¹ Hunc ipsum annum si habeat sapiens, nihilo plus sibi licere putet peccare, quam si non haberet. *Honestum enim bonis viris, non occultata curantur.* Lib. iii. *de Offic.* a. 38. ² Herod. l. i. c. 13, 14. ³ Ibid. l. i. c. 15. ⁴ Ibid. l. i. c. 16—22.

⁵ Herod. l. i. c. 19—22.

⁶ Strab. l. xiii. p. 625. and l. xiv. p. 680.

⁷ Herod. l. i. c. 26—28.

⁸ Herod. l. i. c. 29—33. Plut. in Sol. p. 93, 94.

were accounted as nothing, seemed to Cræsus to denote a strange ignorance and stupidity. However, as he flattered himself that he should be ranked at least in the second degree of happiness, he asked him, *Who of all those he had seen, was the next in felicity to Tellus?* Solon answered, Cleobis and Biton, of Argos, two brothers¹, who had left behind them a perfect pattern of fraternal affection, and of the respect due from children to their parents. Upon a solemn festival, when their mother, a priestess of Juno, was to go to the temple, the oxen that were to draw her not being ready, the two sons put themselves to the yoke, and drew their mother's chariot thither, which was above five miles distant. All the mothers of the place, ravished with admiration, congratulated the priestess on being the mother of such sons. She, in the transports of her joy and thankfulness, earnestly entreated the goddess to reward her children with the best thing that heaven can give to man. Her prayers were heard. When the sacrifice was over, her two sons fell asleep in the very temple, and there died in a soft and peaceful slumber.² In honour of their piety, the people of Argos consecrated statues to them in the temple of Delphi.

What, then, says Cræsus, in a tone that showed his discontent, you do not reckon me in the number of the happy? Solon, who was not willing either to flatter or exasperate him any farther, replied calmly: *King of Lydia, besides many other advantages, the gods have given us Grecians a spirit of moderation and reserve, which has produced amongst us a plain, popular kind of philosophy, accompanied with a certain generous freedom, void of pride or ostentation, and therefore not well suited to the courts of kings: this philosophy, considering what an infinite number of vicissitudes and accidents the life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to glory in any prosperity we enjoy ourselves, or to admire happiness in others, which perhaps may prove only transient or superficial.* From hence he took occasion to represent to him farther, *That the life of man seldom exceeds seventy years, which make up in all 6250 days, of which no two are exactly alike; so that the time to come is nothing but a series of various accidents, which cannot be foreseen. Therefore, in our opinion, continued he, no man can be esteemed, but he whose happiness God continues to the end of his life: as for others who are perpetually exposed to a thousand dangers, we account their happiness as uncertain as the crown is to a person that is still engaged in battle, and has not yet obtained the victory.* Solon retired, when he had spoken these words,³ which served only to mortify Cræsus, but not to reform him.

Æsop, the author of the Fables, was then at the court of this prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandsome treatment Solon received, and said to him by way of advice: *Solon, we must either not come near princes at all, or speak things that are agreeable to them.*⁴ Say rather, replied Solon, *that we should either never come near them at all, or else speak such things as may be for their good.*

In Plutarch's time some of the learned were of opinion, that this interview between Solon and Cræsus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as those dates are very uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail against the authority of several credible writers, by whom this story is attested.

What we have now related of Cræsus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the most part are seduced by flattery; and shows us at the same time the two sources from whence that blindness generally proceeds. The one

is, a secret inclination which all men have, but especially the great, of receiving praise without any precaution, and of judging favourably of all that admire them and show an unlimited submission and complaisance to their humours. The other is, the great resemblance there is between flattery and a sincere affection, or a reasonable respect; which is sometimes counterfeited so exactly, that the wisest may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Cræsus, if we judged of him by the character he bears in history, was a very good prince, and worthy of esteem in many respects. He had a great deal of good nature, affability, and humanity. His palace was a receptacle for men of wit and learning, which shows that he himself was a person of learning, and had a taste for the sciences. His weakness was, that he laid too great stress upon riches and magnificence, thought himself great and happy in proportion to his possessions, mistook regal pomp and splendour for true and solid greatness, and fed his vanity with the excessive submissions of those that stood in a kind of adoration before him.

Those learned men, those wits and other courtiers, that surrounded this prince, ate at his table, partook of his pleasures, shared his confidence, and enriched themselves by his bounty and liberality, took care not to thwart the prince's taste, and never thought of undeceiving him with respect to his errors or false ideas. On the contrary, they made it their business to cherish and fortify them in him, extolling him perpetually as the most opulent prince of his age, and never speaking of his wealth, or the magnificence of his palace, but in terms of admiration and rapture; because they knew this was the sure way to please him, and to secure his favour. For flattery is nothing else but a commerce of falsehood and lying, founded upon interest on one side, and vanity on the other. The flatterer desires to advance himself, and make his fortune; the prince to be praised and admired, because he is his own first flatterer, and carries within himself a more subtle and better prepared poison than any adulation gives him.

That maxim of Æsop, who had formerly been a slave, and still retained somewhat of the spirit and character of slavery, though he had varnished it over with the address of an artful courtier; that maxim of his, I say, which recommended to Solon, *That we should either not come near kings, or say what is agreeable to them*, shows us with what kind of men Cræsus had filled his court, and by what means he had banished all sincerity, integrity, and duty, from his presence. In consequence of which, we see he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philosopher, upon which he ought to have set an infinite value; as he would have done, had he but understood the worth of a friend, who, attaching himself to the person, and not to the fortune, of a prince, has the courage to tell him disagreeable truths; truths unpalatable, and bitter to self-love at the present, but that may prove very salutary and serviceable for the future. *Dic illis, non quod volumus audire, sed quod audisse semper valent.* These are Seneca's own words, where he is endeavouring to show of what great use a faithful and sincere friend may be to a prince; and what he adds farther, seems to be written on purpose for Cræsus: *Give him, says he, wholesome advice.*⁵ *Let a word of truth once reach those ears, which are perpetually fed and entertained with flattery. You will ask me, What service can be done to a person arrived at the highest pitch of felicity? That of teaching him not to trust in his prosperity; of removing that vain confidence he has in his power and greatness, as if they were to endure for ever; of making him understand, that every thing which belongs to, and depends upon, fortune, is as un-*

¹ Φίλ, ἀδελφούς καὶ φιλομήτορας διαφιθέντας ἀνδρας.

² The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cause of it.

³ Ἀ. πῆσας μὲν οὐ νοουμένης δι' τὸν Κροῖσον.

⁴ Ὁ Σόλων (τοῦ) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δι' ἃς ἡσέστα ἡ δὲ ἡδίστα ἡμῶν. Καὶ ὁ Σόλων. Ἄν Δι' (τίμων) ἀλλ' ἃς ἡσέστα ἡ δὲ ἀρίστα. The jingle of the words ἃς ἡσέστα ἡ δὲ ἡδίστα, which is a beauty in the original, because it is founded in the sense, cannot be rendered into any language.

⁵ Plenas aures adulationibus aliquando vera vox intret: Effice, ne felicitati sua credat. Parum in illum contuleris si illi semel, stultum fiduciam permansere semper potentis, excusseris, donecque mobilia esse que dedit cauas; ne sæpe inter fortunam maximam et ultimam nihil interesse? Sen. de Benef. l. vi. c. 33.

stable as herself; and that there is often but the space of a moment between the highest elevation and the most unhappy downfall.

It was not long before Cræsus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him.¹ He had two sons; one of which being dumb, was a perpetual subject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was distinguished by every good quality, and his great consolation and delight. The father one night had a dream, which made a great impression upon his mind, that this beloved son of his was to perish by iron. This became a new source of anxiety and trouble, and care is taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partisans, lances, javelins, &c. No mention is made of armies, wars, or sieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match, for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravage in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earnestly importuned his father that he would give him leave to be present, at least as a spectator. The king could not refuse him that request, but entrusted him to the care of a discreet young prince, who had taken refuge in his court, and was named Adrastus. And this very Adrastus, as he was aiming his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. It is impossible to express either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of the unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murder, who expiated his fault with his blood, stabbing himself in the breast with his own sword, upon the funeral pile of the unfortunate Atys.

Two years were spent on this occasion in deep mourning,² the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loss he had sustained. But the growing reputation and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himself known, roused him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a stop to the power of the Persians, which was enlarging itself every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter upon any enterprise without consulting the gods. But that he might not act blindly, and in order to be able to form a certain judgment on the answers he should receive, he was willing to assure himself beforehand of the truth of the oracles. For which purpose, he sent messengers to all the most celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to inquire, every one at his respective oracle, what Cræsus was doing on such a day and such an hour, before agreed on. His orders were punctually observed; and of all the oracles none gave a true answer but that of Delphi. The answer was given in Greek hexameter verses, and was in substance as follows: *I know the number of the grains of sand on the sea-shore, and the measure of the ocean's vast extent. I can hear the dumb, and him that has not yet learned to speak. A strong smell of a tortoise, boiled in brass, together with sheep's flesh, has reached my nostrils. brass beneath, brass above.* And indeed the king, thinking to invent something that could not possibly be guessed at, had employed himself on the day and

hour set down, in boiling a tortoise and a lamb in a brass pot which had a brass cover. St. Austin observes in several places, that God, to punish the blindness of the Pagans, sometimes permitted the devils to give answers conformable to the truth.

Cræsus, thus assured of the veracity of the god, whom he designed to consult, offered 3000 victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of vessels, tripods, and golden tables to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of 117, to augment the treasures of the temple of Delphi. Each of these ingots weighed at least two talents; besides which, he made several other presents; amongst others, Herodotus mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two vessels of an extraordinary size, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minæ; the other of silver, which contained 600 of the measures called amphore. All these presents, and many more, which for brevity's sake I omit, were to be seen in the time of Herodotus.

The messengers were ordered to consult the god upon two points: first, whether Cræsus should undertake a war against the Persians; secondly, if he did, whether he should require the succour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle answered, upon the first article, that if he carried his arms against the Persians he would subvert a great empire; upon the second, that he would do well to make alliances with the most powerful states of Greece. He consulted the oracle again, to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The answer was, that it should subsist till a mule came to possess the throne of Media; which he considered as an assurance of the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Pursuant to the direction of the oracle, Cræsus entered into alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pisistratus at their head, and with the Lacedæmonians, who were indisputably the two most powerful states of Greece.

A certain Lydian,³ much esteemed for his prudence, gave Cræsus, on this occasion, very judicious advice. *O prince, says he to him, why do you think of turning your arms against such a people as the Persians, who, being born in a wild, rugged country, are inured from their infancy to every kind of hardship and fatigue; who being coarsely clad and coarsely fed, can content themselves with bread and water; who are absolute strangers to all the delicacies and conveniences of life; who, in a word, have nothing to lose if you conquer them, and every thing to gain if they conquer you; and whom it would be very difficult to drive out of our country, if they should once come to taste the sweets and advantages of it? So far therefore from thinking of beginning a war against them, it is my opinion we ought to thank the gods they have never put it into the heads of the Persians to come and attack the Lydians.* But Cræsus had taken his resolution, and would not be diverted from it.

What remains of the history of Cræsus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I am now going to begin.

¹ Herod. l. i. c. 34—45

² Herod. l. i. c. 46—50

³ Herod. l. i. c. 71.

THE
FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE
OF THE
PERSIANS AND MEDES
BY CYRUS.

CONTAINING THE REIGNS OF CYRUS, OF CAMBYSES, AND SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF CYRUS.

THE history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit on this subject than the former; and as to those facts wherein they differ, I shall think it sufficient briefly to relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known, that Xenophon served a long time under the younger Cyrus, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, in order to acquaint himself by that means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his *Cyropædia*: *Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure of informing myself of his birth, his natural disposition, and the method of his education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince; and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me.*

As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother Quintus, that *Xenophon's design in writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth, as to give a model of a just government;*¹ this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses, of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates, is to be deemed true; and of this their conformity with the holy Scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertation of the Abbé Banier upon this subject in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*.²

For the greater perspicuity, I divide the history of Cyrus into three parts. The first will reach from his birth to the siege of Babylon: the second will comprehend the description of the siege, and the taking of that city, with every thing else that relates to that

great event: the third will contain that prince's history, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

ARTICLE I.

THE HISTORY OF CYRUS FROM HIS INFANCY TO THE SIEGE OF BABYLON.

This interval besides his education, and the journey he made into Media to his grandfather Astyages, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

SECTION I.—CYRUS'S EDUCATION.

CYRUS was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, and of Mandane, A. M. 3405 daughter to Astyages, king of the Ant. J. C. 599 Medes.³ He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandane.

The Persians were at this time divided into twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vast country which has since borne the name of Persia, and were not in all above 120,000 men. But this people having afterwards, through the prudence and valour of Cyrus, acquired the empire of the East, the name of Persia extended itself with their conquests and fortune, and comprehended all that vast tract of country which reaches from east to west, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to south, from the Caspian sea to the ocean. And still to this day the country of Persia has the same extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his person, and still more deserving of esteem for the qualities of his mind; was of a very sweet disposition, full of good nature and humanity, and had a great desire for learning, and a noble ardour for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, or discouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians which were excellent in those days with respect to education.

The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws.⁴ The education of children was looked upon as the most important duty, and the most essential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whose blind affection and fondness often rendered them incapable of that office; but the state took it upon themselves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner; where every thing was regulated, the place and length of their exercises, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children or the young

¹ Cyrus ille à Xenophonte, non ad historicæ fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justî imperii.

² Vol. vi. p. 400.

³ Xen. Cyrop. l. i. p. 3.

⁴ Xen. Cyrop. l. i. p. 3—8

men, was bread, cresses and water; for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety: besides, they considered, that a plain, frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragouts, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war to a good old age.

Here boys went to school to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences; and the crime most severely punished amongst them was ingratitude.

The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations was to prevent evil, being convinced that it is much better to prevent faults than to punish them: and whereas in other states the legislators are satisfied with enacting punishments for criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals amongst them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years of age the boys remained in the class of children, and here it was they learned to draw the bow, and to fling the dart or javelin; after which they were received into the class of young men. In this they were more narrowly watched and kept under than before, because that age requires the strictest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they passed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up; and in this they remained five and twenty years. Out of these all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the public council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

By this means every citizen might aspire to the chief posts in the government; but no one could arrive at them, till he had passed through all these several classes, and qualified himself for them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all; but generally such only as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age, not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.

SECTION II.—CYRUS'S JOURNEY TO HIS GRANDFATHER ASTYAGES, AND HIS RETURN INTO PERSIA.

WHEN Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandane took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Astyages, who, from the many things he had heard said in favour of that young prince, had a great desire to see him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence reigned here universally. Astyages himself was richly clothed, had his eyes coloured,^a his face painted, and his hair embellished with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the

Persians were very plain and coarse. All this shyness did not dazzle Cyrus, who without criticising or condemning what he saw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained every body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was the utmost plenty and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation Cyrus looked upon with great indifference; and observing Astyages to be surprised at his behaviour: *The Persians*, says he to the king, *instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the purpose.* Astyages having allowed Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting, so that, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he wanted well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to show his resentment. Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect shown to this officer, for whom he had a particular regard, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him: *Is that all, papa?* replied Cyrus; *if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I will quickly obtain it; for I will take upon me to serve you better than he.* Immediately Cyrus is equipped as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and grace that charmed both Astyages and Mandane. When he had done, he flung himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him, cried out with great joy: *O Sacas! poor Sacas! thou art undone; I shall have thy place.*^b Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said, *I am mighty well pleased, my dear child; nobody can serve me with a better grace: but you have forgotten one essential ceremony, which is that of tasting.* And indeed the cup-bearer was used to pour some of the liquor into his left hand, and to taste it, before he presented it to the king: *No*, replied Cyrus, *it is not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony.—Why, then, says Astyages, for what reason did you do it?—Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor.—Poison, child! How could you think so?—Yes; poison, papa; for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the guests had drunk a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned; they sing, made a noise, and talked they did not know what: you yourself seemed to have forgotten that you were king, and they that they were subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs.—Why, says Astyages, have you never seen the same thing happen to your father?—No, never, says Cyrus. How is it with him when he drinks?—Why, when he has drunk, his thirst is quenched, and that's all.*

We cannot too much admire the skill of the historian in giving such an excellent lesson of sobriety in this story; he might have done it in a serious grave way, and have spoken with the air of a philosopher; for Xenophon, warrior as he was, was no less excellent a philosopher than his master Socrates. But instead of that, he puts the instruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a story, which

^a Cyrop. l. i. p. 8.—29.

^b The ancients, in order to set off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexions, used to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater lustre to their eyes, they made their eyelashes of the same blackness. This artifice was much in use among the Hebrews. It is said of Jezebel, *Depinxit oculos suos stibio*. 2 Kings. ix. 30. This drug had an astringent quality, which shrank up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckoned a beauty. *Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.* From hence comes that epithet, which Homer so often gives to his goddesses: ὀφθαλμοὶ ἄρ' ἰσχυροί, great-eyed Juno.

in the original, is told with all the wit and agreeableness imaginable.

Mandane being upon the point of returning to Persia, Cyrus joyfully complied with the repeated requests his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of his country, and its craggy mountainous situation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his residence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and esteem. He was gentle, affable, anxious to oblige, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their solicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his; and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the Babylonians¹ (this was Evil-Merodach, son of Nabuchodonosor,) at a hunting-match a little before his marriage thought fit, in order to show his bravery, to make an irruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Astyages to take the field to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved himself so well on this occasion, that the victory which the Medes gained over the Babylonians was chiefly owing to his valour.

The year after, his father recalling him, that he might complete his course in the Persian exercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion showed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horseback; and when the sad moment came that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-entered the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners; but when they found that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class of youths; and there it quickly appeared that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience, and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the men's class, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

SECTION III.—THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF CYRUS, WHO GOES TO AID HIS UNCLE CYAXARES AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS.

A. M. 3444. Astyages,² king of the Medes, dying, was succeeded by his son Ant. J. C. 560. Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother. Cyaxares was no sooner on the throne, than he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others Croesus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him bad impressions of the Medes and

Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations already so powerful might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power. Cyaxares therefore despatched ambassadors to Cambyses, to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of 30,000 men, all infantry (for the Persians as yet had no cavalry;) but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised after a particular manner. First of all Cyrus chose out of the nobility 200 of the bravest officers, each of whom was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made 1000 in all; and these were the officers that were called *ὀπιστάται*,³ and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pike-men, ten slingers, and ten bowmen; which amounted in the whole to 31,000 men.

Before they proceeded to the choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the 200 officers, whom, after having highly praised them for their courage, he inspired with the strongest assurance of victory and success. *Do you know, says he to them, the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? They are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness; men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of supporting either the toil of war or the sight of danger: whereas you, that are snured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living; to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce, to your meals; fatigues are your pleasure, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only passion. Besides, the justice of your cause is another considerable advantage. They are the aggressors. It is the enemy that attacks us, and it is our friends and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be more just than to repel the injury they offer us? Is there any thing more honourable than to fly to the assistance of our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition without having first consulted the gods, and implored their protection; for you know it is my custom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner.*

Cyrus soon after set out without loss of time; but before his departure he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyses had often taught him to consider, that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin; whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as past, and inspire those they love to undertake what is most expedient for them: which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to those that invoke and consult them.

Cambyses accompanied his son as far as the frontiers of Persia; and in the way gave him excellent instructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing that related to the business of war, after the many lessons he had received from the most able masters of that time. *Hear your masters, says Cambyses to him, given you any instructions concerning economy, that is to say, concerning the manner of supplying an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the soldiers, of fortifying their bodies by frequent exercises, of exciting a generous emulation amongst them, of mo-*

¹ In Xenophon this people are always called Assyrians; and in truth they are Assyrians, but Assyrians of Babylon, whom we must not confound with those of Nineveh, whose empire, as we have seen already, was utterly destroyed by the ruin of Nineveh, the capital thereof.

² Cyr. p. l. i. p. 29—37.

³ Men of the same dignity.

king yourself obeyed, esteemed, and beloved by your soldiers? Upon each of these points, and upon several others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. *What is it then your masters have taught you?*—*They have taught me to fence, replied the prince, to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to see them march, file off, and encamp.* Cambyse, smiling, gave his son to understand, that they had taught him nothing of what was most material and essential for a good officer and an expert commander to know: and in one single conversation, which certainly deserves to be well studied by all young gentlemen designed for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all the celebrated masters had done, in the course of several years. One short instance of this discourse may serve to give the reader an idea of the rest.

The question was, *What are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive?* *The way to effect that,* says Cyrus, *seems to be very easy, and very certain; it is only to praise and reward those that obey, to punish and stigmatize such as fail in their duty.*—*You say well,* replied Cambyse; *that is the way to make them obey by force; but the chief point is, to make them obey you willingly and freely.* Now the sure method of effecting this, is to convince those you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themselves; for all mankind readily submit to those of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle, from whence that blind submission proceeds which you see sick persons pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and a ship's company to the pilot. Their obedience is founded only upon their persuasion, that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and better informed in their respective callings than themselves.—*But what shall a man do,* says Cyrus to his father, *to appear more skilful and expert than others?*—*He must really be so,* replied Cambyse; *and in order to be so, he must apply himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprise; and, above all, he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom, and all our success.*

As soon as Cyrus had arrived in Media,¹ and reached Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the forces on both sides. It appeared by the computation made of them, that the enemy's army amounted to 200,000 foot, and 60,000 horse; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarce amounted to half the number of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not so many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient than to send for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, besides that it would have taken up too much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more sure and more expeditious, which was, that his Persian soldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly used the bow and javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser, Cyrus was of opinion that they should be armed with such weapons as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was highly approved, and instantly put into execution.

Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops,² and inspired them with a surprising emulation, by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. He valued

money only as it allowed him an opportunity of being generous. He was continually making presents to one or other, according to their rank or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of the same kind equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of soul, and beneficent disposition, he thought a general ought to distinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his clothes, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour. *A commander could not, he said, give actual proofs of his munificence to every body,³ and for that very reason he thought himself obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good will: for though a prince might exhaust his treasures by making presents, yet he could not injure himself by benevolence and affability; by being sincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is so.*

One day,⁴ as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him, that some ambassadors being arrived from the king of the Indies, he desired his presence immediately. For this purpose, said he, *I have brought you a rich garment; for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour.* Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops, to wait upon the king, though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion, and not (as the Greek text has it) polluted or spoiled by any foreign ornament.⁵ Cyaxares seemed at first a little displeased with it; *If I had dressed myself in purple,* says Cyrus, *and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour than I do now by my expedition, and the sweat of my face, and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and despatch your orders are obeyed?*

Cyaxares, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were sent by the king their master to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians, and that they had orders, as soon as they had heard what the Medes should say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to allege on their part: to the end that the king, their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power; to be influenced only by justice, to seek no advantage from the division of neighbours, but declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, that they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the sequel that he declared for the Medes.

The king of Armenia,⁶ who was a vassal of the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay A. M. 3447. hold on this occasion to shake off Ant. J. C. 557. their yoke. Accordingly, he refused to pay them the ordinary tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly embarrassed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himself exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep the design secret, without which it was not likely to succeed. He therefore appointed a great hunting-match on that side of the country; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's son, and the young noblemen

¹ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 207.

⁴ Ibid. l. ii. p. 36.

⁵ Ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ σκετὰ οὕτῳ καὶ ἐξορμήσει. A fine expression, but not to be rendered into any other language with the same beauty.

⁶ Cyrop. l. ii. p. 38—61. l. iii. p. 63—70

² Cyrop. l. ii. p. 38—40.

³ Cyrop. l. ii. p. 44.

of Armenia. On the day appointed, he set out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear till a signal was given. After some days' hunting, when they were come pretty near the palace where the court resided, Cyrus communicated his design to his officers; and sent Chrysantas with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters of a certain steep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire, in case of an alarm, with his family and his treasure.

This being done, he sends a herald to the king of Armenia, to summon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time orders his troops to advance. Never was greater surprise, and the perplexity was equally great. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done; and was now destitute of every resource. However, he did what he could to assemble his forces together from all quarters; and, in the mean time, despatched his youngest son, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his scouts, that Cyrus was coming close after them, he entirely lost all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians, following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country covered with people that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done them if they stayed in their houses; but that as many as were taken running away, should be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand, they that were conducting the princesses to the mountains, fell into the ambush Chrysantas had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters, his eldest son's wife, and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence; where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and soon obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him with all his family, to be brought into the midst of the army. At the very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a spectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addressing himself to him, said: Prince, you are come very seasonably to be present at the trial of your father. And immediately he assembled the captains of the Persians and Medes; and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were then in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded silence, he began with: requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer sincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank than to use dissimulation or falsehood. The king promised he would. Then Cyrus asked him, but at different times, proposing each article separately and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war against Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat concluded a treaty with Astyages; whether by virtue of that treaty, he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country. It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all public and notorious. For what reason then, continued Cyrus, have you violated the treaty in every article?—For no other, replied the king, than because I thought it a glorious thing to shake off the yoke, to live free, and to leave my children in the same condition.—It is really glorious, answered Cyrus, to fight in defence of liberty; but if any one, after he is reduced to servitude, should attempt to run away from his master, what would you do with him?—I must confess, says the king, I would punish him.—And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to have

conducted himself amiss, would you continue him in his post?—No, certainly; I would put another in his place.—And if he had amassed great riches by his unjust practices?—I would strip him of them.—But which is still worse, if he had held intelligence with your enemies, how would you treat him?—Though I should pass sentence upon myself, replied the king I must declare the truth: I would put him to death. At these words, Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments. The women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if sentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded silence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect: Great prince, can you think it consistent with your prudence to put my father to death, even against your own interest?—How against my interest? replied Cyrus.—Because he was never so capable of doing you service.—How do you make that appear?—Do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to consideration and favour?—They certainly do, provided they serve to make us wiser. For of inestimable value is wisdom: are either riches, courage, or address, to be compared to it? Now it is evident, this single day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wisdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of his designs; but you have happily accomplished all yours; and with that expedition and secrecy, that he has found himself surrounded, and taken, before he expected to be attacked; and the very place of his retreat has served only to ensnare him.—But your father, replied Cyrus, has yet undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom.—The fear of evils, answered Tigranes, when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Besides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger, and more prevailing motive, than any whatever: and there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, sceptre, life, wives and children, all restored to him with such a generosity; where can you find, illustrious prince, in one single person, so many strong and powerful ties to attach him to your service?

Well, then, replied Cyrus, turning to the king, if I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what number of men, and what sum of money, will you assist us in the war against the Babylonians?—My troops and treasures, says the Armenian king, are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. I can raise 40,000 foot, and 8000 horse; and as to money, I reckon that, including the treasure which my father left me, there are about 3000 talents ready money. All these are wholly at your disposal. Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the Chaldeans,¹ with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and instead of fifty talents exacted 100, and borrowed the like sum over and above in his own name. But what would you give me, added Cyrus, for the ransom of your wives?—All that I have in the world, answered the king.—And for the ransom of your children?—The same thing.—From this time, then, you are indebted to me twice the value of all your possessions. And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your wife? Now he had but lately married her and was passionately fond of her. At the price, says he, of a thousand lives, if I had them. Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been upon this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often seen hunting with

¹ Xenophon never calls the people of Babylonian, Chaldeans; but Herodotus, l. vii. c. 63, and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 730, style them so. The Chaldeans meant in this place we people adjoining to Armenia.

him, and for whom he had a particular esteem. *Alas!* says Tigranes, *he is no more; and I dare not tell you by what accident I lost him.* Cyrus pressing him to tell him; *My father,* continued Tigranes, *seeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, conceived some suspicions against him, and put him to death. But he was so worthy a man, that, as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and spoke to me in these words: 'Tigranes, let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudice, and a false notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.'—O the excellent man! cried Cyrus, never forget the last advice he gave you.*

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus before they parted, embraced them all, in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way; some extolling his wisdom, others his valour; some admiring the sweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mien. *And you,* says Tigranes, *addressing himself to his bride, what do you think of Cyrus's aspect and deportment?—I did not observe him,* replied the lady. *—Upon what object then did you fix your eyes?—Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives as the ransom of my liberty.*

The next day, the king of Armenia sent presents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the sum of money he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days' time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

I have thought proper, for several reasons, to give so circumstantial an account of this affair; though I have so far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find in Xenophon.

In the first place, it may serve to give the reader a notion of the style of that excellent historian, and excite his curiosity to consult the original, the natural and unaffected beauties of which are sufficient to justify the singular esteem which persons of good taste have ever had for the noble simplicity of that author. To mention but one instance; what an idea of chastity and modesty, and at the same time what a wonderful simplicity, and delicacy of thought, are there in the answer of Tigranes's wife, who has no eyes but for her husband!

In the second place, those short, close, and pressing interrogatories, each of which demands a direct, precise answer from the king of Armenia, discover the disciple and scholar of Socrates, and show how well he retained the taste of his master.

Besides, this narrative will give us some idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*; the substance of which is true, though it is embellished with several circumstances, added by the author, and introduced expressly to grace his instructive lessons, and the excellent rules he lays down concerning government. Thus much therefore in the event we are treating of is real. The king of Armenia having refused to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him suddenly, and before he suspected any designs against him, made himself master of the only fortress he had, and took his family prisoners; obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to furnish his proportion of troops; and after all so won upon him by his humanity and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the faithfullest and most affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The rest is inserted only by way of embellishment, and is rather to be ascribed to the historian, than to the history itself.

I should never myself have found out what the story of the governor's being put to death by Tigranes's father signified, though I was very sensible it had some enigmatical meaning in this place. A person of quality—one of the greatest wits and finest speakers of the

last age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, gave me an explanation of it many years ago, which I have not forgotten, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He supposed that Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his master Socrates, of whom the state of Athens became jealous, on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him; which at last gave occasion to that philosopher's condemnation and death, which he suffered without murmur or complaint.

In the last place, I thought it proper not to miss this opportunity of pointing out such qualities in my hero as are not always to be met with in persons of his rank; and such as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would most contribute to the success of their designs. In most conquerors we find courage, resolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all such talents as make a noise in the world, and are apt to dazzle by their glare: but an inward stock of goodness, compassion, and gentleness towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reserve even in prosperity and victory, an insinuating and persuasive behaviour, the art of gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than interest; a constant, unalterable care always to have right on his side, and to imprint such a character of justice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and, lastly, such a clemency, as to distinguish those that offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them opportunity to return to their duty: these are qualities rarely found in the most celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but which shone forth most conspicuously in Cyrus.

To return to my subject. Cyrus,¹ before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him some signal service. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans,² a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harassed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himself of their character, strength, and the situation of their strong-holds, marched against them. On the first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans possessed themselves of the eminences to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to assemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus had expected this, and had only placed them there to bring the enemy the sooner to an engagement. And indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians, they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them that he was not come to injure them, or ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms: and he then set them at liberty.

Deputies were immediately sent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better security of both nations, and with their common consent, Cyrus caused a fortress to be built upon an eminence which commanded the whole country; and left a strong garrison

¹ Cyrop. l. iii. p. 70—76.

² (The Chaldeans still exist as a people and a religious sect in the N. and N.W. of Mesopotamia, in what is now denominated the Pachalick of Diarbekir, the ancient Amidæ. Mr. Kinnier in his route from Betlis to Mardin stopped at a Chaldean village called Kiverzo, where he found the lieutenant of the Pasha employed in besieging (*mirahis dictu*) a church, belonging to the village of Mercori, inhabited by Chaldeans and Armenians, to the number of 200. It may be proper to observe that the term Chaldean is applied to the Nestorians, because great numbers of these people were converted to the tenets of that sect, and because the Syro-Chaldeic is the language in which their sacred books are written, it being at the commencement of that heresy both the spoken and written language of the country.)

in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations that should violate the treaty.

Cyrus, understanding that there was a frequent intercourse and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, desired that the latter would send persons to accompany and conduct the ambassador whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money from that prince in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Persia, and promised that, if the gods crowned his designs with success, the king should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request, which they could do the more advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The ambassador set out the next day, accompanied by some of the most considerable persons of Chaldaea, who were directed to act with all the dexterity in their power, and to do Cyrus's merit that justice which it so well deserved.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him: so that he arrived in Media, with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army than he had when he left it.

SECTION IV.—THE EXPEDITION OF CYAXARES AND CYRUS AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS. THE FIRST BATTLE.

A. M. 3448. BOTH parties had been employed three years together, in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war.¹ Cyrus, finding

the troops full of ardour, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares, to lead them against the Assyrians. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to ease him as soon as possible, of the care and expense of maintaining two armies; that it were better they should eat up the enemy's country, than their own; that so bold a step as that of going to meet the Assyrians, would spread a terror in their army, and at the same time inspire their own troops with the greater confidence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyzes, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour, of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal.

As soon therefore as the customary sacrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire; beseeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure of courage and prudence as was necessary, and in short, to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer: and indeed, he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himself in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Assyria, it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and succour; after which they began to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days' journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance against them. When the armies came within sight, both sides prepared for battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open country; and, according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus, on the contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the sight and knowledge of the smallness of his army covered his troops with several lit-

tle hills and villages. For several days nothing was done on either side, but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Assyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, *Jupiter protector and conductor*. He then caused the usual hymn to be sounded, in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardour (*θεοσεβες*), answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortation to bravery, and a universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command. *For it is observable*, says the historian in this place, *that on these occasions those that fear the Deity most are the least afraid of men*. On the side of the Assyrians, the troops armed with bows, slings, and darts, made their discharges before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Croesus and their own king to encourage them, were not able to sustain so rude a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warily pursued them to their very camp, made a terrible slaughter, and the king of the Babylonians (*Neriglissor*) was killed in the action. Cyrus not thinking himself in a condition to force their intrenchments, sounded a retreat.

The Assyrians,² in the mean time, their king being killed, and the flower of their army lost, were in a dreadful consternation. As soon as Croesus found them in so great a disorder, he fled,³ and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already observed, the Persians had none.

He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an enemy to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not to lose the fruits of victory by too much vivacity; moreover, that he was unwilling to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose to which their behaviour had justly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, desired his permission only to take as many of the horse as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing else now but of passing his time with his officers in feasting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had just obtained.

The greatest part of the Median soldiers followed Cyrus, who set out upon his march in pursuit of the enemy. Upon the way he met some couriers, that were coming to him from the Hyrcanians, who served in the enemy's army, to assure him, that as soon as ever he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in fact they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time, and having marched all night, came up with the Assyrians. Croesus had sent away his wives in the night-time for coolness (for it was the summer season,) and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Assyrians saw the enemy so near them, they were in the utmost confusion and dismay. Many of those that ran away, being warily pursued, were killed; all that stayed in the camp surrendered; the victory was complete, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses that were taken in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest

and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and as for the prisoners, he gave them all liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies, and to put them into a condition of cultivating their lands with entire security.

Whilst the Medes and the Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repast, and even baths, prepared for them, that at their return they might have nothing to do but to sit down and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. It was on this occasion that this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity towards their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He desired they would wait their return, both for the refreshments and for the division of the spoil; and that they would show a preference of their interest and conveniences before their own; giving them to understand, that this would be a sure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of securing new victories over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them an ample amends for the voluntary losses they might sustain, for the sake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them only to send some bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided (he said) with all they wanted, either for their ragouts, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragout, and water from the river their only drink; for that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning they proceeded to the division of the spoils. Cyrus in the first place ordered the Magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty what was most proper to be offered to the gods on this occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained amongst the whole army. They earnestly desired, that the Persians might preside over the distribution; but the Persians absolutely refused it; so they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy,¹ Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity; and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning when he awoke, he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage he despatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not dismay Cyrus, who in return wrote him a respectful letter; in which, however, with a generous and noble freedom, he justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him, of taking as many Medes with him as were willing to follow him. At the same time, Cyrus sent into Persia for an augmentation of his troops, designing to push his conquest still farther.

Amongst the prisoners of war whom they had taken, there was a young princess of most exquisite beauty,² whom they had reserved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear (as he said) such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution of the great designs he had in view. This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the

excellent education he had received;³ for it was a principle among the Persians, never to speak before young people of anything that had any reference to love, lest their natural inclination to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him very prudent admonition. "I have seen a great many persons," says he, "that have thought themselves very strong, overcome by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution; who have owned afterwards with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and slavery from which they had not the power to redeem themselves: an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts; a kind of bond or necessity,⁴ more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron." "Fear nothing," replied Araspes, "I am sure of myself, and I will answer with my life that I shall do nothing contrary to my duty." Nevertheless, his passion for this young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a height, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of using violence towards her. The princess at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and anguish, burst into a flood of tears; and being overwhelmed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, remained silent. Some days afterwards, Cyrus sent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and instead of reproaching him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him, acknowledging that he himself was to blame, for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By such an unexpected kindness the young nobleman recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. "Alas," says he, "now I am come to the knowledge of myself, and find most plainly that I have two souls; one, that inclines me to good, another that incites me to evil. The former prevails, when you speak to me, and comes to my relief; when I am alone, and left to myself, I give way to, and am empowered, by the latter." Araspes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.

The loss of so brave an officer,⁵ whom discontent was supposed to have engaged on the enemy's side, caused a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit; she meant her husband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Persians with 2000 horse, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and circumpectly she had been treated by the generous conqueror. "And how," cried out Abradates, "shall I be able to acknowledge so important a service?" "By behaving towards him," replied Panthea; "as he hath done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and grasping the hand of his benefactor: "You see before you," says he to him, "the tenderest friend, the most devoted servant, and the faithfullest ally you ever had; who, not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself entirely to your service." Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, ac-

¹ Cyrop. l. iv. - 104-108.

Lit. v. p. 114. 117. & vi. p. 133 153.

² Cyrop. l. i. p. 34.

³ Διδασκαλος ἰσχυροῦς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁ δὲ ἑστὶν ἰδιότης

⁴ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 153, 156.

accompanied by so much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that prince, was abundantly short of the truth.

Two Assyrian noblemen,¹ likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and virtue. The king of Assyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas's son, and for that reason had sent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, which the king's son had missed: the latter, who was of a passionate and savage nature, immediately struck him with his lance through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather, because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been designed for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother.

A. M. 3449. This young king was called Laborsarchod: he reigned only nine
Ant. J. C. 555. months, and was succeeded by Nabonidus called also Labynitus and

Belshazzar, who reigned seventeen years.

The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadatas:² he was prince of a numerous and powerful family. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne; because one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman whom he should choose for a wife.

The expectation of this double succour was a strong inducement to Cyrus,³ and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon the capital city of the empire he designed to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it: to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out therefore with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This nobleman came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and golden cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country: and then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seemed still to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgment, which he took the liberty to offer him. "I will willingly accept your gold and silver," says Cyrus, "and I make a present of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but amongst the nobles of my court, you will find a match suitable for her. It will neither be her riches nor yours, which they will value. I can assure you, there are many amongst them, that would make no account of all the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, formidable to their enemies, and respectful to the gods." Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he steadfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas,

who stayed and ate with him and his officers. The ground and the green turf that was upon it were all the couches they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment was suitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit; and above all things he admired the ingenious vein of humour, and the innocent cheerfulness that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

Cyrus,⁴ always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadatas, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood there was a strong citadel, which commanded the country of the Sacæ and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadatas, whose intelligence with the Persians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice, made an offer to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of this citadel made him master of the country of the Sacæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians raised an army of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse; and the Sacæ furnished 10,000 foot and 2000 horse-archers.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish Gadatas for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit the conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a single combat: but his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence he made a kind of truce or treaty with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

When he came near to the frontiers,⁵ he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country; and an army that was going to receive a farther augmentation of 40,000 men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus; who likewise advanced forwards to meet him with his cavalry, that was very numerous and in good condition. The sight of these troops rekindled the jealousy and dissatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid receiving his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into an explanation with his uncle. He spoke to him with so much temper, submission and reason; gave him such strong proofs of the rectitude of his heart, his respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were shed on both sides. How great the joy of the Persians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately re-

¹ Cyrop. l. iv. p. 111, 113.

² Ibid. l. v. p. 123, 124.

³ Ibid p. 119, 123.

⁴ Cyrop. l. v. p. 124—140.

⁵ Ibid. p. 141—147.

mounted their horses; and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to salute him, and to bring him presents; some of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find, that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.

Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Cræsus and the Babylonians.¹ In the council, held the next day in the presence of Cyaxares and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date that precisely fixes the year wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this notion, that between the two battles against Cræsus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

Cyrus,² then, about this time thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after he had left it, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares, on this occasion, gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage to Cyrus, with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful sense of this advantageous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it: but thought himself not at liberty to accept it, till he had gained the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependence which all children ought to show to their parents on the like occasion, of what age soever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.

When the marriage solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies for accomplishing the great design he had formed.

Foreseeing (says Xenophon) that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time,³ he pitched his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it strongly. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise, as if the enemy had been always in sight.

They understood by deserters, and by the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniences in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India,⁴ with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him

the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost regard, and made them noble presents; and taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in fact to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not recognize in this last circumstance the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant that it was an open violation of the law of nations, to send spies to an enemy's court under the title of ambassadors; which is a character that will not suffer those invested with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery?

Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle,⁵ like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation amongst his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart, or shoot an arrow, the most dexterously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived that the captains took particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and showed them all possible favour in order to encourage them. When he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited a surprising ardour throughout his whole army. In a word, he was a general who, in repose as well as action, nay, even in his pleasures, his conversations, and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the good of the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.

In the mean time,⁶ the Indian ambassadors being returned from the enemy's camp brought word, that Cræsus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great reinforcement was marching, consisting of 120,000 men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygiæ the Lycæonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Assyrians were likewise come up together with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Ætolians, and most part of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them; that Cræsus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus from whence it was to advance to Thymbra, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in both by the prisoners and the spies.

Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news.⁷ But that prince having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears and revived their courage.

Cyrus had taken all proper measures⁸ that his army should be provided with all necessaries; and had given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in the doing of which he descended to an astonishing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew every well that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circum-

¹ Cyrop. l. v. p. 148—151.

² Ibid. l. vi. p. 151.

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³ Ibid. l. viii. p. 298, 299

⁴ Ibid. p. 156, 157.

⁵ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 157.

⁶ Ibid. p. 159.

⁷ Ibid. p. 158.

⁸ Ibid. p. 158—163.

stances; in the same manner, as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the disorder of one single wheel, though never so small.

This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names;¹ and making use of a low but significant comparison, he used to say, "he thought it strange that a workman should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent, as not to know the names of all his captains, which are the instruments he must make use of in all his enterprises and operations." Besides, he was persuaded, that such an attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe they are both known and esteemed by their general.

When all the preparations were finished,² Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who stayed in Media with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.

Cyrus, who well knew how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forwards to attack them in their own territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra,³ a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine that this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country: and they were strangely surprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of their numerous army, or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

SECTION V.—THE BATTLE OF THYMBRA, BETWEEN CYRUS AND CRÆSUS.

THIS battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided upon the empire of Asia between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians. It was this consideration that induced M. Freret⁴ one of my brethren in the Academy of Belles Lettres, to examine it with a particular care and exactness: and the rather, because, as he observes, it is the first pitched battle, of which we have any full or particular account. I have assumed the privilege of making use of the labours and learning of other persons, but without robbing them of the glory, as also without denying myself the liberty of making such alterations as I judge necessary. I shall give a more ample and particular description of this battle than I usually do of such matters, because, as Cyrus is looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the military profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action; moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war, and fought battles, forms an essential part of their history.

In Cyrus's army the companies of foot consisted of 100 men each, exclusively of the captain.⁵ Each company was subdivided into four platoons, which consisted of four and twenty men each, not including the person that commanded. Each of these divisions was again subdivided into two files, consisting of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular superior

officer to command them, which sufficiently answers to what we call a colonel; and ten of those bodies had again another superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

I have already observed,⁶ that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of the 30,000 Persians, to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them till then made use of javelins only, or bows, and consequently could only fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers, and swords, or battle-axes and left few of his soldiers light-armed.

The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback.⁷ Cyrus, who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle as cavalry, was sensible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design, and by little and little formed a body of the Persian cavalry, which amounted to 10,000 men, and were the best troops of his army.

I shall speak elsewhere of the other change he introduced, with respect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together several scattered passages of Xenophon, that author having omitted the material circumstance of acquainting us precisely with their numbers; which appears surprising in a man so expert in military affairs as that historian was.

Cyrus's army amounted in the whole to 196,000 men, horse and foot. Of these there were 70,000 native Persians, viz. 10,000 cuirassiers of horse, 20,000 cuirassiers of foot, 20,000 pikemen, and 20,000 light armed soldiers. The rest of the army to the number of 126,000 men, consisted of 26,000 Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and 100,000 foot of the same nation.

Besides these troops,⁸ Cyrus had 300 chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were arrow-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.

He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a larger size,⁹ upon each of which was placed a tower, of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked abreast.

There was moreover a considerable number of camels,¹⁰ upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

Cræsus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus,¹¹ amounting in all to 420,000 men, of which 60,000 were cavalry. The troops consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians, to the number of 360,000 men. They had bucklers, that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short swords, but very broad. The rest of the army was made up of Phœnicians, Cyprians, Cilicians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

Cræsus's army was ranged in order of battle in one line,¹² the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were 120,000 in number, and who were the principal strength of Cræsus's infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of 10,000 men each, which had 100 men in the front and as many in depth, with an interval between every

¹ Cyrop. l. v. p. 131. 132.

² Ibid. l. vi. p. 160. 161.

³ [Thymbra here mentioned, is properly placed by our author not far from Sardis, and to the east of that place in the great plain that expands between Mount Tmolus and the Hermus or Serabat river, and which appears to be the Cyrus Campus of Strabo, p. 620. Many tumuli, or mounds, are now found there. Thymbra must not be confounded with Thymbrium, a populous city mentioned in the march of the younger Cyrus, from Sardis to Cunaxa, and which has been mistaken by D'Anville for the Thymbra in the text. Thymbrium lay not very far to the N. W. of Iconium, and is supposed by Kinnier to have occupied the site of the modern Ak-Shehr, or the White City.]

⁴ Vol. vi. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 532.

⁵ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167

⁶ Cyrop. l. ii. p. 39. 40.

⁷ Ibid. l. iv. p. 99. 100. and l. v. p. 138.

⁸ Ibid. l. vi. p. 152. 153. 157

⁹ Ibid. p. 153. 158.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 154

¹¹ Ibid. p. 156.

¹² Ibid. p. 156.

battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with, one another. Cræsus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left; and the design of Cræsus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle to which they had been accustomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty stadia, or five miles in length.

Araspes, who under the pretence of discontent had retired to Cræsus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four-and-twenty men in depth,¹ but Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his battalions, to prevent his army's being inclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partisans, battle-axes, and swords; and provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe that the Lydian battalions, that were armed only with light bucklers and javelins, could support the charge. Cyrus therefore thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chrysantas, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two stadia, or four miles in extent; and consequently was at each end near four stadia, or half a mile short of the enemy's front.

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus, placed the spearmen, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by soldiers in their front, over whose head they could fling their javelins and shoot their arrows at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their business was to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill those as traitors that fled; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only serve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual discharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewise be looked upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

To close all these lines,² and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all 2000 infantry, 2000 horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line, by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into

three bodies, of 100 each. One of these bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of Susiana, was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies as they were drawn out and disposed the day before the engagement.

The next day, very early in the morning,³ Cyrus made a sacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was sight more beautiful and magnificent: coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire most: men and horses as finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.

When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass,⁴ which was only of quilted linen, according to the fashion of his country, his wife, Panthea, came and presented him with a helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she could not refrain from shedding tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations," says she, "to that prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was destined for him; but when I came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife; and in return I assured him you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness." "O Jupiter!" cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, "grant that on this occasion I may approve myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor!" Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, kissed the chariot he rode in; and when she had pursued him with her eyes as far as she possibly could, she retired.

As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice,⁵ given his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage that is due to the gods, every man went to his post. Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals;⁶ he ate a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed amongst those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise; and poured out a part of it, as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his assistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was considering on which side he should direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, *Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee.*⁷ And at that instant he set forwards, having Chrysantas on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arsamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to pay attention to the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle at the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out; and the same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He made his troops halt three times before they arrived at the enemy's army; and after having marched about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemies had observed how much their

¹ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 169.

² Ibid. p. 170.

³ Ibid. l. vii. p. 172.

⁴ He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

⁵ Ibid. p. 169, 170.

⁶ Ibid. l. vii. p. 172.

¹ Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167.

² Ibid. p. 168.

front exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, whilst the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with design to enclose Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, *Jupiter leader and protector*, he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers;¹ and he, who on all other occasions was so modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory: *Follow me, comrades, says he, the victory is certainly ours: the gods are for us.* He observed that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the movement, which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: "Those troops alarm you," says he: "believe me, those are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots." In fact, the event happened just as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where, he returned to the right wing of his army.

When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended,² Croesus gave the signal to the main body, to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, whilst the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each side; so that Cyrus's army was enclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed by a body of foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank: and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment, the troops of the left flank, knowing by the noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy. And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as ever they were sensible of the approach of those animals (for horses cannot endure the smell of camels,) began to snort and prance, to run foul upon, and overturn, one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilst they were in this confusion a small body of horse commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed with a dreadful slaughter.

This being the signal which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots.³ Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being covered with their bucklers, and marching in such close order that their chariots had not room to pierce amongst them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, but for the violence of the horses that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses; overturned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp

scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariot having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed after they had signalized their valour in an extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forwards in close order, and covered with their bucklers obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the moving towers; and the battalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand, hindered their archers and spearmen from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

Cyrus in the mean time having put both the horse and foot to flight on the left of the Egyptians, did not lose time in pursuing the fugitives.⁴ But, pushing on directly to the centre, he had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and rightly judging, that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining farther ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon their rear: the cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all sides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, ran headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, if they would surrender, letting them know, at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they prided themselves no less upon their fidelity than on their courage, they stipulated, that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Croesus, in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.

Xenophon observes,⁵ that Cyrus gave them the cities of Larissa, and Cyllene, near Cumæ, upon the sea-coast, as also other inland places, which were inhabited by their descendants even in his time; and he adds, that these places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This observation of Xenophon's, as also many others in several parts of his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of what he advances, show plainly that he meant that work as a true history of Cyrus, at least with respect to the main substance of it, and the greatest part of the facts and transactions. This judicious reflection Monsieur Freret makes upon this passage.

The battle lasted till evening.⁶ Croesus retreated as fast as he could, with his troops to Sardis. The other nations, in like manner, that very night directed their course, each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.

In describing this battle, I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin translation of which is not always faithful. Some military men, to whom I have communicated this description, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus drew up his forces in order of battle; as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to sustain his armed chariots, and to oppose the two bodies of troops which Croesus had detached to fall upon the flanks of Cyrus's army. It is possible such a circumstance might have escaped Xenophon in describing this battle.

¹ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 173-176

² Ibid. p. 177.

³ Ibid p. 176.

⁴ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 176.

⁵ Ibid. p. 180

⁶ Ibid. p. 179

It is allowed that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry,¹ which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which, till his time, they had been utterly ignorant. The chariots armed with scythes did good service, and the use of them was ever after retained by the Persians. The camels, too, were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them; and observes that in his time they made no other use for them than for carrying the baggage.

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice, that in this affair, we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable sagacity and foresight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardour: in the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, and at the same time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall soon see what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity, which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of all his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military man himself, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame, then, and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if on a day of battle he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the God of armies whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than respect for the false deities of paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus!

As for Croesus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence which Xenophon observes with regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

But let us return to the camp of the Persians.² It is easy to imagine what must be the affliction and distress of Panthea, when the news was brought her of Abradates's death. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and leaning her head upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her eyes steadfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief and indulging her misery with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathised with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shown to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.

SECTION VI.—THE TAKING OF SARDIS AND OF CROESUS.

THE next day in the morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis.³ If we may believe Herodotus, Croesus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces to meet him, and to give him battle. According to the historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could endure neither the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city,⁴ which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling-ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But whilst he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already begun to disperse themselves in all quarters. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were by a single command, in a city so abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Croesus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

When Cyrus had given all necessary orders concerning the city,⁵ he had a private conversation with the king, of whom he asked among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphi, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom it was said, he always had a great regard? Croesus first acknowledged, that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shown a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him; so that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead a happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness when he once came to the knowledge of himself. "For want of this knowledge," continued he, "and believing myself, through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in a war against a prince infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am going to begin to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me (for my fate is in your hands,) I shall certainly be so." Cyrus touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from so great an elevation, and

¹ Herod. i. l. c. 79—84.

² [This city, famous as being the capital of the unfortunate Croesus, and afterwards of the Persian provinces of Asia Minor, and still more celebrated in after ages as one of the Seven Apocalyptic Churches, is now a miserable village called Sart. As the place, however, is a station of the caravans coming from Persia to Smyrna, it has a large khan built in it for the accommodation of travellers. The present inhabitants are mostly shepherds, who tend their numerous flocks and herds which feed in the spacious plains.]

³ Cyrop. i. vii. p. 180.

⁴ Ibid. p. 181—184

¹ Cyrop. i. vii. p. 180.

² Ibid. i. vii. p. 184—188.

admiring his equanimity under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him (as Cæsus acknowledged himself) from all the burdensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead a happy life, exempt from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, or to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this story with the addition of some very remarkable circumstances, which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithstanding they seem to be much more wonderful than true.

I have already observed,¹ that the only son Cæsus had living was dumb. This young prince seeing a soldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a stroke upon the head with his scimitar, made such a violent effort and struggle, out of fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that he broke the string of his tongue, and cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of Cæsus.*

Cæsus being a prisoner, was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive.² Accordingly the funeral pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince, being laid thereon, and just upon the point of execution, recollecting the conversation he had formerly had with Solon,³ was woefully convinced of the truth of that philosopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof, cried aloud three times, *Solon! Solon! Solon!* Cyrus, who, with the chief officers of his court, was present at this spectacle, was curious to know why Cæsus pronounced that celebrated philosopher's name with so much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reason, and reflecting upon the uncertain state of all sublunary things, he was touched with commiseration at the prince's misfortune, caused him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and respect. Thus had Solon the glory,⁴ with one single word, to save the life of one king, and give a wholesome lesson of instruction to another.

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Cæsus to engage in the war which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he was to believe himself in danger when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them: the other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he despatched messengers to Delphi, with orders to make a present to the god, in his name, of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding the numberless presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Cæsus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind, in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answers to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that, let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprised

of Cyrus's having subdued the Lydians,⁵ they sent ambassadors to him at Sardis, to desire he would receive them as his subjects upon the same conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who before his victory had solicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel them to it by force, answered them only by a fable of a fisherman, who having played upon his pipe, in order to make the fish come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of succeeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their succour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon sent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know that they would not suffer him to undertake any thing against the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at such a message, and warned them in his turn to take care, and put themselves in a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the isles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, because he had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, and the Persians had no shipping.

ARTICLE II.

THE HISTORY OF THE BESIEGING AND TAKING OF BABYLON BY CYRUS.

Cyrus stayed in Asia Minor,⁶ till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into subjection, from the Ægean sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he also subjected. After which he entered into Assyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the east that stood out against him.

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design: but despairing to take the place by storm or assault, he made them believe his design was to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave him self, as so much unprofitable labour.

SECTION I.—PREDICTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE SIEGE AND THE TAKING OF BABYLON, AS THEY ARE SET DOWN IN DIFFERENT PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

As the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances with which it was attended were foretold in the Holy Scriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the profane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

I. The Prediction of the Jewish Captivity at Babylon, and of the Time of its Duration.

God Almighty was pleased not only to cause the captivity, which his people were to suffer at Babylon, to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and irretrievable destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. "And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years." Jer. xxv. 11.

¹ Herod. l. i. c. 85.

² Ibid. 86—91. Plut. in Solon.

³ This conversation is already related.

⁴ Καὶ οὕτως ἔλαβεν ὁ Σόλων τὴν ἀλφειὴν τὴν μὴ σφαγεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἐκείνης τῶν βασιλέων. Plut.

⁵ Herod. l. i. c. 141. 152. 153.

⁶ Ibid. c. 177. Cyrop. l. vii. p. 186—188.

II. The Causes of God's Wrath against Babylon.

That which kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. her insupportable pride; 2. her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and 3. the sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. *Her pride.* She believed herself to be invincible.¹ She said in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood. Eternity is written in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it.

2. *Her cruelty.* It is God himself that complains of it. "I was willing,"² says he, "to punish my people, as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recall them, as soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her prince have added to the paternal chastisement which I inflicted, such cruel and inhuman treatment as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy; mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shown no compassion or regard either to age, infirmity, or virtue."

3. *The sacrilegious impiety of her king.* To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors Belshazzar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but fancied that he had vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had belonged to his worship; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply those holy vessels to profane uses. This was what completed the measure of God's wrath.

III. The Decree pronounced against Babylon. Prediction of the Calamities that were to fall upon her, and of her utter destruction.

"Make bright the arrows, gather the shields,"³ saith the prophet speaking to the Medes and Persians. "The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple."

"Howl ye,⁴ for the day of the Lord is at hand,—a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land desolate. Behold,⁵ I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria."⁶

"Shout against her round about.⁷ Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her;—and spare not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host. Every one that is found shall be thrust through,⁸ and every one that is joined to them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb: their eye shall not spare children. O daughter of Babylon,⁹ who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones.

"And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.¹⁰ It shall never be inhabited; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian

pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there; and satyrs shall dance there: And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces. I will also make it a possession for the bitter, and pools of water;¹¹ and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts. The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have proposed, so shall it stand."

IV. Cyrus called to destroy Babylon, and to deliver the Jews.

Cyrus, whom the Divine Providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing his designs of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the Scripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surprised at the marvellous rapidity of his conquests, God was pleased to declare, in very sublime and remarkable terms, that he himself would be his guide; and that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed,¹² to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel: For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel, mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me."

V. God gives the Signal to the Commanders and to the Troops, to march against Babylon.

"Lift ye up a banner," saith the Lord, "upon the high mountain,"¹³ that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. "Exalt the voice unto them," that are able to hear you. "Shake the hand," as a signal to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops "go into the gates of the nobles," into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go unto his tent which is already set up.

"I have commanded my sanctified ones;¹⁴ I have given my orders to those whom I have sanctified for the execution of my designs; and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made divers nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my designs by their administration. "I have called my mighty ones for mine anger."¹⁵ I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me: every thing gives way, and trembles, before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, "they rejoice in my highness." The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people, that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness: Behold! they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the swiftness with which they are executed by the princes and the peo-

¹ Dixisti. In sempiternum ero domina.—Dixi in corde tuo, Ego sum, et non est præter me amplius: non ædebo vidua, et ignorabo sterilitatem. Isa. xlvii. 7, 8.

² Iratus sum super populum meum, et dedi eos in manu tuâ, Babylon. Non posuisti eis misericordiam: super senem æternitatis jugum tuum valde. Veniet super te malum. Isa. xlvii. 9.

³ Jer. li. 11. ⁴ Isa. xlii. 6, 9.

⁵ Jer. li. 18. ⁶ In the destruction of Nineveh.

⁷ Jer. li. 18, 29, and li. 3. ⁸ Isa. xlii. 15.—18.

⁹ Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9. ¹⁰ Isa. xlii. 1)—22.

¹¹ Isa. xiv. 23, 24.

¹² Id. xiv. 2.

¹³ Id. xiv. 3.

¹⁴ Lat. vers. in ira meâ. Hob. in iram meam.

¹⁵ Id. xiv. 1—4.

ple I hear already, he cries out, "The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together.¹ The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle."² They come from a far country, from the end of heaven,³ where the voice of God, their master and sovereign, has reached their ears.

But it is not with the sight of a formidable army, nor of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck; it is God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. "It is even the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land."

"A grievous vision is declared unto me:"⁴ The iniquitous Belshazzar,⁵ king of Babylon, continues to act impiously; "the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth." To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia; "go up, O Elam;" and thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon: "Besiege, O Media; all the sighing, which she was the cause of, have I made to cease." That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VL Circumstances relating to the siege and the taking of Babylon, minutely detailed.

There is nothing, methinks, better calculated to raise in us a profound reverence for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages before it happened.

1. We have already seen that the army by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way in which she did not at all expect; "Therefore shall evil come upon thee: thou shalt not know from whence it riseth.⁵ She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she was not able to foresee: "Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know."⁶ In a word, she shall be taken, as it were in a net, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: "I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware."⁷

3. Babylon reckoned the Euphrates alone was sufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated and defended by so deep a river: "O thou that dwellest upon many waters:"⁸ it is God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem (of which there had never been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it since,) shall turn the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: "I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry.⁹ A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up." Cyrus shall take possession of the quays of the river; and the waters which rendered Babylon inaccessible shall be dried up, as if they had been consumed by fire: "The passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire."¹⁰

4. She shall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of feasting and rejoicing, even whilst her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: "In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord."¹¹ It is remarkable, that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon: "I have laid a snare for thee;"¹² who dryeth up the waters of the river; "I will dry up her sea;" and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes: "I will make drunk her princes."¹³

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: My loins are filled with pain; pangs have taken hold upon me as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it: I was dismayed at the seeing of it; my heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: The night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me."¹⁴ This is the condition Belshazzar was in, when in the middle of the entertainment he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it as none of his divines could either explain or read; but more especially when Daniel declared to him that those characters imported the sentence of death. "Then,"¹⁵ says the Scripture, "the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another." The terror, astonishment, fainting, and trembling of Belshazzar, are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them 200 years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the description of Belshazzar's consternation, the following words: *Prepare the table,¹⁶ watch in the watch-tower: eat, drink.* The prophet foresees, that Belshazzar, though dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his courage and spirits, through the exhortation of his courtiers; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears, and unnecessary alarms. *Let not thy thoughts trouble thee,¹⁷ nor let thy countenance be changed.* They will exhort him therefore to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of his sentinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recall that gayety and joy, which his excessive fears had banished from the table: "Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink."

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his; "Arise, ye princes,¹⁸ and anoint the shield." It is God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine, or buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops with which it is filled, shall not keep their ground, or stand firm any where, neither at the palace nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatsoever; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their escape; that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep, is dispersed and scattered when they are affrighted: "And it shall be as a chased roe,¹⁹ and as a sheep that no man taketh up." The second circumstance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors: because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: "They shall turn every man to his own people,²⁰ and flee every one into his own land."

8. Lastly, not to mention the dreadful slaughter which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shown either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already noticed: the last circumstance, I say, which the prophet foretels, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family, both which calamities are described in

¹ Isa. xiii. 4. ² Ibid. ver. 5. ³ Ibid. xxi. 2.

⁴ This is the sense of the Hebrew words.

⁵ Isa. xlviii. 11. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Jer. i. 24. ⁸ Id. li. 13.

⁹ Id. i. 38. and li. 36 ¹⁰ Id. li. 32. ¹¹ Id. li. 39.

¹² Id. i. 24. ¹³ Id. li. 57.

¹⁴ Isa. xxi. 3, 4.

¹⁵ Isa. xxi. 5.

¹⁶ Ib. xiii. 14.

¹⁷ Dan. v. 10.

¹⁸ Ib. xiii. 14.

¹⁹ Dan. v. 6.

²⁰ Isa. xxi. 3.

the Scripture, in a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. "But thou art cast out of thy grave,¹ like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them" (thy ancestors) "in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people." That king is justly forgotten, who has never remembered, that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, he ought to have no place amongst them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried; and since he had no sentiments of humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence which God himself pronounced against Belshazzar: and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleasing prospects and ideas of their future grandeur. "Prepare slaughter for his children,² for the iniquity of their fathers: that they do not rise nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord."³

SECTION II.—A DESCRIPTION OF THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

AFTER having seen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to the impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the accomplishment of those prophecies; and to resume our narrative of the taking of that city.

As soon as Cyrus saw that the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed that in the city a great festival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

Belshazzar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other,⁴ and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. When flushed with wine, he ordered the gold and silver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem to be brought out; and, as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels. God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, at the same instant made him sensible who it was that he affronted, by a sudden apparition of a hand, writing certain characters upon the wall. The king, terribly surprised and frightened at this vision, immediately sent for all his wise men, his divines, and astrologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the characters.⁵ It is probably in relation to this occurrence, that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon that she shall be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee." Isa. xlvii. 12, 13. The queen-mother (Nitocris, a princess of great merit,) coming upon the noise of this great prodigy into the banquetting-room, endeavoured to compose the mind of the king her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquaint-

ed, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the flagrant abuse he made of his power,⁶ when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself empowered to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death whosoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. "And thou his son," says he to the king, "hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knowest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them: and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God, in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written,⁷ MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.⁸ This is the interpretation of the thing: MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." This interpretation, one would think, should have aggravated the consternation of the company; but they found means to dispel their fears, probably upon a persuasion, that the calamity was not denounced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of disturbing the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to another time, and sat down again to their banquet, and continued their revellings to a very late hour.

Cyrus,⁹ in the mean time, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered into the city, and another part on that side where it went out; and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the guidance of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides the city, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two forementioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadatas, and advanced without meeting any obstacle. The invisible guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night subservient to his design, by leaving open the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the quays to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in, and quickly made themselves masters of it, and meeting the king, who came up to them sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him, and put all those that attended him to the sword. The first thing the con-

¹ Isa. xiv. 19, 20.

² Ib. xiv. 21, 22.

³ Dan. v. 1—29.

⁴ The reason why they could not read this sentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not understand.

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⁵ Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down. Dan. v. 10.

⁶ Those three words signify, number, weight, division.

⁷ Or PERES

⁸ Cyrop. I. vii. p. 189—190.

querors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at least punished that impious king. These words are Xenophon's, and are very worthy of attention, as they so perfectly agree with what the Scriptures have recorded of the impious Belshazzar.

The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of 210 years from the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished those predictions, which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important and the most incredible of them all, and yet the Scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness; a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points; the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or traces should be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accomplishment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to speak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

SECTION III.—THE COMPLETION OF THE PROPHECY WHICH FORETOLD THE TOTAL RUIN AND DESTRUCTION OF BABYLON.

THIS prediction we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the thirteenth chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verses, and in the 23d and 24th verses of the fourteenth chapter. I have already inserted it at large, page 167. It is there declared, that Babylon shall be utterly destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that the shepherd shall not come thither even to rest his flock; that it shall become a dwelling-place for the wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, so that no place shall be left to show where Babylon had been. It is God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion to show how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

I. In the first place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place; and did themselves destroy a good part of Babylon.

II. We are informed by Strabo A. M. 3880. and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to embellish or even repair it, but that moreover they built Seleucia in the neighbourhood,¹ on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold: "It shall not be inhabited." Its own masters endeavour to make it desolate.

III. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building Ctesiphon,² which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that from the time the curse was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; and had all thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, though

by indirect means and without using any violence, that it might more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

IV. She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition she was reduced at the time when Pausanias wrote his remarks upon Greece.³ A. D. 96. *Illa autem Babylon omnium quæ unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habet reliqui.* Paus. in Arcad. pag. 509.

V. The kings of Persia finding their place deserted, made a park of it in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals, that flee before him. Instead of citizens, she was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces."⁴

St. Jerome has transmitted to us the following valuable remark A. D. 400. which he had from a Persian monk, that he himself had seen what he had related to him. *Didicimus à quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis viam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone, et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.* In cap. Isa. xiii. 22.

VI. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals, which were to be subservient to the pleasure of the Persian kings, abandoned the place; serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after, its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way; so that in Theodoret's time, there was nothing more than a very stream of water left,⁵ which ran across the ruins, and, not meeting with a slope or free passage, necessarily degenerated into a marsh.

In the time of Alexander the Great,⁶ the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; the outlets being badly stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who had declared, he would destroy even to the very remains and footsteps of Babylon ["I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant,"⁷ defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold: "I will make it pools of water."⁸ And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

VII. By means of all these changes Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the most able geographers at this day cannot deter-

¹ Partem urbis Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus, consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia; maxime postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tizirum condidit, studiis tantum trecentis à Babylone distant. Strab. l. xvi. p. 778.

In solitudinem redit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciae, ob id condidit a Nicetore intra nonagesimum (or quadagesimum) lapidem. Plin. l. vi. c. 28.

² Pro illâ Seleuciam et Ctesiphontem urbes Persarum inditias fecerunt. S. Hieron. in cap. xiii. Isa.

³ He wrote in the reign of Antoninus, successor to Adrian, A. D. xiii. 21. 22.

⁴ Euphrates quondam urbem ipsam medium dividebat; nunc autem fluvius conversus est in allam viam, et per rudera minimus aquarum meatus fuit. Theodor. in cap. l. Jerem. ver. 38. 39.

⁵ Arrian. de exped. Alex. II. viii

⁶ Isa. xiv. 23.

Ibid. 23

mine the place where it stood.¹ In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled: "I will cut off from Babylon the name—I will make it a possession for the bitter, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts."² I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every trace of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, the Lord, have abolished. "I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts."

VIII. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand."³ But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world: it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the saints and the reprobate. The Scriptures that have foretold it, shall subsist till the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the public archives of religion. "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, As I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand."

What I have said of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almost entirely taken out of an excellent treatise upon Isaiah, which is still in manuscript.⁴

SECTION IV.—WHAT FOLLOWED UPON THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

CYRUS,⁵ having entered the city in the manner we have described, put all to the sword that were found in the streets: he then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison which kept the citadel being

apprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.

The first thing he did was, to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then, having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army.⁶ After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overcome by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and for that purpose, to take particular care to give their children a good education. This (says he) will necessarily engage us daily to make further advances in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples: nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us, but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.

Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications;⁷ but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependence upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of business, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so on, till, by these different degrees, and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not remain idle in the midst of all this motion, but was, as it were, the soul to the body of the state, which, by this means, he governed with as much ease as a father governs his private family.

When he afterwards sent governors, called *satrapæ*,⁸ into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, nor the commanding officers of the troops maintained for the security of the country, to be dependent upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; in that, if any of these *satrapæ*, elate with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his mal-administration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as the trusting of any one man with absolute power, well knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent of having exalted one person so high, if all others are thereby abused and kept under.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity,⁹ who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all those that distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any

¹ Nunc omnino destructa, ita ut vix ejus supersint rudera. Baurund.

² Isa. xiv. 22, 23.

³ Ibid. 24.

⁴ Babylon stood in a large plain, 35 English miles south of the ancient wall of Media, mentioned by Xenophon and Strabo in direct distance. This wall ran across the narrowest part of the isthmus formed by the approximation of these two rivers, separating the great plain of Babylon, or Babylonia, from the upper part of the intermediate tract watered by these two streams. We are not able to determine exactly the circumference and extent of ancient Babylon, so as to decide with precision and accuracy its dimensions, and which of those various statements of Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Solinus, Ctesias, Diodorus, Clearchus, and Curtius, are correct. The reason is, that no remains of the wall and ditch that surrounded the city are now traceable. Untraceable, however, as the walls now are, traces of the ancient city commence at two canals, running east and west immediately to the south of the village of Mahowil, a little east of the eastern bank of the Euphrates. One of these canals is crossed by a brick bridge. As soon as this bridge is crossed, the vestiges of the great city present themselves to the eye of the inquisitive traveller. He is gradually conducted to those immense tumuli, or mounds of temples, palaces, and human habitations of every kind, now buried in shapeless heaps, and a silence profound as that of the tomb. It is impossible not to be struck with solemn awe in thus passing, as it were, into the gates of "Fallen Babylon." From this bridge all the way to Hillah, a distance of full twelve miles, following the course of the stream, the remains of Babylon may be traced. At the distance of six miles west of the Euphrates stands the immense ruin of the Birs Nimrod, or the ancient temple of Belus. If we admit an equal extent to the east of the Euphrates, the measures of Herodotus are fully justified, who assigned to the ancient city a space of 480 stadia, forming a perfect square of 120 stadia, which, allowing ten stadia to a mile, makes each side of the square twelve miles in length, thus covering a superficies of 144 square miles, or more than nine times the area of London.

⁵ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 192.

⁶ Cyrop. l. vii. p. 197, 200.
⁷ Ibid. l. viii. p. 220.

⁸ Ibid.
⁹ Ibid. p. 269.

respect whatever. He infinitely preferred clemency to martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and useful. He was sensible that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners;¹ but in his opinion, the prince by his example was to be a living law to his people. Nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others,² unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed: he was also persuaded,³ that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or say any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal;⁴ nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others. "I have prodigious riches,"⁵ says he to his courtiers, "I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, even if I desired it. No: the chief end I aim at is to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities."

Croesus one day represented to him,⁶ that by continual largesses he would at last make himself poor, whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. "And to what sum," replied Cyrus, "do you think those treasures might have amounted?" Croesus named a certain sum which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a short note to be written to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him than Croesus had mentioned. "Look here," says Cyrus to him, "here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affection of my subjects."

But much as he esteemed liberality, he laid a still greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion.⁷ Upon this therefore he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of Magi, to sing daily a morning service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised amongst them in succeeding ages.

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed that by serving the gods as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus, on the other hand, was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments, being convinced, that whosoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

Cyrus, being resolved to establish his chief residence at Babylon,⁸ a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it necessary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto, in regard to the safety of his person. The most dangerous hours, for princes within their palaces, and the most likely for treasonable attempts upon their lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping. He determined therefore to suffer nobody to be near him at those times, but such persons on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; because, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and besides were generally despised on account of the meanness of their birth and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by every consideration to attach themselves solely to their masters, on whose life their whole fortune depended, and on whose account alone it was, that they possessed either wealth or consequence. Cyrus therefore constituted all the offices of his household to eunuchs: and this practice, which was not unknown before his time, from thenceforth became the general custom of all the eastern countries.

It is well known, that in after times it prevailed also amongst the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his person to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity, and merit, to intrust them also with the management of some public business, and by degrees to give himself up to them. These expert courtiers knew how to improve those favourable moments, when sovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themselves with their officers. And by this policy, having got possession of their masters' minds and confidence, they came to possess great influence at court, to have the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of employments and honours, and to arrive themselves at the highest offices and dignities of the state.

But the good emperors,⁹ such as Alexander Severus, held the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures sold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; persons, whose sole view was to get possession of the prince's mind, to conceal the knowledge of public business as much as possible from him, to preclude access to him from any person of real merit, and to keep him shut up and imprisoned, in a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire ascendancy and dominion over him; *Clauudentes principem sumum. et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

When Cyrus had established his regulations in every thing relating to the government,¹⁰ he resolved to show himself publicly to his own people, and to his newly conquered subjects, in a solemn, august ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that prince ever aimed at procuring respect towards himself, not only by the attractions of virtue (says the historian,) but by such an external pomp as was calculated to attract the multitude, and work like a charm or enchantment upon their imaginations.¹¹ He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a dress after the Median fashion; that is to say, long robes, which hung down to the feet. These were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers. It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the manner of

¹ Cyrop. I. viii. p. 204.

² Ib. 201.

³ Ib. 210.

⁴ Ib. p. 205.

⁵ Ib. 225.

⁶ Ib. 204.

⁸ Cyrop. I. vii. p. 196.

⁹ Lamprid. in vitâ Alex. Sever.

¹⁰ Cyrop. I. viii. p. 213, 220.

¹¹ Ἄλλα καὶ καταγογγύουσιν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖναι αὐτοῦς

the Medes,¹ and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more sparkling, and in painting their faces, in order to enliven their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and 2000 on the two sides of it ranged in the same order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side, and half on the other. As soon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and the other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next followed the horses that were to be sacrificed to the Sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the Sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with scarlet housings. Behind came the men who carried the sacred fire on a large hearth. When all these were upon their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with a royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat his master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the height of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him; whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the 4000 guards began to march: the other 2000 moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side of the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's household, to the number of 300, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them followed 200 led horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroidered furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of 10,000 men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four abreast, closed the procession.

When they came to the fields consecrated to the gods, they offered their sacrifices first to Jupiter, and then to the Sun. To the honour of the first were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the second, horses. They likewise sacrificed some victims to the Earth according to the appointment of the Magi; then to the demigods, the patrons and protectors of Syria.²

In order to afford the people some recreation after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot-races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out, about five stadia,³ and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for nobody was so complete a horseman as he. The chariots ran out two at a time, one against another.

This kind of procession continued a long time af-

terwards amongst the Persians, except only that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

Some days after,⁴ Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all the chief officers, as well foreigners as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present; so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude: and all-powerful as he was, master of all the East, and so many kingdoms, he did not think it derogatory to his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.

ARTICLE III.

THE HISTORY OF CYRUS, FROM THE TAKING OF BABYLON TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

Cyrus, finding himself master of all the East by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life: to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a constant application to the duties of his high station.

SECTION I.—CYRUS TAKES A JOURNEY INTO PERSIA. AT HIS RETURN FROM THENCE TO BABYLON, HE FORMS A PLAN OF GOVERNMENT FOR THE WHOLE EMPIRE. DANIEL'S CREDIT AND POWER.

When Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon,⁵ he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him at the same time that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in co-partnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. It is Cyaxares who is called in Scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

When they were arrived there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. They divided it into 120 provinces.⁶ And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition,⁷ Cyrus caused posthouses to be erected at proper distances, where the couriers that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible despatch. The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most,⁸ and rendered him the greatest service in the war. Over these governors were appointed three superintendents,⁹ who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account from time to time of every thing that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the affairs of the wh^ole

¹ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 206.

² Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Assyria.

³ A little above half a mile.

⁴ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 230—234.

⁵ Dan. vi. 1.

⁶ Ibid. p. 230.

⁷ Ib.; 227.

⁸ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 24.

⁹ Dan. vi. 2, 3.

empire. Of these three, Daniel was made the chief. He highly deserved such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the East, and had been displayed in a distinguished manner at Belshazzar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age and consummate experience; for at that time it was full sixty-seven years, i. e. the fourth of Nabuchodonosor, that he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon.

As this distinction made him the second person in the empire,¹ and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him, that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatsoever, for the space of thirty days, either of any god or any man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and cast into the den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and coming out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.

Towards the end of the same year,² which was reckoned the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, prayed earnestly to God that he would vouchsafe to remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel assured him in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance, much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure, to his church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to elapse from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of 490 years. For taking each day for a year, according to the language used sometimes in Holy Scripture, those seventy weeks of years, made up exactly 490 years.

Cyrus,³ upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they consisted of 120,000 horse, of 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with so many of them as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Ethiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just now related.

Perhaps in the same interval also were those famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of Darius the Mede, which for their fineness and beauty were for several ages preferred to all other money throughout the whole East.

SECTION II.—THE BEGINNING OF THE UNITED EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES. THE FAMOUS EDICT OF CYRUS. DANIEL'S PROPHECIES.

HERE, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomannus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of 206 years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674. But in this volume I propose to speak only of the first three kings; and little remains to be said of the founder of this new empire.

CYRUS. Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyses likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the empire. A. M. 3468 Ant. J. C. 536

The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently.⁴ Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time, when, by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years precisely expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who possessed great influence at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him this request, he showed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah,⁵ wherein, above 200 years before his birth, he was marked out by name as a prince appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and, at the same time, to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper in this place to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which, it may be presumed God had endowed him with so many heroic virtues and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of glorious victories and success.

"In the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the true God,) which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, besides the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem."⁶

Cyrus, at the same time, restored to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nabuchodonosor had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of his god. Shortly after the Jews departed under the conduct of Zorobabel, to return into their own country.

The Samaritans,⁷ who had long been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they so far prevailed by bribes and underhand dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, as to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on very slowly.

It seems to have been through grief at seeing the execution of this decree, so long retarded,⁸ that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquest of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I shall soon speak.

By what we find in the conclusion of the last chap-

Dan. vi. 4—27.
Cypriol. i. viii. 233.

• Ib. ix. 1—27.

• Cic. l. i. de Div. n. 46.
• Ezra, i. 1—4.
• Dan. x. 1—3.

• Isa. xlv. xlv.
• Ibid. iv. 1—5

ter,¹ we have reason to conjecture, that he died soon after; and, indeed, his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for at this time he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives: and some suppose him to have been eighteen years of age at that time: from that early age he had given proofs of wisdom, more than human, in the judgment of Susannah. He was ever afterwards very much esteemed by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. Josephus² speaks of a famous edifice built by him at Susa,³ in the manner of a castle, which he says still subsisted in his time, finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried; and for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to the time of Josephus. It was a common tradition in those parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that city,⁴ and there they show his monument even to this day. It is certain, that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us that *he did the king's business there*;⁵ that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

Reflections upon Daniel's Prophecies.

I have hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchadnezzar,⁶ and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years restored again to his understanding and to his throne. It is well known the matter happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction: the king himself relates it in a declaration addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to speak of it, as having been sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of such importance, and so injurious to the king, the falsehood of which must have been notorious to all the world?

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which designate the succession of the four great empires, and which, for that reason, have an essential and necessary relation to the subject matter of this work, which is no other than the history of those very empires.

The first of these prophecies has reference to the dream which Nebuchadnezzar had,⁷ of an image composed of different metals, gold, silver, brass, and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beaten as small as dust by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have already recited at large.⁸

About fifty years after,⁹ the same Daniel saw another vision very like that which I have just been speaking of; this was the vision of the four large beasts which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings; the second was like a bear; the third was like a leopard which had four

heads; the fourth and last still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet. From the midst of the ten horns, which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the other: the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand million of angels, pronounced an irreversible judgment upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations, and all the tribes, an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed, that the different metals of which the image was composed, and the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the Romans.¹⁰ This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him; but He only who is the master of times and monarchies who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who by a supernatural revelation imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases?¹¹

In the following chapter this prophet speaks with still greater clearness and precision.¹² For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner: The ram, which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel see that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foresee the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes, by saying that *he touched not the ground*? How did he learn, that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover,¹³ that Alexander would have no son to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered and divided into four principal kingdoms; and his successors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed, several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north?

The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel in Cyrus's reign,¹⁴ foretell that the fourth of Cyrus's successors should gather together all his forces to attack the Grecian

¹⁰ Some interpreters, instead of the Romans, substitute the kings of Syria and Egypt, Alexander's successors.

¹¹ He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth and setteth up kings. He revealeth the deep and secret things; and the light dwelleth with him. Dan. ii. 21, 22.

¹² Dan. vii.

¹³ And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion: and his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled. Dan. xi. 3, 4.—Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. Dan. viii. 22.

¹⁴ Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia. Dan. xi. 2.

¹ But go thou thy way till the end be; for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days. Dan. xii. 13.

² Antiq. l. x. cap. 12.

³ So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerome, who relates the same fact; Comm. in Dan. viii. 2. and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the text of Josephus.

⁴ Now called Tuster.

⁵ Dan. viii. 27.

⁶ Dan. iv.

⁷ Ibid. ii.

⁸ Pag. 142.

⁹ This was the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon. Dan. vi.

states?¹ How could this prophet, who lived so long before the time of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the profanation of that holy place, by setting up an idol therein; and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it? How could he,² in the first year of the Persian empire, foretell the wars which Alexander's successors would wage with one another in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerity in their treaties, and their alliances by marriage, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs?

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the conclusion which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel; so clear and express, that Porphyry,³ a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputing the divine original of them, than by pretending that they were written after the events, and were rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between empires of the world and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former every thing appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty, seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror every where, and whom nothing could withstand. But then they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors? How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires as of their founders or governors!

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been its striking characteristics. It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet, in reality, there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The design of his reign is to save mankind; to make them eternally happy, and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who may all of them be so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only that the whole world doth subsist; and when the number of them shall be complete, "Then," (says St. Paul)⁴ "cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father: when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power."

Can a writer, who sees in the prophecies of Daniel that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted during the time determined for them by the sovereign Disposer of kingdoms, do all terminate and centre in the empire of Jesus Christ; can a writer, I say, amidst all these profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great divine one, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others.

SECTION III.—THE LAST YEARS OF CYRUS. THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.

LET us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects,⁵ and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine seas, on the west by the Ægean sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia.

He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months of the year at Babylon in the winter-season, because of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in the spring, and two months at Ecbatana during the heat of the summer.

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, for the seventh time after his accession to the whole monarchy: and this shows that he used to go regularly into Persia once a year. Cambyses had now been dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had elapsed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he enjoyed a vigorous state of health,⁶ which was the fruit of the sober and temperate life which he had constantly led. And whereas they, who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery, often feel all the infirmities of age, even whilst they are young; Cyrus, on the contrary, at a very advanced age, still enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him: and after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son Cambyses, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tannoxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support of the throne was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches; but a due respect for the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. "I conjure you therefore," said he, "my dear children, in the name of the gods, to respect and love one another, if you mean to retain any desire to please me in future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will not see me after my death. You never saw my soul to this instant: you must have known, however, by its actions, that it really existed. Do you believe that honours would still be paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my sons, I could never imagine, that the soul only lived whilst in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. But if I mistake, and nothing shall remain of me after death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things, and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing contrary to religion and justice. Next to them, fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed you upon a great theatre to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be assured, they will augment your glory and power. As to my body, my sons, when life has forsaken it, enclose it neither in gold nor silver, nor any other matter whatsoever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EARTH. Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated, with the benefactress and common mother of human kind?" After having given his hand to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death, he added these last words: "Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy: carry my last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewell, and may you live in peace." After having said A. M. 3475. this, he covered his face, and died Ant. J. C. 529. equally lamented by all his people.

¹ Xerxes.

² Dan. xi. 5-43.

³ S. Hieron. in Proem. ad Com. in Dan.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 24.

⁵ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233, &c.

⁶ Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam senissem, senectutem suam imbecilliorum factam, quam addidisse censuit. — Cic. de Senect. n. 9

The order given by Cyrus to RESTORE HIS BODY TO THE EARTH, is, in my opinion, worthy of observation. He would have thought it disgraced and injured, if enclosed in gold or silver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, says he. Where did that prince learn that it was from thence it derived its origin? Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of the human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

Character and eulogy of Cyrus.

Cyrus may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince mentioned in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art, as far as that age had carried it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and equal steadiness and prudence for executing, the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes, who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished, when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean actions they are capable of in private life: how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable, and even odious, they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the slightest matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access, and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantages may result from a single word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a reason assigned at the same time that a command is given, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and good will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which most sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendour and affluence with which they are surrounded. Cyrus was beloved,¹ because he himself had a love for others: for, has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing is more interesting than to see in Xenophon the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command to tell him whatever they thought.² And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing

without asking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to perform any thing in the government, to make some change in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own: so different was he from the person mentioned by Tacitus,³ who thought it a sufficient reason for rejecting the most excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himself: *Consilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipse non affirret ini-micus.*

Cicero observes,⁴ that during the whole time of Cyrus's government, he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word: *Cujus summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit.* What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that short sentence! Cyrus must have been a very great master of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure as that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his steadfast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people;⁵ and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant, indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests and to secure to them tranquillity and plenty. He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king,⁶ that a prince ought to consider himself as a shepherd⁷ (the image under which both sacred and profane antiquity represented good kings;) and that he ought to have the same vigilance, care, and goodness. "It is his duty," says he, "to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to burden himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. This," says he, "is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable, that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock."

Indeed, to be the guardian of the commonwealth, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is, not to belong to themselves: the very characteristic of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be considered as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these derogatory to the dignity of the regal state?

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus succeeded in founding such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for many years; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; that after his death he was universally regretted as the common father of all his people.

We ought not to be surprised, that Cyrus was so

¹ Hist. l. i. c. 26.

² Lib. i. Epist. 2. ad Q. fratrem.

³ Cyrop. l. i. p. 27.

⁴ Ib. l. viii. p. 210.

⁵ Thou shalt feed my people, said God to David. 2 Sam. v. 2. Ποιμαίνω, Homer, in many places.

⁶ Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es. Paneg. Trajan.

⁷ Plat. l. iii. de Leg. p. 694.

accomplished in every virtue (it will easily be understood, that I speak only of pagan virtues,) because we know that this was God himself, who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, nor that he immediately made him such, as we admire him in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy disposition, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time, to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But, above all, he took care, that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to the mode in which he was educated, which confounding him in some sort, with the rest of the subjects, and keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride, which is so natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety; and, in a word, rendered him such as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery.

It must be confessed, that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that Heaven can make to mortal man. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation: That all good kings are the gift of God alone, and that such a gift includes many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest image of the Deity is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view than to establish the reign of justice and virtue. This is the portrait which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great resemblance to that of Cyrus. *Nullum est præstabilius et pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales quàm castus, et sanctus, et Deo similissimus, princeps.*¹

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, there seems to me to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly. I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden reverse of fortune. I know, indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter: *Fortunam adhuc tantùm adversam tulisti;*² *secundæ res acrioribus stimulis explorant animos.* And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon the soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear up against the burden; whereas prosperity, attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle: *Quia miserie tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.*

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul which is animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients, improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views and provides against every thing; and, lastly, a firmness

of soul, that not only suffices to itself, but is capable of supporting others.

Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himself informs us,³ that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident; and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us at the same time, with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the apprehension of the changes and misfortunes that might happen; and this prudent fear was not only a preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.⁴

There remains one point more to be examined, of great importance in appreciating this prince's reputation and character, upon which however I shall touch but slightly; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests: for if these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked only among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind,⁵ who acknowledged no right but that of force; who looked upon the common rules of justice as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions, than their incapacity of carrying them to an equal extent with their wishes; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory to consist in spreading desolation and destruction, like an inundation or a conflagration; and who reigned as bears and lions would do, if they were masters.⁶

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes, whom the world admires; and by such ideas as these, we ought to correct the impression made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many deceived by false images of grandeur.

I do not know whether I am not biased in favour of Cyrus; but he seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertakings; but he certainly revered the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, in which whoever unseasonably engages, renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now every war is of this sort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

Cyrus,⁷ as we have seen, at the beginning of the war founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Croesus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of the Lesser Asia; and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all Upper Asia, and many other countries, both which princes were the aggressors.

¹ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 234.

² Οὐκ εἶα μὴ, ὡς ποιεῖς, οὐδ' ἐνὶ σπουδαίᾳ ἰκνέσθαι.

³ Id in summâ fortunâ aquies quod validius. Et sua retinere, privatâ domû: de alienis certare, regium laudem esse. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 1.

⁴ Que alia vita esset, si leones urisq; regnarent? Sen. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 26.

⁵ Cyrop. l. i. p. 35.

⁶ Paneg. Traj.

⁷ Tac. Hist. lib. i. c. 15.

With good reason therefore is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which cannot be such, unless justice is the basis and foundation of it: *Cyrus à Xenophonte scriptus ad justitiam effigiem imperii*.¹

SECTION IV.—WHEREIN HERODOTUS AND XENOPHON DIFFER IN THEIR ACCOUNTS OF CYRUS.

HERODOTUS and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in what may be considered as the ground-work and most essential part of Cyrus's history, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests; yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

He tells us, as Justin does after him,² that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandane to a Persian of obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyases. This daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards recognized by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and caused him to feed on the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, defeated him in a battle, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror.³ This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle pretended to fly, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drunk largely, and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to see himself a prisoner, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed above 200,000 of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, she hung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words: *Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable*.⁴

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy and first adventures, has much more the air of a romance than of a history. And, as to the manner of his death, what probability is there, that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambush laid by a woman for him? What the same historian relates concerning his impetuosity and passion,⁵ and his childish revenge upon the river, in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and

which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into 360 channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus whose distinguishing characteristic was mildness and moderation. Besides,⁶ is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardour of his troops in such an unprofitable work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But, what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between his narrative and the Holy Scripture; where we see that, instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes (as Herodotus relates), those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces, to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence, then, could so great a difference between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he acquaints us that, even at that time, those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best, for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and readily gave credit to them. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and less credulous; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education and character.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF CAMBYSES.

As soon as Cambyases ascended the throne,⁷ he resolved to make A. M. 3475.
war against Egypt, for a particular Ant. J. C. 529.
affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have received from Amasis; but it is more probable that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himself, by refusing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the same homage and tribute to his successor, and by attempting to shake off his yoke.

Cambyases,⁸ in order to carry on the war with success, made vast preparations both by sea and land. The Cyriots and Phœnicians furnished him with ships. As for his land army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater service to him in this war, than Phanes of Heliconassus, who being the commander of some auxiliary Greeks, in the service of Amasis, and being some way or other dissatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyases, and gave him such intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of his affairs, as very much facilitated the success of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whose territories bordered upon Palestine and Egypt, to furnish his army with water during their march through the desert that lay between these two countries: which agreement that prince fulfilled, by sending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyases could never have marched his army that way.

Having made all these preparations,⁹ he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. When he arrived upon the frontiers, he was informed that Amasis was just dead, and that Psammetichus, his son, who succeeded him, was busy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyases could open a passage into the country, it was necessary he should render himself master of Pelusium, which was the key of

¹ Cic. l. i. Epist. 1. ad Q. fratrem.

² Herod. l. i. c. 107—130. Justin. l. i. c. 4. 6.

³ Ib. l. i. c. 205—214. Ib. l. i. c. 8.

⁴ Sætia te, inquit, sanguine, quem sitiisti, cæquesque insatiabilis semper fuisti. Justin. l. i. c. 8.

⁵ Herod. l. i. c. 129.

⁶ Sen. l. iii. 3. de ira. c. 21.

⁷ Herod. l. iii. c. 1—3.

⁸ Ibid. c. 10.

⁹ Ibid. c. 4—9.

Egypt on the side he invaded it. Now Pelusium was so strong a place, that in all likelihood it must have stopped him a great while. But, according to Polyænus, to facilitate the capture of this city, Cambyzes invented the following stratagem.¹ Being informed that the whole garrison consisted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as sacred by that nation; and then attacked the city by storm. The soldiers of the garrison not daring either to fling a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting some of these animals, Cambyzes became master of the place without opposition.

When Cambyzes had got possession of the city,² Psammenitus advanced with a great army, to stop his progress; and a fierce battle ensued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks who were in Psammenitus's army, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, and in the presence of the two armies, cut their throats and drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Persians, enraged at so horrid a spectacle, fell upon them with such fury, that they quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greatest part were killed upon the spot. Those that could save themselves escaped to Memphis.

On the occasion of this battle,³ Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, of which he himself was a witness. The bones of the Persians and Egyptians were still in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from one another. The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that a violent stroke of a stone would hardly break them; and those of the Persians so soft, that they might be pierced through with the greatest ease imaginable. The reason of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accustomed to have their heads shaved, and go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiaras, which is one of their principal ornaments.

Cambyzes, having pursued the runaways to Memphis,⁴ sent a herald into the city, in a vessel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis stood, to summon the inhabitants to surrender. But the people, transported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were with him. Cambyzes, having soon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, causing ten times as many Egyptians, of the highest rank, as there had been persons massacred in the vessel, to be publicly executed. Among these was the eldest son of Psammenitus. As for the king himself, Cambyzes was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind usage, endeavoured to raise new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a punishment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign lasted but six months; after which all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. On the news of this success, the Libyans, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all sent ambassadors with presents to Cambyzes, to make their submission.

From Memphis he went to the city of Sais,⁵ which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As soon as he entered the palace, he caused the body of Amasis to be taken out of its tomb; and after having exposed it to a thousand indignities in his own presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire, and to be burnt; which was a thing equally contrary to the customs of the Persians and Egyptians. The rage which this prince testified against the dead body of Amasis shows to what a degree he hated his person. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, it seems to have been one of the chief motives that induced Cambyzes to carry his arms into Egypt.

The next year,⁶ which was the sixth of his reign,

he resolved to make war in three different quarters, against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was obliged to lay aside, because the Phœnicians, without whose assistance he could not carry on that war, refused to aid him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.

But being determined to invade the other two nations,⁷ he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that character, were to act as spies for him, and to learn the state and strength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They carried presents along with them, such as the Persians were used to make, as purple, golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. These presents, amongst which there was nothing useful, or serviceable to life, except the wine, were despised by the Ethiopians; neither did they make much more account of his ambassadors, whom they took for what they really were, that is, for spies. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing, after his way, to make a present to the king of Persia; and, taking a bow in his hands, which a Persian was so far from being able to draw, that he could scarce lift it, he bent it in presence of the ambassadors, and told them: "This is the present, and the counsel the king of Ethiopia gives the king of Persia. When the Persians shall be able to use a bow of this bigness and strength, with as much ease as I have now bent it, then let them come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops with them than Cambyzes is master of. In the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having put into the hearts of the Ethiopians a wish to extend their dominions beyond their own country."

This answer having enraged Cambyzes,⁸ he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without considering, that he neither had provisions nor anything necessary for such an expedition; but he left the Grecians behind him, in his new conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

As soon as he arrived at Thebes,⁹ in Upper Egypt, he detached 50,000 of his men against the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the country, and to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon,¹⁰ which was situated there. But after several days' march in the desert, a violent wind blowing from the south, brought such a vast quantity of sand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed and buried under it.

In the mean time Cambyzes marched forwards like a madman against the Ethiopians, notwithstanding his being destitute of all sorts of provisions; which quickly caused a terrible famine in his army. He had

¹ Herod. l. iii. c. 20—24.

² Ibid. c. 25.

³ Ibid. c. 25—26.

⁴ [The Oasis of Seewah, where the Temple of Jupiter Ammon was situated, was 6 miles long, by 4 or 5 wide. It is distant 12 days' journey west of Cairo; the same from Charje, the principal village of El-wah, or the Greater Oasis; and 14 days' journey from Dourah, on the coast, and 118 miles south of Paratonium, on the coast now called Al Burton. This last was the place whence Alexander set out inland to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, after having gone along the shore for a space of 1600 stadia.]

⁵ Brown's description of Seewah, or the Oasis of Ammon, exactly harmonizes with those of Herodotus, Diodorus, Arrian, Curtius, Strabo, and with the Arabian geographers, as Edrisi, Jacut, Abulfeda, and Ebn al Wardi; so that there can be no reasonable doubt of the identity of the modern Seewah, or Schanariah, with the ancient Oasis of Ammon.

⁶ The ruins, so far as they have been examined, bear a striking similarity to the Egyptian temples, in point of form and architecture. Mr. Brown thought he discovered two figures sculptured on the walls with rams' heads. Jupiter Ammon's statue was represented with the head of a ram, and was worshipped at Carthage, Libya, and Ethiopia. There was a temple and oracle of Ammon at Moroe, according to Herodotus and Pliny; and the latter says, that round the track of Moroe, there were many Sacella or chapels. Osiris was the principal deity of the Egyptians—Ammon of the Ethiopians; from whom it is probable it descended the Nile, and spread west into Libya. There is not the smallest doubt now remaining, after the researches of Legh, Belmore, Burchardt, and Waddington in Nubia, that the ruined temples and pyramids on the banks of the Nile, as high up as Shendi, are much more ancient than any in Egypt; and that the gods of that country, and especially Jupiter Ammon, descended the Nile to Thebes, Dendera, and Memphis.]

¹ Polyæn. l. vii.

² Ibid. c. 12.

³ Ibid. c. 16.

⁴ Herod. l. iii. c. 11.

⁵ Ibid. c. 12.

⁶ Ibid. c. 17—19.

still time, says Herodotus, to remedy this evil; but Cambyzes would have thought it a dishonour to have desisted from his undertaking, and therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At first his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees; but coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden. At last they were brought to such a cruel extremity, as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions; a food, says Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itself: *Decimum quemque sortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame sœvis*.¹ Notwithstanding all this, the king still persisted in his design, or rather in his madness, nor did the miserable desolation of his army make him sensible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid of his own person, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and the camels were still reserved that were loaded with every thing that was requisite to set out a sumptuous table. *Servabantur illi interim generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum sortirentur milites ejus quis malis periret, quis pejus viveret*.²

The remainder of his army, of which the greatest part was lost in his expedition, he brought back to Thebes; where he succeeded much better in the war he declared against the gods,³ whom he found more easy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples, whose riches and magnificence were almost incredible. All these Cambyzes pillaged, and then set them on fire. The wealth of these temples must have been vastly great, since the very remains saved from the flames amounted to an immense sum, 300 talents of gold, and 2300 talents of silver. He likewise carried away at this time the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king Ozymandias,⁴ which was 365 cubits in circumference, and in which were represented all the motions of the several constellations.

From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he dismissed all the Greeks, and sent them to their respective homes;⁵ but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, supposing this exultation to be on account of the ill success of his expedition. He therefore called the magistrates before him, to know the meaning of these public rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was because they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death as impostors that insulted him and his misfortunes. He then sent for the priests, who made him the same answer; upon which he replied, that since their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But when, instead of a god, he saw a calf, he was strangely astonished, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger and run it into the thigh of the beast; and then upbraiding the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute for a god, he ordered them to be severely scourged, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languished of his wound for some time, and then died.

The Egyptians say,⁶ that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyzes grew mad. But his actions showed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various instances: among the rest are these following.

He had a brother,⁷ the only son of Cyrus besides himself, and born of the same mother: his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He

accompanied Cambyzes in his Egyptian expedition: but being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which had been brought from the king of Ethiopia, Cambyzes from hence conceived such a jealousy against him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after, dreaming that a messenger had arrived to inform him that Suerdis sat on the throne, he conceived a suspicion that his brother aspired to the kingdom, and sent after him into Persia Prexaspes, one of his chief confidants, with orders to put him to death, which were accordingly executed.

This murder was the cause of another still more criminal.⁸ Cambyzes had with him in the camp his youngest sister, whose name was Meroe: Herodotus acquaints us after what a strange manner this sister became his wife. As the princess was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyzes absolutely resolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Persian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them whether there was any law that would allow a brother to marry a sister. The judges being unwilling on the one hand directly to authorise such an incestuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a salvo, and gave him this crafty answer: That they had no law which permitted a brother to marry his sister, but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. And this answer serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant soever it be to modesty and good order. This princess he carried with him in all his expeditions, and from her he gave the name of Meroe to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethiopians. The circumstance that gave occasion to his murdering this princess was as follows. One day Cambyzes was diverting himself in seeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog; the lion having the better, another dog, brother to him that was engaged, came to his assistance, and helped him to master the lion. This incident highly delighted Cambyzes, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her husband the reason of her weeping, confessed that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not the same good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithstanding her being with child, such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she died of it. So abominable a marriage deserved no better an end.

He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive,⁹ and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaspes, one of his principal officers and his chief confidant, to declare to him what his Persian subjects thought and said of him. "They admire, Sir," says Prexaspes, "a great many excellent qualities which they see in you, but they are somewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine." "I understand you," replied the king; "that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reason. You shall be judge of that immediately." Upon which he began to drink excessively, pouring it down in larger quantities than ever he had done at any time before. Then ordering Prexaspes's son, who was his chief cup-bearer, to stand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled it at him; and declaring that he aimed at his heart, let fly, and actually shot him in the heart. He then ordered his side to be opened, and showing Prexaspes the heart of his son, which the arrow had pierced, asked him in an exulting and scoffing manner, if he had not a steady hand! The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining

¹ De Ira. l. iii. c. 20. ² Ibid. ³ Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 43.

⁴ Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 46. ⁵ Herod. l. iii. c. 27—29.

⁶ Ibid. c. 30. ⁷ Ibid. c. 30.

⁸ Herod. l. iii. c. 31, 32.

⁹ Ibid. c. 34, 35. Sen. l. iii. de Ira. c. 14.

after a stroke like this, was so mean-spirited as to reply, *Apollo himself could not have shot better.* Seneca, who copied this story from Herodotus, after having shown his detestation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns still more the cowardly and monstrous flattery of the father: *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est, quam missum.*

When Croesus took upon him to advise Cambyzes against his conduct, which disgusted every one, and laid before him the ill consequences that might result from it, he ordered him to be put to death.¹ And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he caused them all to be put to death, because they had not obeyed his commands, though at the same time he expressed great joy that Croesus was alive.

It was about this time that Oretes, one of Cambyzes's satrapæ, who had the government of Sardis, after a very strange and extraordinary manner brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The story of this Polycrates is of so singular a nature, that the reader will not be displeased if I repeat it here.

This Polycrates was a prince,² who through the whole course of his life had been uniformly prosperous and successful in all his affairs, and had never met with the least disappointment or unfortunate accident to disturb his felicity. Amasis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally, thought himself obliged to send him a letter of admonition upon that subject. He declared to him that he had alarming apprehensions concerning his condition; that such a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity was to be suspected; that some malignant, invidious god, who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly sooner or later bring ruin and destruction upon him; that in order to prevent such a fatal stroke, he advised him to procure some misfortune to himself, by some voluntary loss, that he was persuaded would prove a sensible mortification to him.

The tyrant followed this advice. Having an emerald ring, which he highly esteemed, particularly for its curious workmanship, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers, he threw it into the sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, some fishermen, having caught a fish of an extraordinary size, made a present of it to Polycrates. When the fish came to be opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His surprise was very great, and his joy still greater.

When Amasis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He wrote another letter to Polycrates, telling him that, to avoid the mortification of seeing his friend and ally fall into some grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendship and alliance. A strange whimsical notion this! as if friendship was merely a name, or a title, destitute of all substance and reality.

Be that as it will, the thing, however, did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended.³ Some years after, about the time Cambyzes fell sick, Oretes, who, as I said before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another satrap had made him in a private quarrel, of his not having yet conquered the isle of Samos, which lay so near his government, and would be so commodious for his master; upon this resolved at any rate to destroy Polycrates, that he might get possession of the island. The way he took to effect his design was this. He wrote to Polycrates that, in consequence of information upon which he could depend, Cambyzes intended to destroy him by assassination, he designed to withdraw to Samos, and there to secure his treasure and effects; for which end he was determined to deposit them in the hands of Polycrates, and at the same time make him a present of one half of it, which would enable him to conquer Ionia and the adjacent islands, a project he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and passionately coveted to en-

large his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not rashly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the truth of the matter, and to that end sent a messenger of his own to Sardis. Oretes had caused eight large chests to be filled with stones almost to the top, but had covered the stones with pieces of gold coin. These chests were packed up, and appeared ready to be sent on board ship; but they were opened before the messenger, on his arrival, and he supposed that they were filled with gold. As soon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and seize his prey, set out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends; and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated physician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival, Oretes had him arrested, as an enemy to the state, and as such caused him to be hanged: in such an ignominious and shameful manner did he end a life which had been but one continued series of prosperity and good fortune.

Cambyzes,⁴ in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return into Persia. When he came into Syria, he found a herald there, sent from Susa to the army, to let them know that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, had been proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in the following manner. Cambyzes, at his departure from Susa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of Patisithes, one of the chief of the Magi. This Patisithes had a brother extremely like Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and who perhaps for that reason was called by the same name. As soon as Patisithes was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been concealed from the public, knowing, at the same time, that Cambyzes indulged his extravagance to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and immediately despatched heralds into all parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's accession, and to require all the subjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

Cambyzes caused the herald,⁵ that came with these orders into Syria, to be arrested; and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he who had usurped the throne, was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to destroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the usurper. But, as he was mounting his horse for this expedition, his sword slipped out of its scabbard, and gave him a wound in his thigh, of which he died soon after. The Egyptians remarking that it was in the same part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, considered this accident as a just judgment from Heaven, which thus avenged the sacrilegious impiety of Cambyzes.

While he was in Egypt,⁶ having consulted the oracle of Buto, which was famous in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana: understanding this of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria. For the town where he lay sick of this wound, was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana. Of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled all the chief of the Persians together, and representing to them the true state of the case, that it was Smerdis the Magian who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor to suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a

¹ Herod. l. iii. c. 36.
² Ibid. c. 120—125.

³ Ibid. 39—43

⁴ Herod. l. iii. c. 61.
⁵ Ibid. c. 64—66.

⁶ Ibid. c. 63—64.

king over them of their own people. The Persians, thinking that he said all this merely out of hatred to his brother, paid no regard to it; but upon his death quietly submitted to him whom they found upon the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.

Cambyzes reigned seven years and five months.¹ In Scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made an application directly to him, desiring him to hinder the building of the temple; and their application was not in vain. Indeed, he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his memory, but in a great measure frustrated its intent, by the many discouragements under which he laid the Jews; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF SMERDIS THE MAGIAN.

THIS prince is called in Scripture A. M. 3482. Artaxerxes. He reigned little more than seven months. As soon as he was set upon the throne, by the death of Cambyzes, the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him,² setting forth what a turbulent, seditious and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter they obtained an order from the king prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any farther in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years.

The Magian, sensible how important it was for him, that the imposture should not be discovered, affected, from the very beginning of his reign, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there transact all his affairs by the intervention of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his most intimate confidants to his presence.

And,³ the better to secure himself in the possession of the throne he had usurped, he studied from his first accession to gain the affections of his subjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military service for three years; and did so many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by most of the nations of Asia, except the Persians, on the revolution that happened soon afterwards.

But these very precautions which he made use of to keep himself out of the way of being discovered either by the nobility or the people,⁴ did but make it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among the rest Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma, a daughter of Otanes, a noble Persian of the first quality. This nobleman sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or some other man. She answered, that never having seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then by a second message desired her to enquire of Atossa (who could not but know her own brother,) whether this were he or not. Whereupon she informed him that the present king, be he who he might, from the first day of his accession to the throne, had lodged his wives in separate apartments, so that they never could converse with one another, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa, to ask this question of her. He sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity when he was fast asleep, to feel whether he had any ears or not: for Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis, the Magian, to be cut off for some crime, he told her, that if the person she lay with was Smerdis, the Magian, he was unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to, and finding the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word to

her father of it, whereby the whole fraud was discovered.

Otanes immediately entered into a conspiracy with five more of the chief Persian nobility;⁵ and Darius, an illustrious Persian nobleman, whose father, Hystaspes, was governor of Persia,⁶ coming very reasonably as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the association, and vigorously promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great secrecy, and the very day fixed, lest it should be discovered.

While they were concerting their measures,⁷ an extraordinary occurrence, of which they had not the least expectation, strangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all suspicion, they had proposed to Prexaspes, and obtained a promise from him, that he would publicly declare before the people, who were to be assembled for that purpose, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. When the people were assembled, which was on the very same day, Prexaspes spoke from the top of a tower, and to the great astonishment of all present, sincerely declared all that had passed; that he had killed with his own hand Smerdis the son of Cyrus, by Cambyzes' order; that the person who now possessed the throne, was Smerdis, the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulsion and against his will. Having said this, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is easy to imagine, what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

The conspirators,⁸ without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were suffered to enter unsuspected. For the outer guard, knowing them to be persons of the first rank at court, did not so much as ask them any questions. But when they came near the king's apartment, and found the officers there unwilling to give them admittance, they drew their scimitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their passage. Smerdis, the Magian, and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the affair of Prexaspes, hearing a sudden uproar, snatched up their arms, made the best defence they could, and wounded some of the conspirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a distant room to save himself, but was pursued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark, Darius was afraid to strike, lest at the same time he should kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that restrained him, obliged him to run his sword through the Magian's body, though he should happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with so much dexterity and good fortune, that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.

In the same instant,⁹ with their hands all smeared with blood, they went out of the palace, exposed the heads of the false Smerdis and his brother Patisithes to the eyes of the public, and declared the whole imposture. Upon this the people grew so enraged, that they fell upon the whole sect to which the usurper belonged, and slew as many of them as they could find. For which reason, the day on which this was done, thenceforward became an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called *The slaughter of the Magi*; nor durst any of that sect appear in public upon this festival.

When the tumult and disorder,¹⁰ inseparable from such an event, were appeased, the lords who had slain the usurper entered into consultation among themselves what sort of government was most proper for them to establish. Otanes, who spoke first, declared directly against monarchy, strongly representing and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniences to which that form of government was liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from the absolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the most virtuous man

Exra. iv. 4. 6.
• Herod. l. iii. c. 67.

• Exra. iv. 7—24.
• Ibid. c. 69.

• Herod. l. iii. c. 70—73.
• Herod. l. iii. c. 74, 75.
• Ibid. c. 79.

• The province so called.
• Ibid. c. 76—78.
• Ibid. c. 80—83.

almost unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring for a popular government. Megabyzus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had said against a monarchical government, confuted his reasons for a democracy. He represented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice and passion. "A king," said he, "at least knows what he does; but the people neither know nor hear anything, and blindly give themselves up to those that know how to manage them." He therefore declared for an aristocracy, wherein the supreme power is confided to a few wise and experienced persons. Darius, who spoke last, showed the inconveniences of an aristocracy, otherwise called an oligarchy; wherein reign distrust, envy, dissensions, and ambition, the natural sources of faction, sedition, and murder; for which there is usually no other remedy than submitting to the authority of one man; and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the most commendable, the safest, and the most advantageous: inexpressibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whose power is equal to the goodness of his inclinations. "In short," said he, "to determine this point by a fact which to me seems decisive and undeniable, to what form of government is owing the present greatness of the Persian empire? Is it not to that which I am now recommending?" Darius's opinion was embraced by the rest of the lords; and they resolved, that the monarchy should be continued on the same foot whereon it had been established by Cyrus.

The next question was to know, which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election.¹ This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet the next morning by sun-rising, on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city; and that he whose horse first neighed, should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the Persians, they imagined, that taking this course, would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to secure the crown to his master. The night before he carried a mare to the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his master's horse. The lords assembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no sooner was Darius's horse come to the place where he had smelt the mare, than he fell a neighing; whereupon Darius was saluted king by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes.

The Persian empire being thus restored¹ and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven lords,² they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges. They had access to his person whenever they would, and in all public affairs were allowed to deliver their opinions the first. And whereas the Persians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backwards, except the king, who wore his erect; these lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forwards, because, when they attacked the Magi, they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confusion. From that time forwards, the Persian kings of this family always had seven counsellors, honoured with the same privilege.

Here I shall conclude the history of the Persian empire, reserving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, LYDIANS, MEDES, AND PERSIANS.

I SHALL give in this place an account of the manners and customs of all these several nations conjointly, because they agree in several points; and if I was to treat them separately, I should be obliged to make

frequent repetitions; and, moreover, excepting the Persians, the ancient authors say very little of the manners of the other nations. I shall reduce what I have to say of them to these four heads.

- I. Their government.
- II. Their art of war.
- III. Their arts and sciences: and
- IV. Their religion.

After which I shall narrate the causes of the declension and ruin of the great Persian empire.

ARTICLE I.

OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

After a short account of the nature of the government of Persia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I shall proceed to consider these four things: Their public council, wherein the affairs of state were considered; the administration of justice; their care of the provinces; and the good order observed in their finances.

SECTION I.—THEIR MONARCHICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THE RESPECT THEY PAID THEIR KINGS. THE MANNER OF EDUCATING THEIR CHILDREN.

MONARCHICAL, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the most ancient, the most universal, the best adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the least exposed to the revolutions and vicissitudes incident to states. For these reasons the wisest writers among the ancients, as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have been induced to prefer decidedly this form of government to all others. It is likewise the only form that was ever established among the eastern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

Those people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne,³ because in his person they respected the character of the Deity, whose image and vicergerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the supreme Governor of the world, and invested with his authority and power, in order to be the minister of his providence, and the dispenser of his goodness towards the people. In this manner did the pagans themselves in old times both think and speak: *Principem dat Deus, cui erga omne hominum genus vice sua fingatur.*⁴

These sentiments are very laudable and just. For certainly the most profound respect and reverence are due to the supreme power; because it cometh from God, and is appointed entirely for the good of the public: besides, it is evident, that an authority which is not respected according to the full extent of its commission, must thereby either become useless, or at least very much limited in the good effects which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganism this honour and homage, though just and reasonable in themselves, were often carried too far; the Christian being the only religion that has known how to keep within due bounds in this point. We honour the emperor, said Tertullian in the name of all the Christians;⁵ but in such a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him; that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no superior but God alone. For this reason he calls the emperor in another place a second majesty inferior to nothing but the first; *Religio secundæ majestatis.*⁶

Among the Assyrians, and more particularly among the Persians, the prince used to be styled, *The great king, the king of kings*. Two reasons might induce those princes to take that ostentatious title: the one because their empire was formed of many conquered

¹ Plin. in. Themist. p. 125. Ad Princ. induc. p. 780.

² Plin. in. Paneg. Traj.

³ Colimus Imperatorem, sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipai expedit; ut hominem à Deo secundum, et quicquid est, à Deo consecutum, et solo Deo minorem. Tertul. L. ad Scap.

⁴ Apol. c. 35.

⁵ Herod. l. iii. c. 84—87

⁶ Ibid.

kingdoms, all united under one head; the other, because they had several kings, their vassals, either in their court, or dependent upon them.

The crown was hereditary among them, descending from father to son, and generally to the eldest.¹ When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, and all manner of public rejoicings; and his birth-day was thenceforward an annual festival, and day of solemnity for all the Persians.

The manner of educating the future master of the empire is admired by Plato,² and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.

He was never wholly committed to the care of a nurse, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition: but from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the household, some of the most approved merit and probity were chosen, to take care of the young prince's person and health, till he was seven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as soon as his strength would permit, and to exercise him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain some maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state, were appointed to be his preceptors. The first, says Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worship of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasdes; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second was to accustom him to speak truth, and to administer justice. The third was to teach him not to suffer himself to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be truly a king, and always free, master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify his courage against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those that are born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education assigned to him. One was particularly distinguished for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and justice; this for his moderation and abstinence from pleasures; that for a superior strength of mind, and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know whether such a diversity of masters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different interests in view, was well calculated to answer the end proposed; or whether it was possible that four men should agree together in the same principles, and harmoniously pursue the same end. Probably the reason of having so many was, that they apprehended it impossible to find any one person possessed of all the qualities they judged necessary for giving a right education to the presumptive heir of the crown; so great an idea had they, even in those corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the same place, was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of officers that waited upon him with a servile submission; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure, and the inventing of new diversions, seemed to engross all attention; dangers which the most excellent disposition could never surmount. The corrupt manners of the nation therefore quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the prevailing pleasures, against which no education is a sufficient defence.

The education here spoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, the son and successor of Xerxes, in whose time lived Alcibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue from whence this observation is taken. For Plato, in another passage, which we shall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus nor Darius ever thought

of giving the princes, their sons, a good education; and what we find in history concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reason to believe, that he was more attentive than his predecessors to the education of his children; but was not much imitated in that respect by his successors.

SECTION II.—THE PUBLIC COUNCIL, WHEREIN THE AFFAIRS OF STATE WERE CONSIDERED.

ABSOLUTE as the regal authority was among the Persians, yet was it, in some measure, kept within bounds by the establishment of this council, appointed by the state; a council, which consisted of seven of the princes or chief lords of the nation, no less distinguished by their wisdom and abilities than by their illustrious birth. We have already seen the origin of this establishment in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis, the Magian, and killed him.

The Scripture observes, that Ezra was sent into Judah, in the name, and by the authority, of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors: *Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king and of his seven counsellors.*³

The same Scripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwise called Ahasuerus, who succeeded the Magian, informs us, that these counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and maxims of the state; that they always attended the prince, who never transacted any thing, or determined any affair of importance, without their advice.

*Interrogavit (Assuerus) sapientes, qui ex more regio ei semper aderant, et illorum faciebat cuncta consilio, scientium leges ac jura majorum.*⁴

This last passage gives room for some reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Persian government.

In the first place, the king there spoken of, that is, Darius, was one of the most celebrated princes that ever reigned in Persia, and one of the most deserving of praise, on account of his wisdom and prudence: though he had his failings. It is to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greatest part of those excellent laws are ascribed, which have ever since subsisted in that country, and have been the foundation and standard of their government. Now this prince, notwithstanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he stood in need of advice; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a number of assistants to himself, for the determination of affairs, would be any discredit to his own understanding; by which proceeding he really showed a superiority of genius which is very uncommon, and implies a great fund of merit. For a prince of slender talents and a narrow capacity, is generally full of himself; and the less understanding he has, the more obstinate and untractable he generally is: he thinks it want of respect to offer to discover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted, if you seem to doubt that he, who is supreme in power, is not the same in penetration and understanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counsel and advice: *Illorum faciebat cuncta consilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however absolute he was, and how jealous soever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he impaired or degraded it when he instituted that council: for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always resides in the person of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was persuaded that the noblest character of sovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to govern by the laws;⁵ to make them the rule of his will and desires; and to think nothing allowable for him which they prohibit.

In the third place, this council, which every where

¹ Ezra. vii. 14.

² Esch. i. 13. according to the vulgate translation.

³ Regimus à te, et subjecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus, sumus.—*Plin. Paneg. Traj.*

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accompanied the king (*ex more regio semper ei aderat*;) was a perpetual standing council, consisting of the greatest men and the best heads of the kingdom; who, under the direction of the sovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the source of public order, and the principle of all the wise regulations and transactions at home and abroad. To this council the king transferred from himself several weighty cares, with which he must otherwise have been overburdened; and by them he likewise executed whatever had been resolved on. It was by means of this standing council, that the great maxims of the state were preserved; the knowledge of its true interests perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and oversights prevented. For in a public and general council things are discussed by unsuspected persons; all the ministers are mutual inspectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in public matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the administration: because though, as to the executive part, they move only in one particular sphere of business, yet they are obliged to inform themselves in all affairs relating to the public, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and last reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in Scripture, that the persons of which this council consisted, were thoroughly acquainted with the customs, laws, maxims and rights of the kingdom, *scientium leges ac jura majorum*.

Two things, which, as the Scripture informs us, were practised by the Persians, might very much contribute to instruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wisdom and prudence. The first was, their having public registers,¹ wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours conferred upon particular persons, were entered and recorded. The second was,² the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all resolutions taken, regulations established, and services done by any particular persons, were exactly and circumstantially entered. These annals were carefully preserved, and frequently perused both by the kings and the ministers, that they might acquaint themselves with times past; might have a clear idea of the state of the kingdom; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain a uniformity in the conduct of affairs; and, in short, acquire such light from the perusal of these books, as should qualify them to govern the state with wisdom.

SECTION III.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

To be king, and to be judge, is but one and the same thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power is the highest authority for administering justice. *God hath made you king over his people,* (said the queen of Sheba to Solomon,) *to the end that you should judge them, and render justice and judgment unto them.* God hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. His designs in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to justice. That they might not excuse themselves on pretence of inability or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them masters of all the means requisite for the restraining injustice and oppression, that iniquity should tremble in their presence, and be incapable of hurting any persons whatsoever.

But what is that justice which God hath intrusted to the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depositaries? Why, it is nothing else but order; and order consists in observing an universal equity, and taking care that force do not usurp the place of law; that one man's property be not exposed to the violence of another; that the common ties of society be not broken; that artifice and fraud do not prevail

over innocence and simplicity; that all things rest in peace under the protection of the laws; and the weakest among the people find sanctuary in the public authority.

We learn from Josephus,³ that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. And it was to qualify them for the due discharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them instructed, from their tenderest youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public schools, as we have already mentioned in the history of Cyrus, they were taught equity and justice, in the same manner as rhetoric and philosophy are taught in other places.

These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reasonable, and absolutely necessary that the prince be assisted in the execution of that august function, as he is in others; but to be assisted, is not to be deprived, or dispossessed. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not resign or divide it. It is therefore absolutely necessary for him to bestow some time upon the study of equity and justice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himself with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing justice, and of passing sentence with precision, upon important points. For this reason, the kings of Persia never ascended the throne till they had been for some time under the care and instruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that science, whereof they were the only masters and professors, as well as of the religion of the country.

Now since to the sovereign alone is committed the right of administering justice, and that within his dominions there is no other power of administering it than what is delegated by him; how greatly does it behove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of so valuable a trust; to know whether those he places so near the throne, are worthy to partake of his prerogative; and industriously to keep all such at a distance from it, as he judges unworthy of that privilege! We find that in Persia their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. One of their royal judges⁴ (for so they called them) having suffered himself to be corrupted by a bribe, was condemned by Cambyzes to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat, where he used to sit and give judgment, and where his son who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place whence he gave judgment, should remind him continually of his duty.

Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men,⁵ into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years: so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which decided upon the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow-citizens.

Amongst them, it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death,⁶ nor for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender, as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice; nor was it just in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. Upon this principle it was that Darius had condemned a judge to death for some privation in his office,⁷ and afterwards calling to mind the important service he had rendered both to the state and the royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, and acknowledged.

¹ Antiq. Judaic. l. xi. c. 3.

² Herod. l. v. c. 25.

³ Herod. l. i. c. 137.

⁴ Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 7

⁵ Ibid. l. vii. c. 194.

⁶ Ezra, v. 17. and vi. 2.

⁷ Ib. iv. 15. and Esth. vi. 1.

that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.¹

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgments, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without confronting him with his accuser to his face, and without giving him time, and all other means, necessary for defending himself against the articles laid to his charge; and, in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the very same punishment upon the accuser, as the other was to have suffered, had he been found guilty. Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the just rigour which ought to be exercised on such occasions.² One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place possessed by one of his best officers, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer: and, to that end, sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king, from the great influence he had with his majesty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without farther examination. For such is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light; they make it their business to bar up from the innocent all access to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themselves. The officer was imprisoned; but he desired of the king, before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king did so, and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully justified by the three commissioners that sat upon his trial; and all the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuser, who had thus attempted to abuse the favour and confidence of his royal master. The prince, who was well informed, and knew that one of the true signs of a wise government is to have the subjects stand more in fear of the laws than of informers,³ would have thought that to act otherwise than he did, would have been a direct violation of the most common rules of natural equity and humanity; it would have been opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge;⁴ it would have been exposing the honest simplicity of good and faithful subjects to the cruel malice of detestable informers, and arming the latter with the sword of public authority: in a word, it would have been divesting the throne of the most noble privilege belonging to it, namely, that of being a sanctuary for innocence and justice, against violence and calumny.

There is upon record a still more memorable example of firmness and love of justice, in another king of Persia, before Artaxerxes:⁵ in him, I mean, whom Scripture calls Ahasuerus, and who is thought to be the same as Darius, the son of Hystaspes, from whom Hanan had, by his earnest solicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Persian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Esther, opened his eyes, he made haste to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the impostor who had deceived him, but, which is more, by a public acknowledgment of his error, which should be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debasing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure to them both the more respect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impose by their misrepresentations and craftiness, on the goodness of their princes, whom their natural sincerity induces to judge favourably of others; he is not ashamed to acknowledge, that he had been so unhappy as to suffer himself to be prejudiced by such means against the Jews, who

were his faithful subjects, and the children of the most high God, to whose goodness he and his ancestors were indebted for the throne.

The Persians were not only enemies of injustice, as we have now shown; but also abhorred lying, which always was deemed amongst them a mean and infamous vice.⁶ What they esteemed most pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon trust, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life seemed to them idle, ignominious, servile, and the more despicable, as it tends to make people liars.

SECTION IV.—THE CARE OF THE PROVINCES.

It seems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magistrates and judges is closely inspected; and the very sight of the throne capable of keeping the subjects in awe. The case is otherwise with respect to the provinces, where the distance from the sovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occasion many misdemeanours on the part of the magistrates and officers, as well as great licentiousness and disorder on that of the people. In this the Persian policy exerted itself with the greatest care; and, we may also say, with the greatest success.

The Persian empire was divided into 127 governments, the governors whereof were called satrapæ.⁷ Over them were appointed three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their several provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the same to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. These satrapæ were, by the very design of their office, each in his respective district, to have the same care and regard for the interests of the people, as for those of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be admitted between these two interests, which are necessarily linked together; since neither the people can be happy, unless the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful, unless his people be happy.

These satrapæ being the most considerable persons in the kingdom, Cyrus assigned them certain funds and revenues proportioned to their station and the importance of their employments. He was willing they should live nobly in their respective provinces, that they might gain the respect of the nobility and common people within their jurisdiction; and that for that reason their retinue, their equipage, and their table, should be answerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himself was their model in this respect, as he desired they should likewise be to all persons of distinguished rank within the extent of their authority: so that the same order which reigned in the prince's court, might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the satrapæ, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent, as far as possible, all abuses which might be made of so extensive an authority as that of the satrapæ, the king reserved to himself alone the nomination of them, and chose that the governors of places, the commanders of the troops, and other such like officers, should depend immediately upon the prince himself: from whom alone they were to receive their instructions, in order that, if the satrapæ were inclined to abuse their power, they might be sensible those officers were so many overseers and censors of their conduct. And to make this correspondence by letters, the more sure and expeditious, the king caused post-houses to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers who travelled night and day, and made wonderful despatch. But I shall speak more particularly on this article at the end of the section, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

The care of the provinces, however, was not en-

¹ Γενός δε ταχέστερα αὐτός ἢ σοφώτερα ἀρχαίσιμος εἶναι, *Thucyd.*

² Diod. l. xv. p. 333—336.

³ Non jam delatores, sed leges timentur. *Plin. in Paneg. Trajan.*

⁴ Princeps, qui delatores non castigat, irritat. *Sueton. in vit. Domit. c. ix.*

⁵ Esth. iii. &c.

⁶ Herod. l. i. c. 138.

⁷ Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces. *Xenoph. Cyrop.* l. v. iii. p. 229, 232.

tirely left to the satrapæ and governors; the king himself took cognizance of them in his own person, being persuaded, that the governing only by others, is but to govern by halves. An officer of the household was ordered to repeat these words to the king every morning, when he awakened him: *Rise, Sir, and think of discharging the duties for which Oromasdes has placed you upon the throne.*¹ Oromasdes was the principal god, anciently worshipped by the Persians. A good prince, says Plutarch in relating this custom, has no occasion for an officer to give him this daily admonition: his own heart and the love he has for his people, are sufficient monitors.

The king of Persia thought himself obliged, according to the ancient custom established in that country, from time to time personally to visit all the provinces of his empire;² being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure, a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people see their common father; to reconcile the dissensions and mutual animosities of rival cities;³ to calm commotions or seditions among the people, and that not so much by the severity of power, as by the authority of reason, to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates; and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity; in a word, like a beneficent planet, to shed his salutary influences universally, or rather, like a kind of divinity, to be present every where, to see, to hear, and inspect every thing, without rejecting any man's petition or complaint.

When the king was not able to visit the provinces himself, he sent, in his stead, some of the great men of the kingdom, such as were the most eminent for wisdom and virtue. These persons were generally called the eyes and ears of the prince, because by their means he saw and was informed of every thing. When these, or any other of his great ministers, or the members of his council, were said to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his ministers, as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should lie still and be idle, but act by their means; and to the ministers, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king when he went his progress in person, or the commissioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration, and shows how well they understood, in those days, wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. The attention of the king and his ministers was not employed upon great objects alone, as war, the revenue, justice and commerce; but matters of less importance, as the security and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the repairs of high roads, bridges, causeways, the keeping of woods and forests from being laid waste and destroyed, and, above all, the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting all sorts of trades, even to the lowest and meanest of handicraft employments; every thing, in short, came within the sphere of their policy, and was thought to deserve their care and inspection. And, indeed, whatever belongs to the subjects, as well as the subjects themselves, is a part of the trust committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonweal is universal. It extends itself to all matters, and takes in every thing;⁴ it is the support of private persons, as well as of the public. Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has

a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

I have already said,⁵ that agriculture was one of the principal objects on which the Persians bestowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's first cares was, to make husbandry flourish; and those satrapæ, whose provinces were the best cultivated, had the most of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government; so were there likewise for the inspecting their rural labours and economy. For these two employments had a near relation; the business of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both almost with the same degree of affection; because both concurred, and were equally necessary, for the public good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and security; so neither can the soldiers, on the other hand be fed and maintained without the labour of the husbandmen who cultivate the ground. It was with good reason, therefore, that the prince, since it was impossible for himself to see into every thing, caused an exact account to be given him, how every province and district was cultivated; that he might know, whether each country brought forth abundantly such fruits as it was capable of producing; that he descended so far into those particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, as to inform himself, whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the superintendents and overseers, whose provinces or districts were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons, who suffered their grounds to lie barren or untillied. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a spirit of industry amongst his subjects, which is the surest means of preventing that increase of drones and idle fellows, that are such a burden upon the public, and a dishonour to the state.

Xenophon,⁶ in the next passage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a speaker, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he represents as the employment of all others the most worthy of man, the most ancient and the most suitable to his nature; as the most common nurse of all ages and conditions of life; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and a thousand sober delights and honest pleasures; as the mistress and school of sobriety, temperance, justice, religion; and, in a word, of all kinds of virtues both civil and military. After which he relates the fine saying of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth, that he himself had planted several of the trees he was looking at, exclaimed, that the world had reason to extol the happiness of Cyrus, whose virtue was as eminent as his fortune, and who, in the midst of the greatest affluence, splendour, and magnificence, had yet preserved a taste so pure and so conformable to right reason. *Cim Cyrus respondisset, Ego ista sum dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum arborum meâ manu sunt sate: tum Lysandrum, influentem ejus purpuram et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse:*⁷ RECTE VERO TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTU TUÆ FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST. How much it is to be wished, that our young nobility, who in the time of peace do not know how to employ themselves, had the like taste for planting and agriculture, which surely after such an example as that of Cyrus, should be thought no dishonour to their quality; especially if they would consider, that for several ages it was the constant employment of the bravest and most warlike

¹ Plut. ad Princ. induct. p. 750.

² Xenophon in *Œconom* p. 228.

³ *Reconciliare simulâs civitates, tumentesque populos non Imperio magis quàm ratione compescere, intercedere iniquitatis magistratuum infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit; postremo velocissimi sideris more omnia invadere, omnia audire, et undecumque innotent, statim, velut nubes, adesse et adistere.* Plin. in *Paneg. Traj.*

⁴ *Is, cui curæ sunt universæ, nullam non reip. partem tanquam sui nutrit.* Senec. *lib. de Clem. c. xlii.*

⁵ Xenophon. *Œcon.* p. 827—830.

⁶ Ibid. 830—833.

⁷ Cic. de *Senect.* num. 59.

⁸ In the original Greek there is still a greater energy. *Αγαθὸς μοι δοκεῖς, ὁ Κύρις, οὐδ' αὖτις ἔχεις. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐδ' αὖτις ἔχεις.* Thou art worthy, Cyrus, of that happiness thou art possessed of; because, with all thy affluence and prosperity, thou art also vir. *anor.*

people in the world! The reader may easily perceive, that I mean the ancient Romans.

The Invention of Posts and Couriers.

I promised to give some account in this place of the invention of posts and couriers. This invention is ascribed to Cyrus,¹ nor, indeed, can I find any mention of such an establishment before his time. As the Persian empire, after his last conquest, was of a vast extent, and Cyrus required that all his governors of provinces, and his chief commanders of his troops, should write to him, and give an exact account of every thing that passed in their several districts and armies; in order to render that correspondence the more sure and expeditious, and to enable himself to receive speedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and to send his orders thereupon with expedition, he caused post-houses to be built, and messengers to be appointed, in every province. Having computed how far a good horse, with a brisk rider, could go in a day without being spoiled, he had stables built in proportion, at equal distances from each other, and had them furnished with horses, and grooms to take care of them. At each of these places he likewise appointed a post-master, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horses that had performed their stage, and to find fresh ones. Thus the post went continually night and day with extraordinary speed; nor did either rain or snow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the season, interrupt its progress. Herodotus speaks of the same sort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.²

These couriers were called in the Persian language, *Ἀγγαροί*.³ The superintendency of the posts became a considerable employment. Darius,⁴ the last of the Persian kings, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon takes notice that this establishment subsisted still in his time: which perfectly agrees with what is related in the Book of Esther, concerning the edict published by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews; which edict was carried through that vast empire with a rapidity that would have been impossible, without these posts erected by Cyrus.

We are justly surprised to find, that this establishment of posts and couriers, first invented in the east by Cyrus, and continued so many ages afterwards by his successors, especially considering of what usefulness it was to the government, should never have been imitated in the west, particularly by people so expert in politics as the Greeks and the Romans.

It is more astonishing, that, where this invention was put in execution, it was not farther improved, and that the use of it was confined only to affairs of state without considering the many advantages the public might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correspondence, as well as the business of merchants and tradesmen of all kinds; by forwarding the affairs of private persons; the despatch of journeys which required haste; the easy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the safety and convenience of remitting money from one country to another. It is well known what difficulty people at a distance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of any affairs together; being obliged either to send a servant on purpose, which could not be done without great charge and loss of time; or to wait for the departure of some other person, that was going into the province or country, whither they had letters to send; which method was liable to numberless disappointments, accidents, and delays.

At present we enjoy this general convenience at a small expense; but we do not thoroughly consider the

advantage of it; the want whereof would make us fully sensible of our happiness in this respect. France is indebted for it to the university of Paris, which I cannot forbear observing here: I hope the reader will excuse the digression. The university of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of scholars resorting to her from all the provinces, and even from the neighbouring kingdoms, did, for their sakes and convenience, establish messengers, whose business was, not only to bring clothes, silver, and gold for the students, but likewise to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inquests; to conduct all sorts of persons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horses and diet; as also to carry letters, parcels, and packets for the public, as well as the university.

In the university registers of the Four Nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, these messengers are often styled *Nuntii volantes*, to signify the great speed and despatch they were obliged to make.

The state, then, is indebted to the university of Paris for the invention and establishment of these messengers and letter carriers. And it was at her own charge and expense that she erected these offices; to the satisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has moreover maintained and supported them since the year 1576, against all the various attempts of the farmers, which has cost her immense sums. For there never were any ordinary royal messengers, till Henry III. first established them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the same cities as the university had theirs in, and granting them the same rights and privileges as the kings, his predecessors, had granted the messengers of the university.

The university never had any other fund or support than the profits arising from the post-office. And it is upon the foundation of the same revenue, that King Louis XV., now on the throne, by his decree of the council of state of the 14th of April, 1719, and by his letters patent, bearing the same date, registered in parliament, and in the chamber of accounts, has ordained, that in all the colleges of the said university the students shall be taught gratis; and has, to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the university an eight-and-twentieth part of the revenue arising from the general lease or farm of the posts and messengers of France; which eight-and-twentieth part amounted that year to the sum of 184,000 livres or thereabouts.⁵

It is not therefore without reason, that the university, to whom this regulation has restored a part of her ancient lustre, reckons Louis XV. as a kind of new founder, whose bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and shameful necessity of receiving wages for her labours; which in some measure dishonoured the dignity of her profession, as it was contrary to that noble, disinterested spirit which becomes it. And, indeed, the labour of masters and professors, who instruct others, ought not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be sold. *Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.*⁶

SECTION V.—ADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUES.

THE prince is the sword and buckler of the state; by him are the peace and tranquillity thereof secured. But to enable him to defend it, he has occasion for arms, soldiers, arsenals, fortified towns, and ships; and all these things require great expenses. It is moreover just and reasonable, that the king have wherewithal to support the dignity of the crown, and the majesty of the empire; as also to enable him to ensure reverence and respect to his person and authority. These are the two principal reasons that have given occasion for the exacting of tribute and imposition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the necessity of defraying the expenses of the state, have been the first causes of these burdens, so ought they likewise to be the constant standard of their use. Nor is there any thing in the world more just and reasonable than such impositions; since every private person ought to think him-

¹ Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 322.

² Her. l. viii. c. 98.

³ *Ἀγγαροί* is derived from a word which, in that language, signifies a service rendered by compulsion. It is from thence the Greeks borrowed their verb *ἀγγαρεύω*, compellere, cogere: and the Latins, *angariare*. According to Suidas they were likewise called *αὐτάνδρα*.

⁴ Plut. l. i. de fortun. Alex. p. 326. et in vit. Alex. p. 674. ubi pro *Ἀγγαροί*, legendum *Ἀρτάβης*.

⁵ About 8,500*l.* sterling.

⁶ Quintil. l. xii. c. 2.

self very happy that he can purchase his peace and security at the expense of so slender a contribution.

The revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in the levying of taxes imposed upon the people,¹ and partly in their being furnished with several products of the earth in kind; as corn, and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever varieties each particular province afforded. Strabo relates, that the satrap of Armenia sent regularly every year to the king of Persia, his master, 20,000 young colts.² By this we may form a judgment of the other levies in the several provinces. The tributes, however, were only exacted from the conquered nations: for the natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all impositions. Nor was the custom of imposing taxes, and of determining the sums each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius; at which time, the pecuniary impositions, as near as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to near 44,000,000, French money.³

The place wherein was kept the public treasure, was called in the Persian language *Gaza*.⁴ There were treasures of this kind at Susa, at Persepolis, at Pasargada, at Damascus,⁵ and other cities. The gold and silver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occasion. The money chiefly used by the Persians, was of gold, and called *Darick*, from the name of Darius,⁶ who first caused them to be coined, with his image on one side, and an archer on the reverse. The *Darick* is sometimes also called *Stater aureus*, because the weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of silver, and consequently were worth ten livres of French money.⁷

Besides these tributes which were paid in money,⁸ there was another contribution made in kind, by furnishing victuals and provisions for the king's table and household, grain, forage, and other necessities for the subsistence of his armies, and horses for the remounting of his cavalry. This contribution was imposed upon the six-score satrapies, or provinces, each of them furnishing such a part as they were severally taxed at. Herodotus observes, that the province of Babylon, the largest and wealthiest of them all, did alone furnish the whole contribution for the space of four months, and consequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole imposition, whilst all the rest of Asia together did but contribute the other two thirds.

By what has been already said on this subject, we see the kings of Persia did not exact all their taxes and impositions in money, but were content to levy

a part of them in money, and to take the rest in such products and commodities as the several provinces afforded; which is a proof of the great wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt they had observed how difficult it often is for the people, especially in countries at a distance from commerce, to convert their goods into money without suffering great losses; whereas nothing can tend so much to render the taxes easy, and to shelter the people from vexation and trouble as well as expense, as the taking in payment from each country such fruits and commodities as that country produces; by which means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

There⁹ were likewise certain districts assigned and set apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and so on for the rest of her vestments; and these districts which were of a great extent, since one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in 7 day: these districts, I say, took their names from their particular use, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called, one the queen's girdle, another the queen's veil, and so on. In Plato's time, the same custom continued among the Persians.

The manner in which the king gave pensions in those days to such persons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have observed concerning the queen.¹⁰ We read, that the king of Persia assigned the revenues of four cities to Themistocles; one of which was to supply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothes and furniture. Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the same manner toward Pytharcus of Cyzicus,¹¹ for whom he had a particular consideration, and to whom he gave the revenue of seven cities. In following times, we find many instances of a like nature.

ARTICLE II.

OF THEIR WAR.

The people of Asia in general were naturally of a warlike disposition, and did not want courage; but in time they suffered themselves to be enervated by luxury and pleasure. I must however except the Persians, who even before Cyrus, and still more during his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reason of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a point of no little importance for the forming of good soldiers. But the good education which the Persians gave their youth, was the chief cause of the courage and martial spirit of that people.

With respect therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we must make some distinction between the different nations of Asia. So that in the following account of military affairs, whatever perfection and excellence may be found in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Persians, as they were in Cyrus's reign; the rest belongs to the other nations of Asia, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians likewise after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened no long after Cyrus, as will be shown in the sequel.

I. Their Entrance upon Military Disciplines.

The Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises.¹² Generally speaking, they served in the armies from the age of twenty to fifty years. And whether in peace or war, they always wore swords, as our gentlemen do, which was never practised among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to enlist themselves at the time appointed; and it was esteemed a crime to desire to be dispensed with in that respect, as

¹ Herod. l. iii. c. 89—97.

² Lib. xi. p. 530.

³ About 2,000,000 sterling.

⁴ Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 12.

⁵ [As a proof of this, Alexander found in Damascus 2,000 talents of silver, and 500 talents of uncoined silver, or ingots; in Arbela, 4000; in Susa, 40,000; in Persepolis, 120,000; and in Ecbatana, 180,000 talents; and 9000 *daricks* besides in Susa, amounting in all to 347,100 talents, or 67,180,525*l*.]

⁶ Darius the Mede, otherwise called Cyaxares, is supposed to have been the first who caused this money to be coined.

⁷ [Darius seems to have learned the use and value of coin from the Lydians; for the Medes and Persians had no coined money before they conquered that kingdom; whereas Croesus, king of Lydia, had coined innumerable pieces of gold called Croesi, as before stated. As it was not to be expected that the Lydian coin should continue current after the downfall of that power, it may be supposed that Darius re-coined the Croesi with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value. If it was Darius Hystaspes, and not Darius the Mede or Cyaxares, (for authors are not agreed respecting this,) it may be also that he took up this notion after his conquest of that part of India now called the Punjab, whence he collected a large tribute in gold; for he received only a small quantity from Africa, (Thaëla, or Book iv. chap. 97,) although the rivers of that continent abounded with it, and the Carthaginians trafficked for it. (Melpomene, or Book v. chap. 196.) The *Daricks* were called in those places of Scripture written after the Babylonish captivity, *Adarkonim*, and by the Talmudists, *Darkomoth*, both from the Greek *Δαρικος*, that is, *Daricks*. Ezra, viii. 7. Baxtor. Talmud. Lex. p. 577.]

⁸ Herod. l. iii. c. 91—97. and l. i. c. 102.

⁹ Plut. in Alcibi. i. p. 123.

¹⁰ Plut. in Themis. p. 127.

¹¹ Athen. i. p. 30.

¹² Strab. l. xv. 734. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. sub finem

will be seen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes to two young noblemen, whose fathers had desired as a favour, that their sons might be permitted to stay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.¹

Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard,² who were called *The immortals*, because this body consisted always of the same number, which was 10,000; for as soon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place. The establishment of this body probably began with the 10,000 men sent for by Cyrus out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished from all the other troops by the richness of their armour, and still more by their courage. Quintus Curtius mentions also this body of men,³ and another body besides, consisting of 15,000, designed in like manner to be a guard to the king's person: the latter were called, *Doryphori*, or *Spearmen*.

II. Their Armour.

The ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scimitar, *acinaces*, as it is called in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; a javelin or half pike, having a sharp-pointed iron at the end.

It seems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to fling, and the other to use in close fight. They made great use of the bow, and of the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The sling was not unknown amongst them; but they did not set much value upon it.

It appears from several passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they call *tiras*; this is particularly said of Cyrus the younger, and of his army.⁴ And yet the same authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets: from whence we must conclude, that this custom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the most part wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or greaves which covered the arms, thighs, and legs of the horsemen. Their horses themselves, for the most part, had their faces, chests, and flanks covered with brass. There were what are called *equi cataphracti*, or armed horses.

Authors differ very much about the form and fashion of the shields. At first they made use of very small and light ones, made only of twigs of osier, *gerra*. But it appears from several passages, that they had also shields of brass, which were of a great length.

We have already observed, that in the first ages the light-armed soldiers, that is, the archers and those who used missile weapons, composed the bulk of the armies amongst the Persians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience, that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or fighting at a distance, and who thought it most advantageous to come directly to close fight, made a change in his army, and reduced those light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the rest of the army.

III. Chariots armed with Scythes.

Cyrus introduced a considerable change likewise with respect to the chariots of war.⁵ These had been in use a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the sacred writings. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast, with two men in each; one of distinguished birth and valour, who fought, and another, who was engaged only in driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service; since for the equipping of 300 chariots were required 1200 horses, and 600 men, of which there were but 300 who really fought,

the other 300, though all men of merit and distinction and capable of doing great service if otherwise employed, serving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting men that rode in them, by enabling the drivers also to fight as well as the others.

He caused the wheels of the chariots to be made stronger, that they should not be so easily broken; and the axletrees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and steady. At each end of the axletree he caused scythes to be fastened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally; and caused other scythes to be fixed upon the same axletree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men, or horses, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariot should overturn. It appears from several passages in authors,⁶ that in after-times, besides all this, they added two long iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with several rows of sharp knives to hinder any one from mounting behind.

These chariots were in use for many ages in all the Eastern countries. They were looked upon as the principal strength of the armies, as the most certain cause of the victory, and as an apparatus the most capable of all other to strike the enemy with consternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the inconveniences of them were discovered, and at length they were laid aside. For, in order to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary to fight in vast and extensive plains, where the soil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gulleys, woods, nor vineyards.

In after-times several methods were invented to render these chariots absolutely useless.⁷ It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately stopped their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle which Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of slingers, archers, and spearmen, who, spreading themselves on all sides, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances upon them, and at the same time fall a shouting so loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horses, and often made them turn upon their own forces. At other times they would render the chariots useless and incapable of acting,⁸ only by marching over the space, which separated the two armies, with an extraordinary swiftness, and advancing suddenly upon the enemy. For the strength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their course, which was what gave that impetuosity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and insignificant. It was after this manner, that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronæa, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots, raising loud peals of laughter, and crying out to them, as if they had been at the games of the Circus, to send more.

IV. Their Discipline in Peace as well as War.

Nothing can be imagined more perfect than the discipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The method used by that great prince in peace, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops, by frequent exercises, to inure them to fatigue by keeping them continually employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battles by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and resolution by exhortations, praises, and rewards: all this, I say, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally speaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely pernicious, for a relaxation of discipline, which usually ensues, enervates the vigour of the soldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies, infinitely sharpens

¹ Herod. l. iv. and vi. Sen. de Ira. l. iii. c. 16. 17.

² Ibid. l. vii. c. 83. ³ Lib. iii. c. 3.

⁴ Xen. de Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263.

⁵ Xen. Cyrop. l. vi. p. 152.

⁶ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Plut. in Syll. p. 463.

and excite. A wise foresight of the future ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever may be needful in time of war.¹

Whenever the Persian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactness as on a day of battle: not a soldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the custom amongst all the nations of Asia, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp surrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being surprised by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage against their inclinations. They usually contented themselves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of these ditches;² though sometimes they fortified them with strong palisades, and long stakes driven into the ground.

By what has been said of their discipline in time of peace, and in the marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of that which was preserved on the day of battle. Nothing can be more deserving our admiration than the accounts we have of it in the several parts of the Cyropædia. No single family could be better regulated, or pay a more speedy and exact obedience to the first signal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accustomed them to that prompt obedience, on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At first he had used some severity, which is necessary in the beginning, in order to establish good discipline; but this severity was always accompanied with reason, and tempered with kindness. The example of their leader,³ who was the first upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his injunctions, and softened the rigour of his commands. The unalterable rule he laid down to himself, of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refusing every thing to favour, was a sure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. For there is nothing more discouraging to persons of that profession,⁴ even to those who love their prince and their country, than to see the rewards, to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have spilt, entitle them, conferred upon others. Cyrus had the art of inspiring even his common soldiers with a zeal for discipline and order, by first inspiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow-citizens; and, above all, by endearing himself to them by his bounty and liberality. These are the true and only methods of establishing and supporting military discipline in its full force and vigour.

V. Their order of Battle.

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little else than field expeditions; for which reason that wise prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to decide a victory than a numerous and good cavalry; and the gaining of one single pitched battle was often attended with the conquest of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we see, that having found the Persian army entirely destitute of that important and necessary success, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying that defect; and, by his great application and activity, succeeded in forming a body of Persian cavalry, which became superior to that of his enemies, in goodness, at least, if not in number. There were several breeds of horses in Persia and Media;⁵ but in the latter province, those of

a place called Nisea, were the most esteemed; and it was from thence the king's stable was furnished. We shall now examine what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbra may serve to give us a just notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and to show how far their ability extended either in the use of arms, or the disposition of armies.

They knew that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horse were at liberty to act and extend themselves as occasion should require.

They likewise understood the necessity of drawing out an army into several lines, in order to support one another; because otherwise, as one single line might easily be pierced through and broken, it would not be able to rally, and consequently the army would be left without resource. For which reason they formed the first line of foot heavily armed, twelve men deep, who, on the first onset, made use of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came close together, engaged the enemy body to body with their swords or scimitars.

The second line consisted of such men as were lightly armed, whose manner of fighting was to fling their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were flung with great violence. The design of them was to put the enemy into disorder, before they came to close fight.

The third line consisted of archers, whose bows being bent with the utmost force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. These archers were sometimes mixed with slingers, who slung great stones with a terrible force; but, in after-time, the Rhodians, instead of stones, made use of leaden bullets, which the slings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men armed in the same manner as those of the first, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the support of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in case they gave way. It served likewise for a rear guard, and a body of reserve to repulse the enemy, if they should happen to penetrate so far.

They had besides moving towers, carried upon huge waggons, drawn by sixteen oxen each, in which were twenty men, whose business was to discharge stones and javelins. These were placed in the rear of the whole army, behind the body of reserve, and served to support their troops, when they were driven back by the enemy, and to favour their rallying when in disorder.

They made great use too of their chariots armed with scythes, as we have already observed. These they generally placed in the front of the battle, and some of them they occasionally stationed on the flanks of the army, when they had any reason to fear their being surrounded.

This is nearly the extent to which the ancients carried their knowledge in the military art, with respect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any skill in choosing advantageous posts, in seasonably possessing themselves of a favourable spot, of bringing the war into a close country; of making use of defiles and narrow passes, either to molest the army in their march, or to cover themselves from their attacks; of lying in artful ambuscades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wise delays; of not suffering a superior enemy to force them to a decisive action, and of reducing him to the necessity of preying upon himself through the want of forage and provisions. Neither do we see that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marshes, or mountains; and by that means of making the front of a smaller army equal to that of another much more numerous; and of putting it

¹ Motuæque futuri,

In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.

Hor. Satir. ii. l. 2.

² *Diod. l. i. p. 24, 25.*

³ Dux, cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adesse: laudem strenua, solatium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere. *Tacit. Annal. l. xiii. cap. 35.*

⁴ Periclitus in irritum labores, si premia periculorum soli assequantur, qui periculus non affuerunt. *Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 53.*

⁵ *Herod. l. vii. c. 40. Strab. l. xi. p. 530.*

• Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty-four men

out of the enemy's power to surround or take them in flank.

Yet in Cyrus's first campaign against the Armenians, and afterwards against the Babylonians, there seem to have been some beginnings, some essays, as it were, of this art: but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in those days. Time, reflection, and experience made the great commanders in after ages acquainted with these precautions and subtleties of war; and we have already shown, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what use Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations made of them.

VI. *Their manner of attacking and defending strong Places.*

The ancients both devised and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as also from the force and the variety of engines then in use, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

1. *Their way of attacking Places.*

The first method of attacking a place was by blockade. They invested the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper distances, were made redoubts and places of arms; or else they thought it sufficient to surround it completely by a deep trench, which they strongly fenced with palisades, to hinder the besieged from making a sally, as well as to prevent succours or provisions from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine rid what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the sieges related in ancient history; as that of Troy, which lasted ten years; that of Azotus by Psammeticus, which lasted twenty-nine; that of Nineveh, where we have seen that Sardanapalus defended himself for the space of seven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had laid in a stock of provisions for twenty years, if he had not used a different method for taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of scaling, which was done by raising a great number of ladders against the walls, by means whereof a great many files of soldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of scaling impracticable, or at least ineffectual, they made the walls of their city extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, still considerably higher, that the ladders of the besiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out some other way of getting to the top of the ramparts: and this was by building moving towers of wood, still higher than the walls, and by approaching them with those wooden towers. On the top of these towers, which formed a kind of platform, was placed a competent number of soldiers, who, with darts, and arrows, and the assistance of their baliste and catapultæ, scoured the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then from a lower stage of the tower, they let down a kind of drawbridge, which rested upon the wall, and gave the soldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely shortened the length of their sieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themselves a passage into the places besieged. This battering-ram was a vast beam of timber, with a strong head of iron or brass at the end of it; which was pushed with the utmost force against the walls. Of these there were several kinds.

They had still a fourth method of attacking places, which was that of sapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways: that is, either by carrying on a subterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and so opening themselves a passage into it; or else after they had sapped the foundation of the wall, and put supporters under it,

by filling the space with all sorts of combustible matter, and then setting that matter on fire, in order to burn down the supporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

2. *Their manner of defending Places.*

With respect to the fortifying and defending of towns, the ancients made use of all the fundamental principles and essential rules now practised in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made deep and sloping ditches, and fenced them round with palisades, to make the enemy's ascent or descent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with stone or brick-work, that the battering-ram should not be able to demolish them; and very high, that the scaling of them should be equally impracticable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern bastions derive their origin, for the flanking of the curtains; they invented with much ingenuity different machines for the shooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great stones with vast force and violence; they had their parapets and battlements in the walls for the soldier's security, and their covered galleries, which went quite round the walls, and served as casemates; their intrenchments behind the breaches and necks of the towers; they made their sallies too, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers, and to set their engines on fire; as also their countermine to render useless the mines of the enemy; and, lastly, they built citadels as places of retreat in cases of extremity, to serve as the last resource to a garrison upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at least to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All these methods of defending places against those that besieged them, were known in the art of fortification as it was practised among the ancients; and they are the very same as are now in use among the moderns, allowing for such alteration as the difference of arms has occasioned.

I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns; as also to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine, that because new names are now given to the same things, the things themselves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gunpowder, cannon indeed have been substituted in the place of the battering-ram; and musket-shot in the room of baliste, catapultæ, scorpions, javelins, slings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed? By no means. The ancients made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. *The Condition of the Persian Forces after Cyrus's Time.*

I have already observed, more than once, that we must not judge of the merit and courage of the Persian troops at all times, by what we see of them in Cyrus's reign. I shall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monsieur Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, on that subject. He observes, that after the death of that prince, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the great advantages that result from severity, discipline, skill in drawing up an army, order in marching and encamping; and, in short, that happiness of conduct, which puts those great bodies in motion without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness, and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary, when they had drawn together immense numbers of people, who fought indeed with resolution enough, but without order, and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons, who formed the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such a height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same plea-

1 Homer makes no mention of the battering-ram, or any strike engine.

asures and delights in the army, as in the king's court; so that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils so voluptuous a life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, was overburthened with the additional load of vast multitudes of such as did not fight. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert: their orders never reached them in time; and in action every thing went on at random, as it were, without the possibility of any commander's being able to remedy this disorder. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessities of life, but of such things also as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed every thing that could be met with in a very short time: nor indeed is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

However, with all this vast train, the Persians astonished those nations that were not better acquainted with military affairs than themselves; and many of those that were more expert, were yet overcome by them, being either weakened by their own dissensions, or overpowered by the numbers of the enemy. And by this means Egypt, proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the lesser Asia, and even such Greek colonies as the luxury of Asia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robust and active, by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies indeed were but small; but they were like strong, vigorous bodies, that seem to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part; at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the soldiers had been actuated by one soul; so perfect a harmony was there in all their motions.

ARTICLE III.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I do not pretend to give an account of the Eastern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Testament. Those precious fragments are sufficient to let us know the origin of poetry; its true design; the use that was made of it by those inspired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections, and sing the wonderful works of God, as also the dignity and sublimity of style which ought to accompany it, adapted to the majesty of the subjects on which it treats. The discourses of Job's friends, who lived in the East, as he himself did, and who were distinguished among the Gentiles as much by their learning as their birth, may likewise give us some notion of the eloquence that prevailed in those early ages.

What the Egyptian priests said of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to Plato¹ that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with respect to arts and sciences, the invention of which they have falsely ascribed to chimerical persons, much posterior to the deluge. The Holy Scripture informs us,² that before that epocha, God had discovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of spinning wool and flax, and weaving it into stuffs and linen; of forging and polishing iron and brass, and rendering them subservient to numberless uses that are necessary and convenient for life and society.

We learn from the same Scriptures, that very soon after the deluge, human industry had made several discoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of spinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with stuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it gilding wood and other materials. 3. The secret of casting metals: as brass, silver, or gold, and of making all sorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of representing any kind of different objects; and of making an infinite variety of vessels of those metals, for use and ornament. 4. The art of painting, or carving upon wood, stone or marble; and, 5. to name no more, that of dying their silks and stuffs, and giving them the most exquisite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Asia that men first settled after the deluge, it is easy to conceive that Asia must have been the cradle, as it were, of arts and sciences, the remembrance of which had been preserved by tradition; and which were afterwards revived again, and restored by means of men's wants and necessities.

SECTION I.—ARCHITECTURE.

THE building of the tower of Babel, and shortly after, of those famous cities Babylon and Nineveh which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of the palaces of the kings and noblemen, divided into sundry halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or convenience could require; the regularity and symmetry of the pillars and vaulted roofs, raised and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickness of their ramparts; the height and strength of their towers; the convenience of their quays on the banks of the great rivers; and the boldness of the bridges thrown over them: all these things, I say, with many other works of the like nature, show to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in those ancient times.

I know not, however, whether in those ages this art rose to that degree of perfection, which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy; or whether those vast structures in Asia and Egypt, so much boasted of by the ancients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and extent. We hear of five orders in architecture, the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite; but we never hear of an Asiatic or Egyptian order: which gives us reason to doubt whether the symmetry, measures, and proportions of pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly observed in those ancient structures.³

¹ [Rollin seems to carry his notions of the excellence of Oriental architecture too far. To talk of vaulted halls, in ages and in countries when and where the doctrine of the arch was unknown, is to speak at random. No arches are to be found in any of the ruined temples of Egypt. The roofs of these buildings were horizontal, and covered with large stones, reaching the whole breadth of the roof. No arches have yet been discovered in the ruins of Babylon nor Persæpolis. The only instance of a vaulted hall that has yet been found, is in the ruin of the Taq Keera, or Throne of Chosroes, on the banks of the Tigris. It must be remembered, however, that Chosroes, or Khosrow Noosherwan, reigned in the sixth century, or nine twelve centuries after the era of Cyrus, at a time when the Orientals learned the art of constructing arches from their western neighbours the Romans, whose empire formed the western limit of the Persian dominion in the days of the Sassanides. The Taq Keera is a vast building of nearly 200 feet in length, by 160 in depth, having in the centre a vaulted hall, about 60 or 100 feet in height to the top of the arch, whose span is more than 80 feet. Its walls are of a degree fully proportioned to the weight of the superstructure, the piers of the vault being 25 feet thick, and the front wall 194 feet. It is void of elegance, and gives the idea of a barbarous imitation of Grecian architecture.]

It may be here stated, on the authority of Sir William Ouseley, (Travels, vol. ii. p. 280, n. 67.) that two Americans lately climbed up, with much difficulty, to the summit of its lofty walls, and found some remains of Indian teak-wood (the most durable of all timber) which had been used in the construction, and was still perfectly sound, though nine 1360 years old. Of this they took a piece to Bombay, where it was examined by an English gentleman, from whom Sir William learned the circumstance. This fact proves the existence of a commercial communication with India by sea

SECTION II.—MUSIC.

It is no wonder, if, in a country like Asia, addicted to pleasures, to luxury, and to voluptuousness, music, which gives the chief zest to such enjoyments, was in high esteem and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal styles of ancient music, which the modern has still preserved, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, sufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin; or at least, where it was improved and brought to perfection. We learn from Holy Scripture,¹ that in Laban's time instrumental music was much in use in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Mesopotamia; since, among the other reproaches he makes to his son-in-law Jacob, he complains, that, by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with *serp*. Amongst the booty that Cyrus ordered to be set apart for his uncle Cyaxares,² mention is made of two female musicians,³ very skilful in their profession, who accompanied a lady of Susa, and were taken prisoners with her.

To determine to what degree of perfection music was carried by the ancients, is a question which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, because to determine justly upon it, it seems necessary we should have several pieces of music composed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our ears. But, unhappily, it is not with music in this respect as with ancient sculpture and poetry, of which we have so many noble monuments remaining; whereas, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their composition in the other science, by which we can form a certain judgment, and determine whether the music of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed, that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments in concert.

It is also agreed, that they excelled in what relates to the *rhythmus*. What is meant by *rhythmus*, is the assemblage or union of various times in music, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition, it is to be observed, that the music we are here speaking of was always set and sung to the words of certain verses, in which the syllables were distinguished into long and short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former was reckoned to make up but one time, whilst the latter made up two; and consequently the sound which answered to this, was to continue twice as long as the sound which answered to the other; or, which is the same thing, it was to consist of two times, or measures, whilst the other comprehended but one; that the verses which were sung consisted of a certain number of feet formed by the different combination of these long and short syllables; and that the *rhythmus* of the song regularly followed the march of these feet. As these feet, of what nature or extent soever, were always divided into equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called *æqui*, elevation or raising; and the latter *dis*, depression or falling: so the *rhythmus* of the song, which answered to every one of those feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally, by what we now call a *beat*, and a rest or intermission. The scrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their syllables in their vocal music, made their *rhythmus* much more perfect and regular than ours: for our poetry is not formed upon the measure of long and short syllables; but nevertheless a skilful musician amongst us may in some sort express, by the length of their sounds, the quantity of every syllable. This account of the *rhythmus* of the ancients I have copied

from one of the dissertations of Monsieur Burette; which I have done for the benefit of young students, to whom this little explanation may be of great use for the understanding of several passages in ancient authors. I now return to my subject.

The principal point in dispute among the learned, concerning the music of the ancients, is to know whether they understood music in several parts, that is, a composition consisting of several parts, and in which all those different parts form each by itself a complete piece, and at the same time have a harmonious connexion, as in our counter-point whether simple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever else relates to the music of the ancients, I refer him to the learned dissertations of the above-mentioned M. Burette, inserted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres*; which show the profound erudition and exquisite taste of that writer.

SECTION III.—PHYSIC.

WE likewise discover in those early times the origin of Physic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were very rude and imperfect. Herodotus,⁴ and after him Strabo, observe, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, in order to learn of them, whether they had been afflicted with the same distemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence several people have pretended that physic is nothing else but a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made upon the nature of different diseases, and upon such things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It must be confessed, that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not sufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great use of it in his practice, but he did not entirely rely upon it. The custom in those days was,⁵ for all persons that had been sick, and were cured, to put up a tablet in the temple of Æsculapius, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had restored them to their health. That celebrated physician caused all these inscriptions and memorials to be copied out, and derived great advantage from them.

Physic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great use and esteem.⁶ Æsculapius, who flourished at that time, is reckoned the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great skill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations: for in those days these several branches were not separated from one another, but were all included together under one profession.

The two sons of Æsculapius,⁷ Podalirius and Machon, who commanded a certain number of troops at the siege of Troy, were no less excellent physicians than brave officers; and rendered as much service to the Grecian army by their skill in medicine, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. Nor did Achilles himself,⁸ nor even Alexander the Great in after-times, think the knowledge of this science improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary he learnt it himself of Chiron, the centaur, and afterwards instructed his friend Patroclus in it, who did not disdain to exercise the art, in healing the wound of Eurypylus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately assuaged the pain and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almost the only branch of the science used in those early times. Virgil, speaking of a celebrated physician,⁹ who was instructed in his art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples: *Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi maluit*. It was nature herself,¹⁰ that offered those innocent and salutary remedies, and seemed to invite mankind to make use

during the reign of that monarch from whose name the ruin has received its present appellation. It is probable that it was conveyed by water up the Shatul-Arab and the Tigris to Al-Modoin or Ctesiphon, where Khosru erected this large and many palace.]

¹ Gen. xxi. 27.

² Cyrop. l. iv. p. 113.

³ Μουσουργὶς δύο τῶν ξανθίων.

⁴ Herod. l. i. c. 197. Strab. l. xvi. p. 746.

⁵ Plin. l. xxi. c. 1. Strab. l. viii. p. 372.

⁶ Diod. l. v. p. 341.

⁷ Hom. Illad. l. x. v. 621—622

⁸ Plut. in Alex. p. 668. ⁹ Æn. l. xii. v. 306

of them. Their gardens,¹ fields, and woods, supplied them gratuitously with an infinite plenty and variety. As yet no use was made of minerals,² treacles, and other compositions, since discovered by closer and more inquisitive researches into nature.

Pliny says,³ that physic which had been brought by Esculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay in a manner buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, then it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour and credit. This may be true with respect to Greece; but in Persia we find it to have been always cultivated, and consequently held in great reputation. The great Cyrus,⁴ as is observed by Xenophon never failed to take a certain number of excellent physicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard. He farther remarks, that in this, Cyrus only followed a custom that had been anciently established among their generals: and he also informs us that the younger Cyrus acted in the same manner.⁵

It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates, who carried this science to its highest perfection. And though it be certain that several improvements and new discoveries have been made since his time, yet is he still looked upon by the ablest physicians, as the first and chief master of that art, and as the person whose writings ought to be the chief study of those that would distinguish themselves in that profession.

Men thus qualified, who, to the study of the most celebrated physicians, as well ancient as modern, as also to the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of simples, the principles of natural philosophy, and the constitution and contexture of human bodies, have added a long practice and experience, together with their own serious reflections; such men as these, in a well-ordered state, deserve to be highly rewarded and distinguished, as the Holy Spirit itself signifies to us in the sacred writings: *The skill of the physician shall lift up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration;*⁶ since all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings, are devoted to the people's health, which of all human blessings is the dearest and most valuable. And yet this blessing is what mankind are the least careful to preserve. They do not only destroy it by riot and excess, but through a blind credulity they foolishly intrust it with persons of no credit or experience,⁷ who impose upon them by their impudence and presumption, or seduce them by their flattering assurances of infallible recovery.

SECTION IV.—ASTRONOMY.

HOWEVER desirous the Grecians were to be esteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and sciences, they could never absolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The advantageous situation of Babylon,⁸ which was built upon a wide extensive plain, where no mountains bounded the prospect; the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps also the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to be intended for an observatory; all these circumstances were strong motives to engage this people to a more nice observation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies, and the regular course of the stars. The Abbé Renaudot,⁹ in his dissertation upon the sphere, observes, that the plain

which in Scripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon stood, is the same as is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almmoon, the seventh of the Habbassides, in whose reign the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, caused the astronomical observations to be made, which for several ages directed all the astronomers of Europe; and that the sultan Gelaledin Melikschah, the third of the Seljukides, caused similar observations to be made near 300 years afterwards in the same place: from whence it appears that this place was always reckoned one of the properest in the world for astronomical observations.

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of the help of telescopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our astronomical researches more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a grave and credible author, according to Pliny, speaks of observations made for the space of 720 years,¹⁰ and imprinted upon squares of brick; which, if it be true, must reach back to a very early antiquity. Those of which Callisthenes,¹¹ a philosopher in Alexander's train, makes mention, and of which he gave Aristotle an account, include 1903 years, and consequently must commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknowledge, to the labours and curious inquiries of those who have contributed to the discovery or improvement of so useful a science; a science, not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular course of the stars, and of the wonderful, constant, and uniform proportion of days, months, seasons, and years, but even to religion itself; with which, as Plato shows,¹² the study of that science has a very close and necessary connexion; as it directly tends to inspire us with great reverence for the Deity, who, with infinite wisdom, presides over the government of the universe, and is present and attentive to all our actions. But at the same time we cannot sufficiently deplore the misfortune of those very philosophers, who although by their successful application and astronomical inquiries,¹³ they came very near the Creator, were yet so unhappy as not to find him, because they did not serve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

SECTION V.—JUDICIAL ASTRONOMY.

As to the Babylonian and other Eastern philosophers, the study of the heavenly bodies was so far from leading them, as it ought to have done to the knowledge of Him who is both their Creator and Ruler, that for the most part it carried them into impiety, and the extravagances of judicial astrology. So we term that deceitful and presumptuous science, which teaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the stars, and to foretell events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects; a science justly looked upon as madness and folly by all the most sensible writers among the pagans themselves. *O delirationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero,¹⁴ in refuting the extravagant opinions of those astrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that first gave rise to this science; who, in consequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors upon all past events, for the space only of 470,000 years, pretended to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets at the instant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the constitution of his body, his actions, and in a word, all the events and the duration of his life. He exposes a thousand absurdities of this opinion, the very ridiculousness of which should excite contempt; and

¹ Plin. l. xxvi. c. 1.

² Id. l. xxiv. c. 1.

³ Lib. xxix. c. 9.

⁴ Cyrop. l. i. p. 99, and l. viii. p. 212.

⁵ De exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 311.

⁶ Eccles. xxviii. 3.

⁷ *Palam est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo pollet, imperatorem illic vite nostre necesse ferri—Aded blanda est sperandi pro se cuique dulcedo.* Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.

⁸ Principio Assyrii propter plantarum magnitudinemque regionum quas incolabant, cum cælum ex omni parte patens et apertum intueretur trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt. Cie. lib. i. de Divin. n. 2.

⁹ Memoirs of the Academy des Belles Lettres, v. l. part II. page 3.

¹⁰ Plin. hist. nat. l. vii. c. 56.

¹¹ Porphyr. apud Simplic. in l. ii. de celo.

¹² In Epinom. p. 989—992.

¹³ Magna industria, magna solertia; sed libi Creatorem scrutati sunt positum non longè à se, et non invenerunt—quia querere neglexerunt. August. de verb. Evan. Math. Serm. lxxviii. c. 1.

¹⁴ Lib. II. de Div. n. 87. 99.

asks, why of all that vast number of children that are born in the same moment, and without doubt exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two whose lives and fortunes resemble each other? He puts this far her question, whether that great number of men that perished at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the same death, were all born under the same constellations?

It is hardly credible, that so absurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and imposture, *fraudentissima artium*, as Piny calls it,¹ should ever acquire so much credit as this has done, throughout the whole world and in all ages. What has supported and brought it into so great vogue, continues that author, is the natural curiosity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befall them: *Nullo non avido futura de se sciendi*; attended with a superstitious credulity, which finds itself agreeably flattered by the pleasing and magnificent promises of which those fortune-tellers are never sparing. *Illa blandissimis desideratissimisque promissis addidit vires relii, ionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligant humanum genus.*

Modern writers,² and among others two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendi and Rohault, have inveighed against the folly of that pretended science with the same energy, and have demonstrated it to be equally void of principles and experience.

As for its principles. The heaven, according to the system of astrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts; which parts are taken not according to the poles of the world, but according to those of the zodiac. These twelve parts or portions of heaven, have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, and so of the rest: the most important and decisive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the ascendant, because it is ready to ascend and appear above the horizon, when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed: the aspects of these planets, which are only certain distances from one another, are likewise either happy or unhappy. I say nothing of several other hypotheses, which are all equally fanciful; and I ask, whether any man of common sense can accede to them upon the bare word of these impostors, without any proofs, or even without the least shadow of probability? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the stars no influence during the nine months of pregnancy? Or is it possible, considering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be sure of hitting the precise, determinate moment, without the least variation of more or less, which is sufficient to overthrow all? A thousand other objections of the same kind might be made, which are altogether unanswerable.

As for experience, they have still less reason to flatter themselves with having that on their side. This can only consist in observations founded upon events that have always come to pass in the same manner, whenever the planets were found in the same situation. Now it is unanimously agreed by all astronomers, that several thousands of years must pass, before any such situation of the stars as they would imagine, can twice happen: and it is very certain, that the state in which the heavens will be to-morrow, has never yet been since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers above-mentioned, particularly Gassendi, who has more copiously treated this subject. But such, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole structure of judicial astrology is built.

But what is astonishing, and argues an absolute subversion of all reason is, that certain free-thinkers, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convincing proofs of religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest and most certain prophecies upon the word of God, do sometimes give entire credit to the vain predictions of these astrologers and impostors

St. Austin, in several passages of his writings, informs us that this stupid and sacrilegious credulity is a just chastisement from God;³ who frequently punisheth the voluntary blindness of men, by inflicting a still greater blindness; and who suffer evil spirits, that they may keep their servants still faster in their nets, sometimes to foretell things which do really come to pass, but of which the expectation very often serves only to torment them.

God, who alone foresees future contingencies and events, because he alone is the sovereign disposer and director of them, does often in Scripture⁴ laugh to scorn the ignorance of the so-much-boasted Babylonish astrologers, calling them forgers of lies and falsehoods. He moreover defies all their false gods to foretell any thing whatsoever, and consents if they do, that they should be worshipped as gods. Then addressing himself to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumstances of the miseries with which she shall be overwhelmed above 200 years after that prediction; while none of her prognosticators, who had flattered her with the assurances of her perpetual grandeur, which they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment. Indeed, how should they? since at the very time of its execution, when Belshazzar,⁵ the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, the Chaldeans, the soothsayers, and, in a word, all the pretended sages in the country, were not able so much as to read the writing. Here then we see astrology and magic convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were most in vogue, and on an occasion when it was certainly their interest to display all their science and power.

ARTICLE IV.

RELIGION.

The most ancient and general idolatry in the world, was that wherein the sun and moon were the objects of divine worship. This idolatry was founded upon a mistaken gratitude; which, instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil which concealed him, while it indicated his existence. With the least reflection or penetration they might have discerned the Sovereign who commanded, from the minister⁶ who did but obey.

In all ages mankind have been sensibly convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man: and adoration supposes God to be both attentive to man's desires and capable of fulfilling them. But the distance of the sun and of the moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Therefore foolish men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their hands upon their mouths,⁷ and then lifting them up to those false gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious custom so prevalent throughout all the east, from which Job esteemed himself happy to have been preserved: *When I*

¹ *Hic omnibus consideratio, non immerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent occulto instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus fati inserere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliquo arte, quia nulla est. De Civ. Dei. l. v. c. 7.*

² Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou shalt not be able to put it off: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble: the fire shall burn them: they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame. Isa. xlvii. 11—14.

³ Among the Hebrews, the ordinary name for the sun signified minister.

⁴ *Superstitiosus vulgus manum ori admovent, oculum labiis prestat. Minuc. p. 2.* From thence is come the word *adore*; that is to say, *ad os manum admovent*.

beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness: my heart hath not been secretly enticed. nor my mouth kissed my hand.¹

The Persians adored the sun,² and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with horses of the greatest beauty and value, as we have seen in Cyrus's stately cavalcade. (This same ceremony was practised by the Babylonians; from whom some impious kings of Judah borrowed it;³ and brought it into Palestine.) Sometimes they likewise sacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known amongst them by the name of Mithra.

By a natural consequence of the worship they paid to the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire,⁴ always invoked it first in their sacrifices,⁵ carried it with great respect before the king in all his marches; intrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the Magi; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if it had been suffered to go out. History informs us,⁶ that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved until that time, which occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country. The Persians likewise honoured the water,⁷ the earth, and the winds, as so many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children pass through the fire, was undoubtedly a consequence of the worship paid to that element: for this fire-worship was common to the Babylonians and Persians. The Scripture positively says of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that they caused their children to pass through the fire. It is well known how common this barbarous custom became in many provinces of Asia.

Besides these,⁸ the Persians had two gods of a very different nature, namely, Oromasdes and Arimanius. The former they looked upon as the author of all the blessings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I shall give a fuller account of these deities hereafter.

The Persians erected neither statues, nor temples, nor altars, to their gods;⁹ but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himself of that religious duty,¹⁰ when he made the pompous and solemn procession already spoken of. It is supposed to have been through the advice and instigation of the Magi,¹¹ that Xerxes, the Persian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of the Deity to shut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as a house or a temple.

Cicero thinks,¹² that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wisely than the Persians, in that they erected temples to their gods within their cities, and thereby assigned them a residence in common with themselves, which was well calculated to inspire the people with sentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the same opinion (St. Austin has preserved that passage of his works):¹³ After having observed, that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues for above 170 years, he adds, that if they had still preserved their ancient custom, their religion would

have been the purer and freer from corruption: *Quod si adhuc mansisset, castius dii observarentur*; and he strengthens his opinion by the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifices to any private or domestic interest. This was a fine way of attaching all private individuals to the public good, by teaching them that they ought never to sacrifice for themselves alone, but for the king and the whole state, wherein every man was comprehended with the rest of his fellow-citizens.

The Magi, in Persia, were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to divine worship; and it was to them the people had recourse, in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what day, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As these Magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any stranger in these matters, without the king's permission. It was granted in favour of Themistocles,¹⁴ and was, according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great consideration for him.

This knowledge and skill in religious matters which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, *θεοσεβείαν*, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration.

It was even requisite that the king,¹⁵ before he came to the crown, should have received instruction for a certain time from some of the Magi, and have learned of them both the art of reigning, and that of worshipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the state, when he was upon the throne, without first consulting them; for which reason Pliny says,¹⁶ that even in his time they were looked upon in all the Eastern countries as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who styled themselves the kings of kings.

They were the sages, the philosophers, and men of learning, in Persia; as the Gymnosophists and Brachmans were amongst the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation made people come from the most distant countries to be instructed by them in philosophy and religion; and we are assured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that doctrine, by which he acquired so much veneration and respect among the Greeks, excepting only the tenet of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debased the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

It is generally agreed, that Zoroaster was the original author and founder of this sect; but authors are considerably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. What Pliny says upon this head may reasonably serve to reconcile that variety of opinions,¹⁷ as is very judiciously observed by Dr. Prideaux. We read in that author that there were two persons named Zoroaster, between whose lives there might be the distance of 600 years. The first of them was the founder of the Magian sect, about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who certainly flourished between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the East and the end of Darius's, son of Hystaspes, was the restorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the Eastern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal sects; that of the Sabians, who adored images; and that of the Magi, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of astronomy, and their particular application to the stu-

¹ The text is in the form of an oath. If I beheld, &c. *Job*, xxi. 26. 27.

² Herod. l. i. c. 131.

³ 2 Kings, xviii. 11. Strab. l. xv. p. 752.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Xenoph. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. xviii.

⁶ Zonar. Annot. vol. ii.

⁷ Herod. l. i. c. 131.

⁸ Plut. in l. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 369.

⁹ Herod. l. i. c. 131.

¹⁰ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233.

¹¹ Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammasse templa Græci ficiunt, quod parietibus includeret deos, quibus omnia deberent esse pat-nia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnia templum esset et domus. Cic. l. ii. de Legib.

¹² Melius Græci atque nostri, qui ut auzerent pietatem in deos, eandem illos urbes, quæ nos, incolere voluerunt. Adfert autem hac opinio religionem utilem civitatibus. *Id.*

¹³ Lib. iv de Civ. Dei, c. 31.

¹⁴ In Them. p. 126.

¹⁵ Nec quisquam rex Forsarum potest esse, qui non ante Magorum disciplinam scientiamque perciperet. *Cic. de Divin. l. i. c. 91.*

¹⁶ In tantum fastigii adolevit (auctoritas Magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magna parte ætium prevaleat, et in oriente regum regibus imperit. *Phy l. xxi. c. l.*

¹⁷ Hist. Nat. l. xxi. c. l.

dy of the seven planets, which they believed to be inhabited by as many intelligences, who were to those orbs, what the soul of man is to his body, were induced to represent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by so many images, or statues, in which they imagined those pretended intelligences, or deities, were as really present as in the planets themselves. In time, the number of their gods considerably increased: this image-worship from Chaldaea spread itself throughout all the East: from thence passed into Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the western nations.

To this sect of the Sabians was diametrically opposite that of the Magi, which also took its rise in the same Eastern countries. As the Magi held images in utter abhorrence, they worshipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtilty, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the most perfect symbol of the Deity. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, and where they have remained even to this day.¹ Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols. The good god they named Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god Ahraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromasdes, and the latter Arimanus. And therefore² when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always resolve to banish their best and bravest citizens, as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanus, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromasdes, their good god.

Concerning these two gods, they had this difference of opinion; that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity; others contended that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his peculiar world; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world, with all the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform some articles in the religion of the Magian sect, which for several ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but which, since the death of Smerdis who usurped the throne, and his chief confederates, and the massacre of their adherents and followers, had fallen into great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his first appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion was, that whereas before they had held as a fundamental tenet the existence of two supreme principles; the first light, which was the author of all good; and the other darkness, the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle superior to them both one supreme God, who created both light and darkness; and who out of these two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleasure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the

angel of darkness, who is the author of all evil: that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that are: that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns: and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place: that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world: that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works; after which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishment of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they shall remain separate for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that sect, which still subsist in Persia and India, do, without any variation after so many ages, still hold even to this day.

It is needless to inform the reader, that almost all these tenets, though altered in many circumstances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroasters were well acquainted, it being easy for both of them to have had an intercourse or personal acquaintance with the people of God: the first of them in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people were carried captive, and where Zoroaster might have converse with Daniel himself, who was in very great power and credit in the Persian court.

Another reformation, made by Zoroaster in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he caused temples to be built, wherein their sacred fire was carefully and constantly preserved; which he pretended himself to have brought down from heaven. Over this the priests kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguished.

Whatever relates to the sect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's *Connexion of the Old and New Testament*, &c. from whence I have taken only a short extract.

Their Marriages and the Manner of Burying the Dead.

Having said so much of the religion of the Eastern nations, which in an article I thought myself obliged to enlarge upon, because I look upon it as an essential part of their history, I shall be forced to treat of their other customs with the greatest brevity. Amongst which, the marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

There is nothing more horrible,³ or that gives us a stronger idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain annual festival, celebrated in honour of the goddess Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whose temple by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel or place of debauchery. This wicked custom was still in being⁴ and very prevalent when the Israelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reason the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admonish them against so scandalous an abomination.

Nor had the Persians any better notion of the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution than the Babylonians. I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their seraglios,⁵ and of which they were as jealous as if they had had but one wife, keeping them all shut up in separate apartments under a strict guard of eunuchs, without suffering them to have any communication with one another, much less with persons without doors. It strikes one with horror to read how far they carried their neglect and

¹ [Among the ancient Magi were three degrees of priests, ordinary priests, overseers of those, and an archmagus, or head of the Magi, who was held to be successor of Zoroaster, and is termed the supreme Pontiff of the Magian faith. These in the Pehlevi language or old Persian, were styled Magh, i. e. Magus; Mahad superintendent, and Mubad Mahadan or high priest. Hyde. Reliq. Vet. Pers. chap. xxviii. p. 348.] Lord, in his account of the Parsee religion, calls them by the names of Darons, Herboods, and Disteroos. In more modern times, the priests of the Parsees at Bombay and Surat, are called Desatirs.

² Plut. in Themist. p. 136.

³ Herod. l. i. c. 189.

⁴ Baruch. vi. 42, 43.

⁵ Herod. l. i. 145

contempt of the most common laws of nature.¹ Even incest with a sister was allowed amongst them by their laws, or at least authorised by their Magi, those pretended sages of Persia, as we have seen in the history of Cambyzes. Nor did even a father respect his own daughter, or a mother the son of her own body. We read in Plutarch,² that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who strove in all things to please the king her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for one of his own daughters, called Atossa, was so far from opposing his unlawful desire, that she herself advised him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. *For, says she to him, carrying her flattery to a monstrous excess, are not you yourself set by God over the Persians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?*

This detestable custom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, being become master of Persia, by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an express law to suppress it. These enormities may serve to teach us from what an abyss the Gospel has delivered us: and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes.

I shall finish this article by saying a word or two upon their manner of burying the dead. It was not the custom of the Eastern nations,³ and especially of the Persians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and consume their bodies in the flames. Accordingly⁴ we find that Cyrus,⁵ when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to restore it to the earth; that is the expression he makes use of; by which he seems to declare, that he looked upon the earth as the original parent, from whence he sprung, and to which he ought to return. And when Cambyzes had offered a thousand indignities to the dead body of Amasis, king of Egypt,⁶ he thought he crowned all by causing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Persian manner of treating the dead. It was the custom of the latter to wrap up their dead in wax,⁷ in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give a fuller account in this place of the manners and customs of the Persians, because the history of that people will take up a great part of this work, and because I shall say no more on that subject in the sequel. The treatise of Barnabas Brisson,⁸ president of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Persians, has been of great use to me. Such collections as these, when they are made by able hands, save a writer a great deal of pains, and furnish him with erudite observations, which cost him little, and yet often do him great honour.

ARTICLE V.

THE CAUSES OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, AND OF THE CHANGE THAT HAPPENED IN THEIR MANNERS.

When we compare the Persians, as they were before Cyrus and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his successors, we can hardly believe they were the same people; and we see a sensible illustration of this truth, that the declension of manners in any state is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other causes that brought about the declension of the Persian empire, the four following

may be looked upon as the principal: Their excessive magnificence and luxury; the abject subjection and slavery of the people; the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

SECTION I.—LUXURY AND MAGNIFICENCE.

What made the Persian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accustomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or something as hard, to lie upon, inuring themselves to the most painful exercises and labours, and esteeming the greatest dangers as nothing. The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous, and woody, might somewhat contribute to their hardiness; for which reason Cyrus would never consent to the project of transplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate.⁹ The excellent education bestowed upon the ancient Persians, of which we have already given a sufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and caprice of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good; this excellent education prepared them for observing, in all places and at all times, a most exact and severe discipline. Add to this, the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to surpass all his subjects in regularity, was the most abstemious and sober in his manner of life, the plainest in his dress, the most inured and accustomed to hardships and fatigues, as well as the bravest and most intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from soldiers so formed and so trained up? By them therefore we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipse the glory they had acquired, but carefully preserve that simplicity, sobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know, whether Cyrus himself did not at that very time sow the first seeds of that luxury, which soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, which we have already described at large, and on which he first showed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the splendour of his regal dignity, to make a pompous display of all the magnificence and show, that was best calculated to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things he changed his own apparel, as also that of his officers, giving them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, richly shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were very plain and simple.

This prince seemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and esteem what pleases the eye and makes a fine show, the anxiety they have to distinguish themselves above others by a false merit, easily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general, predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

This luxury and extravagance rose in time to such an excess, as was little better than downright madness.¹⁰ The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and with what an equipage such a troop must be attended, is easy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for so doing was, that the sight of what they held most dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with the greater resolution; but the true reason was the love of pleasure, by which they were

¹ Philo. lib. de Special. leg. p. 778. Diog. Laer. In Proem. p. 6.

² Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

³ In Artax. p. 1023.

⁴ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 278.

⁵ *Ac mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulture genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xerophonem Cyrus utitur. Reddatur enim terræ corpus, et ita locum nec situm quasi operimento matris obducitur.* Cie. lib. ii. de leg. n. 56.

⁶ Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

⁷ *Conducit Egyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant: Persæ per circumlitos conducunt, ut quàm maxime permancant diuturna corpora.* Cie. Theusel. Quæst. lib. i. n. 108.

⁸ Barnab. Brissonius de regio Persarum principatu, &c. Argentorati, 710.

⁹ Plut. in Apophth. p. 172.

¹⁰ Xen. Cyr. l. iv. p. 91—99.

overcome and enslaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another instance of their folly was, that even in the army they carried their luxury and extravagance with respect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater excess, if possible, than they did in their cities. The most exquisite meats,¹ the rarest birds, and the costliest dainties, must needs be found for the prince in what part of the world soever he was encamped. They had their vessels of gold and silver without number; instruments of luxury,² says a certain historian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not see what reason Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the last years of his life. It must be owned, indeed, that the station of kings requires a suitable grandeur and magnificence, which may on certain occasions be carried even to a degree of pomp and splendour. But princes possessed of a real and solid merit, have a thousand ways of compensating what they seem to lose by retrenching some part of their outward state and magnificence. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king is more sure of gaining respect from his people by the wisdom of his conduct than by the greatness of his expenses; and that affection and confidence produce a closer attachment to his person than a vain admiration of unnecessary pomp and grandeur. Be this at will, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for pomp and expense first prevailed at court, then spread itself into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most learned philosophers, and the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain, indisputable maxim, that whenever luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing states and kingdoms; and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonstrate the truth of this maxim.

What then is that subtle, secret poison, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleasure, and is capable of enervating at the same time both the whole strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardships of war? Are they qualified for suffering the rigour of the season; for enduring hunger and thirst; for passing whole nights without sleep upon occasion; for going through continual exercise and action; for facing danger and despising death? The natural effect of voluptuousness and delicacy, which are the inseparable companions of luxury, is to render men subject to a multitude of false wants and necessities, to make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniences and superfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreasonable fondness for life, on account of a thousand secret ties and engagements that endear it to them, and which by stifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder them from exposing themselves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all those things wherein they place their felicity.

SECTION II.—THE ARREST SUBMISSION AND SLAVERY OF THE PERSIANS.

WE are told by Plato, that this was one of the causes of the declension of the Persian empire. And indeed what contributes most to the preservation of states, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number, but the vigour and courage of their armies; and as it was finely said by one of the ancients,³ *from the day*

a man loseth his liberty, he loseth one half of his ancient virtue. He is no longer concerned for the prosperity of the state, to which he looks upon himself as an alien; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent to the success of public affairs, to the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his own private condition is not altered nor improved. It may truly be said that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; nor did he think, that a despotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of slaves. His tent was always open; and free access was allowed to every one that desired to speak to him. He did not live retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes observed and rewarded merit; invited to his table not only the generals of his army, not only the principal officers, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies of soldiers. The simplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving such entertainments frequently.⁴ His aim was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with courage and resolution, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is what may truly be called the art of governing and commanding.

In reading Xenophon, we observe with pleasure, not only those fine turns of wit, that justness and ingenuity in their answers and repartees, that delicacy in jesting and railery; but at the same time that amiable cheerfulness and gayety which enlivened their entertainments, from which all pomp and luxury were banished, and in which the principal seasoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all constraint, and a kind of familiarity which was so far from lessening their respect for the prince, that it gave such a life and spirit to it, as nothing but a real affection and tenderness could produce. I may venture to say, that by such a conduct as this a prince doubles and trebles his army at a small expense. Thirty thousand men of this sort are preferable to millions of such slaves as these very Persians became afterwards. In time of action, on a decisive day of battle, this truth is most evident, and the prince is more sensible of it than any body else. At the battle of Thymbra, when Cyrus's horse fell under him, Xenophon takes notice of what importance it is to a commander to be loved by his soldiers. The danger of the king's person became the danger of the army; and his troops on that occasion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the same manner, under the greatest part of his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of sovereignty. I must confess, their outward ornaments and ensigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on their heads, and encircled by a superb diadem, a golden sceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and splendid court, a multitude of officers and guards; these things must needs conduce to heighten the splendour of royalty; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is the king in reality, who loses all his merit and his dignity when he puts off his ornaments?

Some of the Eastern kings conceiving that they should thereby procure the greater reverence to their persons, generally kept themselves shut up in their palaces, and seldom showed themselves to their subjects. We have already seen that Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his succession to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common in all the Eastern countries. But it is a great mistake, to imagine that a prince cannot descend from his grandeur, by a sort of familiarity, without debasing or lessening his greatness. Artaxerxes did not think so; and Plutarch observes,⁵ that that prince,

¹ Senec. l. iii. de Ira, c. 20.

² Non belli sed luxurie apparatus—Aclem Persarum ano purpureaque fulgentium intueri jubebat Alexander, prædæ, non armis gestantem. Q. Curt.

³ Hom. Odys. P. v. 322.

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⁴ Tantas vires habet frugalitas Principis, ut tot impendit, tot erogationibus sola sufficiat. Plin. in Poneg. Traj.

⁵ In Arias. p. 1013.

and queen, Statira, his wife, took a pleasure in being visible and of easy access to their people; and by so doing were but the more respected.

Among the Persians no subject whatsoever was allowed to appear in the king's presence without prostrating himself before him; and this law, which Seneca with good reason calls a Persian slavery,¹ *Persicam servitutem*, extended also to foreigners. We shall find afterwards, that several Grecians refused to comply with it, looking upon such a ceremony as derogatory to men born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great reluctance; and we are told, that one of them in order to cover the shame of such a servile prostration, purposely let fall his ring when he came near the king,² that he might have occasion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to hesitate or deliberate about a homage, which the kings exacted from them with the utmost rigour.

What the Scripture relates of two sovereigns,³ whereof the one commanded all his subjects on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image; and the other under the same penalty suspended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himself alone; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran altogether on the first signal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king exclusively of all the powers of heaven: all this shows to what an extravagant excess the Eastern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and servitude.

So great was the distance between the Persian king and his subjects, that the latter, of what rank or quality soever, whether satraps, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were looked upon only as slaves; whereas the king himself was always considered, not only as their sovereign lord and absolute master, but as a kind of deity. In a word,⁴ the peculiar character of the Asiatic nations, and of the Persians more particularly than any other, was servitude and slavery; which made Cicero say,⁵ that the despotic power which some were endeavouring to establish in the Roman commonwealth, was an insupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was therefore this arrogant haughtiness of the princes on one hand, and the abject submission of the people on the other, which according to Plato,⁶ were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by dissolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his subjects, and the subjects to their king. Such a haughtiness extinguishes all affection and humanity in the former; and such an abject state of slavery leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Persian kings governed only by threats and menaces, and the subjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingness and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himself gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is represented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men, so dispirited and depressed by habitual slavery as the Persians were, and reduced to such an abject servitude; which, to use the words of Longinus⁷ is a kind of imprisonment, wherein a man's soul may be said in some sort to grow little and contracted.

I am unwilling to say it; but I do not know, whether the great Cyrus himself did not contribute to introduce among the Persians both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject submission and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have several times mentioned, that the Persians, (till then very jealous of their liberty, and very

far from being inclined to make a shameful prostitution of it by any mean behaviour or servile compliances, first bent the knee before their prince, and stooped to a posture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance; for Xenophon intimates clearly enough, that Cyrus,⁸ who desired to have that homage paid to him, had appointed persons on purpose to begin it; whose example was accordingly followed by the multitude. In these little tricks and stratagems, we no longer discern that nobleness and greatness of soul which had ever been conspicuous in that prince till this occasion: and I should be apt to think, that being arrived to the utmost pitch of glory and power, he could no longer resist those violent attacks wherewith prosperity is always assaulting even the best of princes, *secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant*;⁹ and that at last pride and vanity, which are almost inseparable from sovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him, from himself and his own naturally good inclinations; *Vi dominationis convulsus et mutatus*.¹⁰

SECTION III.—THE WRONG EDUCATION OF THEIR PRINCES ANOTHER CAUSE OF THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

It is Plato still,¹¹ the prince of philosophers, who makes this reflection; and we shall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in question, how solid and judicious it is, and how inexcusable Cyrus's conduct was in this respect.

Never had any man more reason than Cyrus to be sensible how highly necessary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himself, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience. What he most earnestly recommended to his officers,¹² in that fine discourse which he made to them after the taking of Babylon in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the same manner as they knew they were educated in Persia, and to preserve themselves in the practice of the same manners as were observed there.

Would one believe, that a prince, who spoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himself wholly about his conquests, he left that care entirely to women, that is to princesses, brought up in a country where pomp, luxury, and voluptuousness reigned in the highest degree; for the queen, his wife was of Media. And in the same taste and manner were the two young princes, Cambyzes and Smerdis, educated. Nothing they asked was ever refused them: all their desires were anticipated. The great maxim was, that their attendants should cross them in nothing, never contradict them, nor ever make use of reproofs or remonstrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their presence, but to praise and commend what they said and did. Every one cringed and stooped and bent the knee before them; and it was thought essential to their greatness to place an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. It is Plato that informs us of all these particulars; for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says not one word of the manner in which these princes were brought up, though he gives us so ample an account of the education of their father.

What surprises me the most is, that Cyrus did not, at least, take them along with him in his last campaigns, in order to draw them out of that soft and effeminate course of life, and to instruct them in the art of war; for they must needs have been of sufficient years; but perhaps the women opposed his design, and overruled him.

Whatever the obstacle was, the effect of the education of these princes was such as might be expected from it. Cambyzes came out of that school what he is represented in history, an obstinate and self-con-

¹ Lib. iii. de Benef. c. 12. et lib. iii. de Ira, c. 17.

² Elian. l. i. Var. Histor. cap. xxi.

³ Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iii. Darius the Mede, Dan. vi.

⁴ Plut. in Apophth. p. 213.

⁵ Lib. x. Epist. ad Attic.

⁶ Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 697.

⁷ Cap. XXX

⁸ Cyron. l. viii. p. 215.

⁹ Sallust.

¹⁰ Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 48.

¹¹ Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 694, 695.

¹² Cyron. l. vii. p. 200

zeited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the most scandalous excess of drunkenness and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the causing of his own brother to be murdered in consequence of a dream; in a word, a furious frantic madman, who by his ill conduct brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, says Plato, left him at his death vast provinces, immense riches, with innumerable forces by sea and land; but he had not given him the means of preserving them, by teaching him the right use of such power.

This philosopher makes the same reflections with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former not being the son of a king, had not been brought up in the same effeminate manner as princes were; but ascended the throne with a long habit of industry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than he, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predecessor in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his son Xerxes was little better than a second Cambyses.

From all this, Plato, after having shown what numberless rocks and quicksands, almost unavoidable, lie in the way of persons bred in the arms of wealth and greatness, concludes, that one principal cause of the delusion and ruin of the Persian empire was the bad education of their princes; because those first examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their successors, under whom every thing still degenerated more and more, till at last their luxury exceeded all bounds and restraints.

SECTION IV.—THEIR BREACH OF FAITH AND WANT OF SINCERITY.

WE are informed by Xenophon,¹ that one of the causes both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was the want of public faith. Formerly, says he, the king, and those that governed under him, thought it an indispensable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to observe all treaties into which they had entered, with the solemnity of an oath; and that even with respect to those that had rendered themselves most unworthy of such treatment, through their perfidiousness and insincerity; and it was by this sound policy and prudent conduct, that they gained the absolute confidence, both of their own subjects, and of all their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the historian to the Persians, which undoubtedly belongs chiefly to the reign of the great Cyrus; though Xenophon applies it likewise to that of the younger Cyrus,² whose grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatsoever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promise made, or any treaty he had concluded. These princes had a just idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that if probity and truth were banished from the rest of mankind, they ought to find a sanctuary in the heart of a king; who, being the bond and centre, as it were, of society, should also be the protector and avenger of faith engaged; which is the very foundation on which the other depends.

Such sentiments as these, so noble and so worthy

of persons born for government, did not last long. A false prudence, and a spurious artificial policy, soon succeeded in their place. Instead of faith, probity, and true merit, says Xenophon,³ which heretofore the prince used to cherish and distinguish, all the chief offices of the court began to be filled with those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrificed every thing to his humour and supposed interests; who hold it as a maxim,⁴ that falsehood and deceit, perfidiousness and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the shortest and surest expedients to give success to his enterprises and designs; who look upon a scrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of pusillanimity, incapacity, and want of understanding; and whose opinion, in short, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer considerations of state, before the exact observation of treaties, though concluded in never so solemn and sacred a manner.

The Asiatic nations, continues Xenophon, soon imitated their prince, who became their example and instructor in double-dealing and treachery. They soon gave themselves up to violence, injustice, and impiety: and from thence proceeds that strange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as also the contempt they conceived for their sovereigns, which is both the natural consequence and usual punishment of the little regard princes pay to the most sacred and awful solemnities of religion.

Surely the oath by which treaties are sealed and ratified, and the Deity invoked not only as present, but as guarantee of the conditions stipulated, is a most sacred and august ceremony, very proper for the subjecting of earthly princes to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them; and for the keeping of all human majesty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majesty of God, in respect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to stand in fear of the Supreme Being, how shall they be able to secure their respect and reverence for themselves? When once that fear comes to be extinguished in the subjects as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and on what foundation will the throne be established? Cyrus had good reason to say,⁵ that he looked upon none as good servants and faithful subjects, but such as had a sense of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all astonishing that the contempt which an impious prince who has no regard to the sanctity of oaths, shows of God and religion, should shake the very foundations of the firmest and best established empires, and sooner or later occasion their utter destruction. Kings, says Plutarch,⁶ when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of their subjects' unfaithfulness and disloyalty: but they do them wrong; and forget that it was themselves who gave them the first lessons of their disloyalty, by showing no regard to justice and fidelity, which on all occasions they sacrificed without scruple to their own particular interests.

¹ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

² Έπει τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἰσχυρισμόν, συντοματῶνται ὅταν ἔσται σίγη. διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυρισμοῦ τοῦ καὶ ψευδοῦσθαι, καὶ ἰσχυρῶνται τὸ δὲ ἀπλοῦν τοῦ καὶ ἀληθινῶς, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ καὶ τῆς σίγης. De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 239.

³ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 204.

⁴ Plut. in Pyrrh. 206.

¹ Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

² De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 267.

THE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE SEVERAL STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE.¹

BOOK V.

OF all the countries of antiquity, none have been so highly celebrated, or furnished history with so many valuable monuments and illustrious examples, as

Greece. In what light soever she is considered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wisdom of her laws or the study and improvement of arts and sciences,

[Greece, in its most extensive sense, as including Albania and Macedonia, is bounded on the north by a chain of mountains anciently called Rhodope, Scymus, and Orbetus, which separate it from Servia and Bulgaria; on the west by the Adriatic and Ionian seas; on the south by the Mediterranean; and on the east by the *Ægean* sea or Archipelago. As it is washed by the sea on all sides but the north, where it is connected with the provinces mentioned above, it may be justly termed a peninsula, of which Peloponnesus, or the Morea, connected with it by the isthmus of Corinth, forms the southern part. Its utmost extent from north to south, or from the Scardian mountains to the promontory of Tænarus, now Cape Matapan, the southernmost point of the Morea, is 6 degrees 70 minutes—namely, from 42. 40. north lat. to 36. 10. do. or 450 English miles. From east to west, or from the mouth of the ancient Strymon or the modern Kerasu in 23. 48. east long. of London, to that of the Drinus or Drino, in 19. 45. east long. is 6 degrees 3 minutes, or 183 geographical or 213 English miles. But if we extend the eastern boundary to the mouth of the river Nestus or Nesto, opposite the isle of Thasos, in 24. 40. east long., 52 geographical or 60 English miles must be added, so that its whole breadth on its northern frontier will be 273 English miles. The breadth is however very unequal: between the gulphs of Salonichi and Valona, it is considerably narrower; and between those of Arta and Zeiton, the width does not exceed 100 English miles.

Within the limits stated above, including the tract between the Strymon and the Nestus, and the island of Eubœa or the modern Negropont, but exclusive of all its other islands, Greece contains an area of 57,750 English miles. If to these be added 1,000 square miles for the Cyclades, the sum total will be 58,750 English miles, which is almost exactly the area of England, or double that of Scotland, with its dependent isles. The area of Greece, as including Attica, Eubœa, Bœotia, Phocis, Doris, Etolia, Acarnania, Thessaly, and Magnesia, measured on D'Anville's map, which is pronounced by Sir William Gell, a very competent judge, to be the most accurate of any that have been constructed since, comprehends 14,800 English square miles. Peloponnesus or the Morea, which included seven distinct political States, has an area of 5,950 such miles. Epirus and Albania, including the basin of the Drino, occupy a surface of 16,000 English square miles. Macedonia, 18,000 square miles, and the Cyclades 1,000. Total 58,750.

During the period of Grecian independence, however, all these territories were never united into one political body, nor formed one consolidated government;—nor was ever their combined force directed to the prosecution of one common object. These communities, whose brilliant achievements in war, philosophy, or arts, raised the Grecian name so high, possessed but very small portions of territory, as will be seen from the following table measured on D'Anville's map:—

English square miles.

Attica, including Megara and Salamis, but not Eubœa,.....	1,190
Bœotia,.....	1,530
Laconia (without Messenia),.....	1,750
Achaia [the 12 cities with their territories],.....	1,140

The celebrated mountain Olympus was considered not merely as the loftiest summit in Greece; but even in the opinion of the ancient geometricians, as the highest elevation of the globe. Its height, we are informed, was accurately measured by the philosopher Xenagoras, and found to be ten stadia and a plethrum, or nearly 7,000 English feet. This is somewhat more than the elevation assigned to it in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences*, by John Bernoulli, where it is given at 1,017 toises, or 6,512 English feet. The misfortune is, that in these measurements no mention is made of a fixed base, to enable us to judge of the accuracy of the calculations. Snow is said to lie frequently on certain parts of Olympus during the whole year. The ascent, however, is perfectly practicable in the summer season, as Sonnini himself visited its summit from Salonica during that season; and a small Greek chapel has even been constructed near the top, where service is performed once a year, with a singular contrast to the old mythology of the spot. The monastery of St. Dionysius, on the eastern side, is the highest habitation on the mountain. Its elevation has been prodigiously exaggerated by the poets, who described it as the throne of Jupiter, and the habitation of the Gods. Hence Jupiter was denominated the Rector Olympi, or Ruler of Olympus, in the Pagan Theology.

The famed Parnassus seems to be regarded by Clarke and Holiand as the loftiest summit in Greece—nay, by the former it is considered as one of the highest in Europe. It is amazing how Clarke could either say or think so; as it does not enter the region of constant congelation, and cannot therefore be half the elevation of Mounts Rosa and Blanc, or the Ortelor Horn. He ascended it in the month of December, and reached the summit after consuming 4½ hours only, in the journey from the village of Arracovia. This village is indeed pretty high up the mountain; three hours distant from Delphi at its foot. But as the road from the latter to the former is an easy ascent, with a number of windings, it is plain that the elevation cannot be very great. The summit was a plain in the bottom of a crater, containing a large pool of water, then frozen over. The sides of this crater, rising in ridges around this plain, are the most elevated points of Parnassus.

The ridge of Helicon lies to the S. E. of Parnassus, being separated from it by the plain of Livadia. Its form is remarkably picturesque and graceful, and such as might fit it to the imagination as the abode of the Muses, when they quitted the loftier heights of Pindus and Parnassus. It possesses the grandeur of height and steepness; but it is a grandeur softened, to the eye by the figure of the cliffs and intervening hollows—by the woods which still cover them as in ancient times—and by the beautiful slopes connecting the cliffs with the subjacent plains. It is embellished with the epithets of *Great* and *Divine* by Hesiod; and Virgil calls it poetically the *Aganippe* and the *Åonian* mount—the former from the ancient inhabitants of the country. The fountain Aganippe and the Grove of the Muses, are still recognized in a recess of the mountain near the monastery of St. Nicholas. "A more delightful spot is not to be found," says Clarke, "in the romantic passes of Switzerland. It is surrounded on all sides by the mountain: one small opening alone presenting a picturesque view of a ruined tower—upon

all these she carried to a high degree of perfection; and it may be truly said, that in all these respects she has in some measure been the school of mankind.

It is impossible not to be very much interested in the history of such a nation; especially when we consider that it has been transmitted to us by writers of the most consummate merit, many of whom distinguished themselves as much by their swords as by their pens; and were as great commanders and able statesmen, as excellent historians. I confess, it is a vast advantage to have such men for guides; men of an exquisite judgment and consummate prudence; of a refined and perfect taste in every respect; and who furnish not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expressions wherewith they are to be represented; but what is much more important, the proper reflections that are to accompany those facts; and which are the most useful improvements resulting from history. These are the rich sources from whence I shall draw all that I have to say, after I have previously inquired into the first origin and establishment of the Grecian states. As this inquiry must be dry, and not capable of affording much delight to the reader, I shall be as brief as possible. But before I enter upon that, I think it necessary to draw a kind of short plan of the situation of the country, and of the several parts that compose it.

ARTICLE I.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT GREECE.

Ancient Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the east by the *Ægean sea*, now called the Archipelago; on the south by the Cretan, or Candian sea; on the west by the Ionian sea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace.

The constituent parts of ancient Greece, are Epirus, Peloponnesus, Greece properly so called, Thessaly, and Macedonia.

EPIRUS. This province is situate to the west, and divided from Thessaly and Macedonia by mount Pindus, and the Acroceraunian mountains.

The principal inhabitants of Epirus are, the **MOLLIANS**, whose chief city is Dodona, famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter. The **CHAONIANS**, whose principal city is Oricum. The **THESPROTIANS**, whose city is Butthrotum, where was the palace and residence of Pyrrhus. The **ACARNANIANS**, whose city is Ambracia, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this stood Actium, famous for the victory of Augustus Cæsar, who built over against that city, on the other side of the gulf, a city named Nicopolis. There were two little rivers in Epirus, very famous in fabulous story, Cocyus and Achæron.

Epirus must have been very well peopled in former times; as Polybius relates,¹ that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, destroyed seventy cities in that country, the greatest part of which belonged to the Molossians; and that he carried away from thence no less than 150,000 prisoners.

PELOPONNESUS. This is a peninsula, now called the *Mores*, joined to the rest of Greece only by the isthmus of Corinth, that is but six miles broad. It is well known, that several princes have attempted in vain to cut through this isthmus.

an eminence in front. The air was filled with spicy odours from numberless aromatic plants covering the soil. A perennial fountain, gushing from the side of a rock, poured down its clear and bubbling waters into the rivulet below. A thick grove almost concealed the monastery; and every tree that contributed to its beauty or luxuriance appeared to be the wild and spontaneous produce of the mountain. Nothing interrupted the still silence of this solitude, but the humming bees, and the sound of falling waters. As we drew near to the fountain, we found it covered with moss and with creeping plants, which spread every where their pendent foliage, hanging gracefully from the trees by which it was shaded. Such are the natural beauties of this *Ionian bay*. Two miles and a half distant from this, and higher up the mountain, was the fountain Hippocrene, fabled to have sprung from the earth, when struck by the hoof of Pegasus, or the winged steed of Bellerophon."]

¹ Apud Strab. l. vii. p. 392.

The parts of Peloponnesus are **ACHAIA**, properly so called, whose chief cities are Corinth, Sicyon, Patre, &c. **ELIS**, in which is Olympia, called also *Pisa* seated on the river Alpheus, upon the banks of which the Olympic games used to be celebrated. **MESSENIA**, in which are the cities of Messene, Pylos, the birth place of Nestor and Coronæ. **ARCADIA**, in which was Cyllene, the mountain where Mercury was born, the cities of Tegea, Stymphalus, Mantinea, and Megalopolis, Polybius's native place. **LACONIA** wherein stood Sparta, or Lacedæmon, and Amyclæ, mount Taygetus; the river Eurotas, and the cape of Tenarus. **ARGOLIS**, in which was the city of Argos, called also Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemæa, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Træzene, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Æsculapius.

GREECE, properly so called. The principal parts of this country were **ÆTOLIA**, in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon, and Oienus. **DOIRIS**. The **LOCRI OZOLÆ**. Naupactus, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. **PHOCIS**. Anticyra. Delphi, at the foot of mount Parnassus famous for the oracles delivered there. In this country also was mount Helicon. **BOÏOTIA**. Mount Cithæron. Orchomenus. Thespia. Chæronæa, illustrious as being Plutarch's native country. Plataeæ, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army set sail for the siege of Troy. Leuctra, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. **ATTICA**. Megara. Eleusis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Persian army. Athens, whose ports were Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerus. The mountain Hymettus, famous for its excellent honey. **LOCRIS**.

THESSALY. The most remarkable towns of this province were, Gomphi. Pharsalia, near which Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey. Magnesia. Methone, at the siege of which Philip lost his eye. Thermopylæ, a narrow strait, famous for the vigorous resistance of 300 Spartans against Xerxes's numerous army, and for their glorious defeat. Phthia. Thebes. Larissa. Demetrias. The delightful valleys of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous story for the battle of the giants.

MACEDONIA. I shall mention only a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Apollonia. Pella, the capital of the country and the native place of Philip, and of his son Alexander the Great. *Ægæ*. Edessa. Pallene. Olynthus, from whence the Olynthiæ of Demosthenes took their name. Torone. Acanthus. Thessalonica, now called Salonichi. Stagira, the place of Aristotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gained there by Augustus and Antony over Brutus and Cassius. Scotussa. Mount Athos; and the river Strymon.

The Grecian Isles.

There is a great number of islands contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in history. In the Ionian sea, Corcyra, with a town of the same name, now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalonia and Zante. Ithaca, the country of Ulysses, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Malen, over against Laconia, is Cythera. In the Saronic gulf, are Ægina, and Salamis, so famous for the sea-fight between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Asia lie the Sporades; and the Cyclades, the most noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, whence the finest marble was dug. Higher up in the *Ægean sea* is Eubœa, now Negropont, separated from the main land by a small arm of the sea, called Euripus. The most remarkable city of this isle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Scyros, and a good deal higher Lemnos, now called Stalimene; and still farther, Samothrace. Lower down is Lesbos, whose principal city was Mitylene, from whence the isle has since taken the name of Metelin. Chios, now Scio, renowned for excellent wine; and, lastly, Samos. Some of these last mentioned isles are reckoned to belong to Asia.

The island of Crete, or Candia, is the largest of all

the is ex contiguo in Greece. It has to the north the Aegean sea, or the Archipelago; and to the south the African ocean. Its principal towns were, Gortyna, Cydon, Gnossus; its mountains, Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous over all the world.

The Grecians had colonies in most of these isles.

They had likewise settlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy towards Calabria, which places are for that reason called *Grecia Magna*.

But their grand settlement was in Asia Minor, and particularly in *Æolis*, *Ionis*, and *Doris*.¹ The principal towns of *Æolis* are *Cunee*, *Phocaea*, *Elea*. Of *Ionis*, *Smyrna*, *Clazomene*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, *Colophon*, and *Ephesus*. Of *Doris*, *Halicarnassus* and *Cnidus*.

They had also a great number of colonies dispersed up and down in different parts of the world, whereof I shall give some account as occasion shall offer.

ARTICLE II.

DIVISION OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY INTO FOUR SEVERAL AGES.

The Grecian history may be divided into four different ages, marked out by so many memorable epochs, all which together include the space of 2154 years.

The first age extends from the foundation of the several petty kingdoms of Greece (beginning with that of *Sicyon*, which is the most ancient) to the siege of *Troy*, and comprehends about 1000 years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820.

The second extends from the taking of *Troy* to the reign of *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, at which period the Grecian history begins to be intermixed with that of the Persians, and contains the space of 663 years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483.

The third extends from the beginning of the reign of *Darius* to the death of *Alexander the Great*, which is the finest part of the Grecian history, and takes in the term of 198 years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681.

The fourth and last age commences from the death of *Alexander*, at which time the Grecians began to decline, and continues to their final subjection by the Romans. The epocha of the utter ruin and downfall of the Greeks may be dated, partly from the taking and destruction of *Corinth* by the Consul *L. Mummius*, in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the *Seleucide* in Asia by *Pompey*, in the year of the world 3939, and of the kingdom of the *Lagide* in Egypt by *Augustus*, anno mun. 3974. This last age includes in all 293 years.

Of these four ages, I shall in this place only touch upon the first two, in a very succinct manner, just to give the reader some general notion of that obscure period; because those times, at least a great part of them, have more of fable in them than of real history, and are wrapt up in such darkness and obscurity, as are very hard, if not impossible, to penetrate; and I have often declared already, that such a dark and laborious inquiry, though very useful for those that are anxious to make deep researches into history, does not come within the plan of my design.

ARTICLE III.

THE PRIMITIVE ORIGIN OF THE GRECIANS.

In order to arrive at any certainty with respect to the first origin of the Grecian nations, we must necessarily have recourse to the accounts we have of it in Holy Scripture.

Javan or *Ion* (for in the Hebrew the same letters differently pointed form these two different names,²) the son of *Japheth*, and grandson of *Noah*, was certainly the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks, though he has been looked upon as the father of the *Ionians* only, which were but one particular nation of Greeks. But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians, and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of *Ionians*. And for this reason

Alexander, in the predictions of *Daniel*,⁴ is mentioned under the name of the king of *Javan*.⁵

Javan had four sons,⁶ *Elishah*, *Tarshish*, *Chittim*, and *Dodanim*. As *Javan* was the original father of the Grecians in general, without doubt his four sons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that nation, which became in succeeding ages so renowned for arts and arms.

Elishah is the same as *Ellas*, as it is rendered in the Chaldean translation, and the word *Ἑλληνες*, which was used as the common appellation of the whole people, in the same manner as the word *Ἰλλυριε* was of the whole country, has no other derivation. The very ancient city of *Elis*, in *Peloponnesus*, the *Elysian fields*, the river *Elissus*, or *Illissus*, have long retained the marks of their being derived from *Elishah*, and have contributed more to preserve his memory, than the historians themselves of the nation, who were inquisitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original; as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, and did not carry their inquiries so high. Upon which account, they themselves derived the words *Hellènes* and *Iones* from another fountain, as we shall see in the sequel; for I think myself obliged to give some account of their opinions also in this respect.

Tarshish was the second son of *Javan*. He settled, as his brethren did, in some part of Greece, perhaps in *Achaia*, or the neighbouring provinces, as *Elishah* did in *Peloponnesus*.

It is not to be doubted but that *Chittim* was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the first book of the *Maccabees*,⁷ in the beginning of which it is said, that *Alexander*, the son of *Philip* the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of *Cetthim*⁸ [or *Chittim*.] to make war against *Darius*, king of Persia. And in the eighth chapter, speaking of the Romans and their victories over the last kings of Macedonia, *Philip* and *Perseus*,⁹ the two last mentioned princes are called kings of the *Chittims*.

Dodanim. It is very probable, that *Thessaly* and *Epirus* were the portion of the fourth son of *Javan*. The impious worship of *Jupiter* of *Dodona*, as well as the city *Dodona*¹⁰ itself, are proofs that some remembrance of *Dodanim* had remained with the people, who derived their first establishment and origin from him.

This is all that can be said with any certainty concerning the origin of the Grecian nations. The Holy Scripture, whose design is not to satisfy our curiosity, but to nourish and improve our piety, after scattering these few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkness concerning the rest of their history: which therefore can be collected only from profane authors.

If we may believe *Pliny*,¹¹ the Grecians were so called from the name of an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition. *Homer*, in his poems, calls them *Hellenes*, *Danaï*, *Argives*, and *Achaïans*. It is observable, that the word *Grecus* is not once used in *Virgil*.

The exceeding rusticity of the first Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in question the testimony of their own historians upon that point. But a people so vain of their origin as to adorn it by fiction and fables, would never think of inventing any thing in its disparagement. Who would imagine that the people,¹² to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the sciences, should be descended from mere savages, who knew no other law than force, were ignorant even of agriculture, and fed on herbs and roots like the brute beasts? And yet this appears plainly to be the case, from the divine honours they decreed to the person¹³ who first taught

¹ Dan. viii. 21.

² *Hircus caparrum rex Græciæ*; in the Hebrew, *rex javan*. Gen. x. 4. I Macc. i. 1.

³ *Egressus de terrâ Cethim*.

⁴ *Philippum et Perseum Cetheorum regem*. Ver. 5.

⁵ *Δωδωνή ἀπὸ Δωδωνίου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Εὐφροσύνης* *Βιόφανους*.

⁶ Lib. iv. c. 7.

⁷ *Pausan.* i. viii. p. 455, 456. ⁸ *Pelagius*.

¹ *Strab.* i. vi. p. 253. ² *Plin.* i. vi. c. 2. ³ *Gen.* x. 2.

then, to feed upon acorns as a more delicate and wholesome nourishment than herbs. There was still a great distance from this first improvement to a state of urbanity and politeness. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter, till after a long process of time.

The weakest were not the last to understand the necessity of living together in society, in order to defend themselves against violence and oppression. At first they built single houses at a distance from one another; the number of which insensibly increasing, formed in time towns and cities. But the bare living together in society was not sufficient to polish such a people. Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. Both these nations contributed to instruct and civilize the Grecians,¹ by the colonies they sent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the former, the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taste for arts and sciences, and initiated them into her mysteries.

Greece,² in her infant state, was exposed to great commotions and frequent revolutions; because, as the people had no settled correspondence, and no superior power to give laws to the rest, every thing was determined by force and violence. The strongest invaded the lands of their neighbours, which they thought more fertile and delightful than their own, and dispossessed the lawful owners, who were obliged to seek new settlements elsewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the same invasions and outrages to fear, and therefore consequently kept themselves in possession of their ancient territories; for which reason they took the name of *αὐθαῖοι*, that is, men born in the country where they lived, to distinguish themselves from the rest of the nations, that had almost all transplanted themselves from place to place.

Such were in general the first beginnings of Greece. We must now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the establishment of the several different states whereof the whole country consisted.

ARTICLE IV.

THE DIFFERENT STATES INTO WHICH GREECE WAS DIVIDED.

In those early times kingdoms were but inconsiderable, and of very small extent, the title of kingdom being often given to a single city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.

SIKYON. The most ancient kingdom of Greece was that of Sikyon; whose beginning is placed by Eusebius³ 1313 years before the first Olympiad. Its duration is believed to have been 1000 years.

ARGOS. The kingdom of Argos, A. M. 2148. in Peloponnesus, began 1080 years Ant. J. C. 1856. before the first Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king of it was INACHUS. His successors were, his son PHORONEUS; APIS; ARGUS, from whom the country took its name; and after several others, GELANOR, who was dethroned and expelled his kingdom by

DANAUS, the Egyptian. The successors of this last were LYNCEUS, Ant. J. C. 1474. the son of his brother Egyptus, who alone of fifty brothers, escaped the cruelty of the Danaides; then ABAS, PROTEUS, and ACRISEUS.

Of Danae, daughter to the last, was born Perseus, who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grandfather Acrisius, and not being able to bear the sight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to Mycenæ; and there fixed the seat of his kingdom.

MYCENÆ. Perseus then translated the seat of the kingdom from Argos to Mycenæ. He left several sons behind him; among others, Alceus, Sthenelus, and Electryon. Alceus was the father of Amphitryon;

Sthenelus of Eurystheus; and Electryon of Alceia. Amphitryon married Alcmena, upon whom Jupiter begat Hercules.

Eurystheus and Hercules came into the world the same day; but as the birth of the former was by Juno's management antecedent to that of the latter Hercules was forced to be subject to him, and was obliged by his order to undertake the twelve labours, so celebrated in fabulous history.

The kings who reigned at Mycenæ, after Perseus, were, ELECTRYON, STHENEUS, and EURYSTHEUS. The last, after the death of Hercules, declared open war against his descendants, apprehending they might some time or other attempt to dethrone him; which, as it happened, was done by the Heraclidæ; for, having killed Eurystheus in battle, they entered victorious into Peloponnesus, and made themselves masters of the country. But as this happened before the time determined by fate, a plague ensued, which, with the direction of an oracle, obliged them to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expression of the oracle, they made a second attempt, which likewise proved fruitless. This was about twenty years before the taking of Troy.

ATREUS, the son of Pelops, uncle by the mother's side to Eurystheus, was the latter's successor. And in this manner the crown came to the descendants of Pelops, from whom Peloponnesus, which before was called *Alia*, derived its name. The bloody hatred of the two brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, is known to all the world.

PLISTHENE, the son of Atreus, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, which he left to his son AGAMEMNON, who was succeeded by his son ORESTES. The kingdom of Mycenæ was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of Pelops.

TISIMEMES and **PENTHILUS**, sons of Orestes, reigned after their father, and were at last driven out of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ.

ATHENS. CECROPS, a native of Egypt, was the founder of this kingdom. A. M. 2448. Ant. J. C. 1556. Having settled in Attica, he divided all the country subject to him into twelve districts. He it was who established the Areopagus.

This august tribunal, in the reign of his successor CRANAUS, adjudged the famous difference between Neptune and Mars. In his time happened Deucalion's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient, and happened 1020 years before the first Olympiad, and consequently in the year of the world 2208.

AMPHICTYON, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between twelve nations, which assembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer their common sacrifices, and to consult together upon their affairs in general, as also upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the assembly of the Amphictyons.

The reign of ERECHTHEUS is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proserpine, as also for the institution of the mysteries at Eleusis.

The reign of ÆGEUS, the son of Pandion, is the most illustrious period of the history of the heroes. In Ant. J. C. 1284. his time are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, second king of Crete, against the Athenians; the story of Theseus and Ariadne.

THESEUS succeeded his father Ægeus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or twelve districts, separated from each other. Theseus brought the people to understand the advantages of common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city or body politic, in which the whole authority was united.

CODRUS was the last king of Athens: he devoted himself to die for his people.

After him the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians. A. M. 2934. MEDON, his son, was set at the head Ant. J. C. 1070

¹ Herod. l. ii. c. 58. l. v. c. 58—60. Plin. l. v. c. 12. l. vii. c. 56.

² Euseb in Chron. ³ Thucyd. lib. i. p. 2.

of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, that is to say, president or governor. The first Archontes were for life; but the Athenians, growing weary of a government which they still thought bore too great a resemblance to royal power, made their Archontes elective every ten years, and at last reduced it to an annual office.

THERES. Cadmus, who came A. M. 2549. by sea from the coast of Phœnicia, Ant. J. C. 1455. that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, seized upon that part of the country which was afterwards called Boeotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at least a citadel, which, from his own name he called Cadmea, and there fixed the seat of his power and dominion.

The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his successors, and of Jocasta his wife, of Œdipus their son, of Etocles and Polynices, who were born of the incestuous marriage of Jocasta with Œdipus, have furnished ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical representations.

SPARTA, or LACEDÆMON. It is supposed, that **LELEX**, the first king of Laconia, began his reign about 1516 years before the Christian era.

TYNDARUS, the ninth king of Lacedæmon, had by Leda, Castor and Pollux, who were twins, besides Helena and Clytemnestra the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having survived his two sons, the twins, he began to think of choosing a successor, by looking out for a husband for his daughter Helena. All the suitors to this princess bound themselves by oath, to abide by and entirely to submit to, the choice which the lady herself should make, who determined in favour of Menelaus. She had not lived above three years with her husband, before she was carried off by Alexander or Paris, son of Priam, king of the Trojans; which rape was the cause of the Trojan war. Greece did not properly begin to know or experience her united strength, till the famous siege of that city, where Achilles, the Ajaxes, Nestor, and Ulysses, gave Asia sufficient reason to forbode her future subjection to their posterity. The Greeks took Troy after a ten years' siege, much about the time that Jephthah governed the people of God; that is, according to Archbishop Usher, in the year of the world 2820, and 1184 years before Jesus Christ. This epocha is famous in history, and should carefully be remembered, as well as that of the Olympiads.

An Olympiad is the revolution of four complete years, from one celebration of the Olympic games to the other. We have elsewhere given an account of the institution of these games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia.

The common era of the Olympiads begins in the summer of the year of the world 3228, 776 years before Jesus Christ, from the games in which Corceus won the prize in the foot-race.

Four-score years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ re-entered Peloponnesus, and seized Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, came to reign together, and from their time the sceptre always continued jointly in the hands of the descendants of those two families. Many years after this, Lycurgus instituted that body of laws for the Spartan state, which rendered both the legislator and republic so famous in history: I shall speak of them at large in the sequel.

CORINTH. Corinth began later A. M. 2628. than the other cities I have been Ant. J. C. 1376. speaking of, to be governed by kings of its own. It was at first subject to those of Argos and Mycenæ; at last, Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, made himself master of it. But his descendants were dispossessed of the throne by the Heraclidæ, about 110 years after the siege of Troy.

The regal power, after this, came to the descendants of Bacchis, under whom the monarchy was changed into an aristocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually chose from among themselves a chief magistrate, whom they called Prytania. At last Cypselus having

gained the people, usurped the supreme authority which he transmitted to his son Periander; who held a distinguished rank among the Grecian sages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

MACEDONIA. It was a long time before the Greeks paid any great A. M. 3191. attention to Macedonia. Her kings, Ant. J. C. 1813. living retired in woods and mountains, seemed not to be considered as a part of Greece. They pretended that their kings, of whom **CARANUS** was the first, were descended from Hercules. Philip, and his son Alexander, raised the glory of this kingdom to a very high pitch. It had subsisted 471 years before the death of Alexander, and continued 156 more, till Perseus was defeated and taken by the Romans; in all, 626 years.

ARTICLE V.

COLONIES OF THE GREEKS SENT INTO ASIA MINOR.

We have already observed, that fourscore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponnesus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is Tisamenus and Penthilus, sons of Orestes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon, among themselves.

So great a revolution as this changed almost the whole face of the country, and made way for several very famous transmigrations. To understand these the better, and to have the clearer idea of the situation of many of the Grecian nations, as also of the four dialects, or different idioms of speech, that prevailed among them, it will be necessary to look a little farther back into history.

DEUCALION,¹ who reigned in Thessaly, and under whom happened the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha his wife two sons, Hellen and Amphityon. The latter, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his place. Hellen, if we may believe the historians of his country, gave the name of Hellenes to the Greeks: he had three sons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus.

Æolus, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and besides Thessaly, had Locria and Boeotia added to his dominions. Several of his descendants went into Peloponnesus with Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peloponnesus took its name, and settled themselves in Laconia.

The country contiguous to Parnassus fell to the share of Dorus, and from him was called Doris.

Xuthus, compelled by his brothers, upon some private quarrel, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Erechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two sons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder committed by Achæus, obliged him to retire to Peloponnesus, which was then called Egialeæ, of which one part was from him called Achæia. His descendants settled at Lacedæmon.

Ion, having signalized himself by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave his name to the country; for the inhabitants of Attica were likewise called Ionians. The number of the citizens increased to such a degree, that the Athenians were obliged to send a colony of Ionians into Peloponnesus, who likewise gave their name to the country they possessed.

Thus all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, though composed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, fourscore years after the taking of Troy, resolved seriously to recover Peloponnesus, which, they imagined, of right belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, sons of Aristomachus, namely, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus; the last dying, his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, succeeded him. The success of their expedition was as happy as their motive was just, and they recovered the possession of their ancient domain

¹ Strab. l. viii. p. 383, &c. Pausan. l. vii. p. 396, &c.

Argos fell to Temenus, Messenia to Chresphontes, and Laconia to the two sons of Aristodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were descended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, after some wandering, settled in that part of Asia Minor which from them took the name of Æolus, where they founded Smyrna, and eleven other cities: but the city of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewise possessed of several cities of Lesbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they seized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponnesus. The latter fled at first to Athens, their original country, from whence they some time afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both sons of Codrus, and seized upon that part of the coast of Asia Minor which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Ephesus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

The power of the Athenians,¹ who had then Codrus for their king, being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that had fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppose the progress of their power, and for that reason made war upon them. The latter were worsted in a battle, but still remained masters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and settled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.

One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus,² another went to Crete; the greatest number settled in that part of Asia Minor which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and other cities, and made themselves masters of the island of Rhodes, Cos, &c.

The Grecian Dialects.

It will now be more easy to understand what we have to say concerning the several Grecian dialects. These were four in number: the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and used by a distinct nation; but yet all derived from, and grounded upon, the same original tongue. And this diversity of languages can no ways appear wonderful in a country where the inhabitants consisted of different nations, that did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

1. The Attic dialect is that which was used in Athens, and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly used by Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Demosthenes.

2. The Ionic dialect was almost the same with the ancient Attic; but after it had passed into several towns of Asia Minor, and into the adjacent islands, which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaia, it received a sort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy which the Athenians afterwards attained. Hippocrates and Herodotus wrote in this dialect.

3. The Doric was first in use among the Spartans, and the people of Argos; it passed afterwards into Epirus, Libya, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracûsans, and Pindar, followed this dialect.

4. The Æolic dialect was at first used by the Bœotians and their neighbours, and then in Æolis, a country in Asia Minor, between Ionia and Mysia, which contained ten or twelve cities, that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alceus, of whose works very little remains, wrote in this dialect. We find also a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

ARTICLE VI.

THE REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT ALMOST GENERALLY ESTABLISHED THROUGHOUT GREECE.

The reader may have observed, in the little I have said about the several settlements of Greece, that the

primordial grounds of all those different states was monarchical government, the most ancient of all forms the most universally received and established, the most proper to maintain peace and concord; and which, as Plato observes,³ is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exercise over their families.

But as the state of things degenerated by degrees, through the injustice of usurpers, the severity of lawful masters, the insurrections of the people, and a thousand accidents and revolutions, that happened in those states; a totally different spirit seized the people, which prevailed all over Greece, kindled a violent desire of liberty, and brought about a general change of government every where, except in Macedonia; so that monarchy gave way to a republican government, which however was diversified into almost as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, there still remained a kind of tincture or leaven of the ancient monarchical government, which from time to time inflamed the ambition of many private citizens, and made them desire to become masters of their country. In almost every one of these petty states of Greece, some private persons arose, who without any right to the throne, either by birth, or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence; and who, without any respect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exercised a sovereign authority, with a despotic empire and arbitrary sway. In order to support their unjust usurpations in the midst of distrusts and alarms, they thought themselves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to suppress real conspiracies, by the most cruel proscriptions; and to sacrifice to their own security all those whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a suspicious and tottering government, which found itself hated by all, and was sensible it deserved to be so. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these men so odious, under the appellation of Tyrants,⁴ and which furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

All these cities and districts of Greece, that seemed so entirely disjointed from one another by their laws, customs, and interests, were nevertheless formed and combined into one sole, entire, and united body; whose strength increased to such a degree, as to make the formidable power of the Persians under Darius and Xerxes tremble; and which even then, perhaps, would have entirely overthrown the Persian greatness, had the Grecian states been wise enough to preserve that union and concord among themselves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the scene which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the reader's whole attention.

We shall see, in the following books, a small nation, confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of France, disputing for dominion with the most powerful empire then upon the earth; and we shall see this handful of men, not only making head against the innumerable army of the Persians, but dispersing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and sometimes reducing the Persian pride so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered, as glorious for the conquerors.

Among the cities of Greece, there were two that particularly distinguished themselves, and acquired an authority and a kind of superiority over the rest, solely by their merit and conduct: these two were Lacedæmon and Athens.—As these cities make a considerable figure, and act an illustrious part in the ensuing history, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought first to give the reader some idea of the genius, character, manners, and government, of their respective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furnish me with the greatest part of what I have to say upon this head.

³ Plat. de Leg. l. iii. p. 680.

⁴ This word originally signified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.

ARTICLE VII.

THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT. LAWS ESTABLISHED BY LYCURGUS.

There is perhaps nothing in profane history better attested, and at the same time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta, and the discipline established in it by Lycurgus. This legislator was the son of Eunomus,¹ one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. It would have been easy for Lycurgus to have ascended the throne after the death of his eldest brother, who left no son behind him; and in fact he was king for some days. But, as soon as his sister-in-law was found to be with child, he declared that the crown belonged to her son, if she had one; and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. In the mean time, the widow gave him secretly to understand, that if he would promise to marry her when he was king, she would destroy the fruit of her womb. So detestable a proposal struck Lycurgus with horror; however, he concealed his indignation, and amusing the woman with different pretences, so managed it, that she went her full time, and was delivered. As soon as the child was born, he proclaimed him king, and took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner. This prince, on account of the joy which the people testified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

The state was at this time in great disorder;² the authority, both of the kings and the laws, being absolutely despised and disregarded. No curb was strong enough to restrain the audaciousness of the people, which every day increased more and more.

Lycurgus formed the bold design of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government; and to be the more capable of making wise regulations, he thought fit to travel into several countries, in order to acquaint himself with the different manners of other nations, and to consult the most able and experienced persons in the art of government. He began with the island of Crete, whose harsh and austere laws are very famous; from thence he passed into Asia, where quite different customs prevailed; and, last of all, he went into Egypt, which was then the seat of science, wisdom, and good counsels.

His long absence only made his country the more desirous of his return;³ and the kings themselves importuned him to that purpose, being sensible how much they stood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in some degree of subjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being persuaded, that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.

But before he put this design in execution, he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle of Apollo: where after having offered his sacrifice, he received that famous answer, in which the priestess called him a *friend of the gods, and rather a god than a man*. And as for the favour he desired of being able to frame a set of good laws for his country, she told him, the god had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish would be the most excellent state in the world.

On his return to Sparta, the first thing he did was to bring over to his designs the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; and when he was assured of their approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order to astonish and intimidate those who might desire to oppose his undertaking.

The new form of government which he introduced into Sparta, may be reduced to three principal institutions.

FIRST INSTITUTION. *The Senate.*

Of all the new regulations or institutions made by Lycurgus,⁴ the greatest and most considerable was that of the senate; which, by tempering and balancing, as Plato observes, the too absolute power of the

kings, by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal support and preservation of that state. For whereas before, it was ever unsteady, and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceeding of the kings; at other times towards democracy, by the excessive power of the people; the senate served as a kind of counterpoise to both, which kept the state in a due equilibrium, and preserved it in a firm and steady situation; the twenty-eight senators,⁵ of which it consisted, siding with the kings, when the people were grasping at too much power; and on the other hand espousing the interests of the people, whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus having thus tempered the government, those that came after him thought the power of the thirty that composed the senate, still too strong and absolute; and therefore, as a check upon them, they devised the authority of the Ephori,⁶ about 130 years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five in number and remained but one year in office. They were chosen out of the people; and in that respect considerably resembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to the arresting and imprisoning the persons of their kings, as it happened in the case of Pausanias. The institution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus, whose wife reproaching him, that he would leave to his children the regal authority in a worse condition than he had received it: on the contrary, said he, I shall leave it to them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and lasting.

The Spartan government then was not purely monarchical. The nobility had a great share in it, and the people were not excluded. Each part of this body politic, in proportion as it contributed to the public good, found in it their advantage; so that in spite of the natural restlessness and inconstancy of man's heart, which is always thirsting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its disgust to uniformity, Lacedæmon persevered for many ages in the exact observance of her laws.

SECOND INSTITUTION. *The Division of the Lands, and the Prohibition of Gold and Silver Money.*

The second and the boldest institution of Lycurgus,⁷ was the division of the lands, which he looked upon as absolutely necessary for establishing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The greater part of the people were so poor, that they had not one inch of land of their own, whilst a small number of individuals were possessed of all the lands and wealth of the country; in order therefore to banish insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other distempers of the state, still greater and more ancient than those, I mean extreme poverty and excessive wealth, he persuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no pre-eminence or honours should be given but to virtue and merit alone.

This scheme, extraordinary as it was, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Laconia into 30,000 parts, which he distributed among the inhabitants of the country; and the territories of Sparta into 9000 parts, which he distributed among an equal number of citizens. It is said, that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and passing through the lands of Laconia in the time of harvest, and observing, as he went along the perfect equality of the sheaves of reaped corn, he turned towards those that were with him, and said smiling, *Does not Laconia look like the possession of several brothers, who have just been dividing their inheritance amongst them?*

After having divided their immoveables, he undertook likewise to make the same equal division of all their moveable goods and chattels, that he might utterly banish from among them all manner of ine-

¹ This council consisted of thirty persons, including the two kings.

² The word signifies *comptroller or inspector*.

³ Plut. in vit. Lys. p. 44.

Plut. in vit. Lys. p. 40.

⁴ Ibid. p. 42.

⁵ Ibid. p. 41.

⁶ Ibid. p. 42.

quality. But perceiving that this would meet with more opposition if he went openly about it, he endeavoured to effect it by sapping the very foundations of avarice. For first he cried down all gold and silver money, and ordained that no other should be current than that of iron, which he made so very heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were necessary to carry home a sum of ten minæ,¹ and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did was to banish all useless and superfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, most of them would have sunk of themselves and disappeared with the gold and silver money; because the tradesmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities; and this iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian states, who were so far from esteeming it, that it became the subject of their banter and ridicule.

THIRD INSTITUTION. *The Public Meals.*

LYCURGUS, being desirous to make war still more vigorously upon effeminacy and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. That he might entirely suppress all the magnificence and extravagance of expensive tables,² he ordained, that all the citizens should eat together of the same common victuals, which were prescribed by law, and expressly forbade all private eating at their own houses.

By this institution of public and common meals, and this frugality and simplicity in eating, it may be said, that he made riches in some measure change their very nature, by putting them out of a condition of being desired or stolen,³ or of enriching their possessors; for there was no way left for a man to use or enjoy his opulence, or even to make any show of it; since the poor and the rich ate together in the same place, and none were allowed to appear at the public eating-rooms, after having taken care to fill themselves with other diet; because every body present took particular notice of any one that did not eat or drink, and the whole company were sure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him despise the common food and public table.

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation; and it was upon this occasion, that in a tumult of the people, a young man, named Alcander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. The people, provoked at such an outrage, delivered the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himself in a proper manner; for, by the extraordinary kindness and gentleness with which he treated him, he made the violent and hot-headed youth in a little time become very moderate and wise.

The tables consisted of about fifteen persons each; where none could be admitted without the consent of the whole company. Each person furnished every month a bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a small sum of money for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one, without exception of persons, was obliged to be at the common meal; and a long time after the making of these regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taken the liberty to dispense with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and punished.

The very children were present at these public tables, and were carried thither as to a school of wisdom and temperance. There they were sure to hear grave discourses upon government, and to see nothing but what tended to their instruction and improvement. The conversation was often enlivened with ingenious and sprightly railery; but never intermixed with any thing vulgar or disgusting; and if their jesting seemed to make any person uneasy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their children were likewise trained up and accustomed to great secrecy: as soon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldest person of

the company used to say to him, pointing to the door *Nothing spoken here must ever go out there.*

The most exquisite of all their dishes was what they called their *black broth*;⁴ and the old men preferred it to every thing that was set upon the table. Dionysius the tyrant, when he was at one of these meals, was not of the same opinion; and what was a ragout to them, was to him very insipid:—I do not wonder at it, said the cook, for the seasoning is wanting. What seasoning? replied the tyrant.—Running, sweating, fatigue, hunger, and thirst; these are the ingredients, says the cook, with which we season all our food.

OTHER ORDINANCES.

When I speak of the ordinances of Lycurgus,⁵ I do not mean written laws; he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being persuaded, that the most powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impression made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens: for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immovable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a stronger and more durable tie than the yoke of necessity; and the youth that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legislators to themselves. These are the reasons why Lycurgus, instead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.

He looked upon the education of youth as the greatest and most important object of a legislator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the state than to their parents; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and caprice, but would have the state intrusted with the care of their education, in order to have them formed upon fixed and uniform principles which might inspire them betimes with the love of their country and of virtue.

As soon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe visited him;⁶ and if they found him well made, strong and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and assigned him one of the 9000 portions of land for his inheritance;⁷ if, on the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender, and weakly, so that they could not expect that he would ever have a strong and healthy constitution, they condemned him to perish and caused the infant to be exposed.

Children were early accustomed not to be nice or difficult in their eating: not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone; not to give themselves up to peevishness and ill humour, to crying and bawling; to walk barefoot,⁸ that they might be inured to fatigue; to lie hard at nights; to wear the same clothes winter and summer, in order to harden them against cold and heat.

At the age of seven years they were put into the classes,⁹ where they were brought up altogether under the same discipline. Their education,¹⁰ properly speaking, was only an apprenticeship of obedience: the legislator having rightly considered, that the surest way to have citizens submissive to the law and to the magistrates, in which the good order and happiness of a state chiefly consists, was to teach children early, and to accustom them from their tender years, to be perfectly obedient to their masters and superiors.

While they are at table,¹¹ it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys by proposing them questions. They would ask them, for example, Who is the most worthy man in the town? What do you think of such or such an action? The boys were obliged to give a

⁴ Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. v. n. 98.

⁵ Plut. *vit. Lyc.* p. 47.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁷ I do not comprehend how they could assign to every one of these children one of the 9000 portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the same? Did it never exceed 9000? It is not said in this case, as in the division of the holy land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it and could not be entirely alienated.

⁸ Xen. *de Lac. rep.* p. 677.

⁹ Plut. *in Lyc.* p. 36.

¹⁰ *ὅτι τὴν παιδείαν οὐκ αὐτὸν μελέτην, οὐκ αὐτοεὐχαιρῶς.*

¹¹ Plut. *in Lyc.* p. 51.

¹ Five hundred livres French, about 20l. English.

² Plut. *in vit. Lyc.* p. 45.

³ *τὸν πλεῖστον ἔσθιον, ῥαλλῶν δὲ ἐξήλυν, καὶ ἐκλεῖστον ἐργασάτο.* Plut.

quick or ready answer, which was also to be accompanied with a reason and a proof, both couched in a few words: for they were accustomed betimes to the laconic style, that is, to a close and concise way of speaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and short; and a great deal of sense comprised in a few words.

As for literature,¹ they only learned as much as was necessary. All the sciences were banished out of their country; their study tended only to know how to obey, to bear hardship and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The superintendent of their education was one of the most honourable men of the city, and of the first rank and condition, who appointed over every class of boys masters of the most approved wisdom and probity.

There was one kind of theft only (and that too more a nominal than a real one) which the boys were allowed,² and even ordered to practise. They were taught to slip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could, into the gardens and public halls, in order to steal away herbs or meat: and if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. We are told that one of them, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and suffered, without uttering a complaint, the animal to gnaw into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the spot. This kind of theft, as I have said, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; since it was authorized by the law and the consent of the citizens. The intent of the legislator in allowing it, was to inspire the Spartan youth, who were all designed for war, with greater boldness, subtlety, and address; to inure them betimes to the life of a soldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to shift for themselves. But I have already treated this matter more at large elsewhere.³

The patience and constancy of the Spartan youth most conspicuously appeared in a certain festival,⁴ celebrated in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia, where the children before the eyes of their parents, and in presence of the whole city,⁵ suffered themselves to be whipped till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddess, where sometimes they expired under the strokes, and all this without uttering the least cry, or so much as a groan or a sigh; and even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution. Plutarch assures us, that he had seen with his own eyes a great many children lose their lives at the celebration of these cruel rites. Hence it is that Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon,⁶ *Patiens Lacedæmon*; and another author makes a man who had received three strokes of a stick without complaining, say, *Tres plagas Spartana nobilitate conosci*.

The most usual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting,⁷ and other bodily exercises. They were forbidden to exercise any mechanic art. The Elotæ, who were a sort of slaves, tilled their land for them, and paid them a certain proportion of the produce.

Lycurgus was willing that his citizens should enjoy a great deal of leisure;⁸ they had large common-halls, where the people used to meet to converse together, and though their discourses chiefly turned upon grave and serious topics, yet they seasoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and instructive. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees, always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant passion: they did not imagine they belonged to themselves, but to their country. Pædareus, having missed the honour of being chosen one of the

300 who had a certain rank of distinction in the city, went home extremely pleased and satisfied, saying, *He was overjoyed there were 300 men in Sparta more worthy than himself*.

At Sparta every thing tended to inspire the love of virtue and the hatred of vice;⁹ the actions of the citizens, their conversations, and even their public monuments and inscriptions. It was hard for men, brought up in the midst of so many living precepts and example, not to become virtuous, as far as healthens were capable of virtue. It was to preserve these happy dispositions, that Lycurgus did not allow all sorts of persons to travel, lest they should bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious customs of other countries, which would necessarily create in a little time an aversion for the mode of life and maxims of Lacedæmon. Neither would he suffer any strangers to remain in the city, who did not come thither to some useful or profitable end, but out of mere curiosity: being afraid they should bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries; and being persuaded, at the same time, that it was more important and necessary to shut the gates of a city against depraved and corrupt manners, than against infectious distempers. Properly speaking, the very trade and business of the Lacedæmonians was war; every thing with them tended that way: arms were their only exercise and employment; their life was much less hard and austere in the camp than in the city; and they were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment; because then the reins of that strict and severe discipline which prevailed at Sparta, were somewhat relaxed, and the men were indulged in a little more liberty. With them the first and most inviolable law of war,¹⁰ as Demaratus told Xerxes, was, never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever superiority of numbers the enemy's army might consist of; never to quit their posts; never to deliver up their arms; in a word, either to conquer or to die. This maxim was so important and essential in their opinion,¹¹ that when the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately: because they understood, that in one of his poems he had said, *It was better for a man to throw down his arms, than to expose himself to be killed*.

Hence it is,¹² that a mother recommended to her son, who was going to make a campaign, that he should return either with or upon his shield; and that another, hearing that her son was killed in fighting for his country, answered very coldly, *I brought him into the world for no other end*.¹³ This temper of mind was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was so fatal to the Spartans, the parents of those that died in the action, congratulated one another upon it, and went to the temples to thank the gods that their children had done their duty; whereas the relations of those who survived the defeat, were inconsolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle they were dishonoured and disgraced for ever. They were not only excluded from all posts and employments in the state, from all assemblies and public diversions; but it was reckoned scandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage; and a thousand affronts and insults were publicly offered them with impunity.

The Spartans never went to fight without first exploring the help of the gods by public sacrifices and prayers;¹⁴ and when that was done they marched against the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of success, as being assured of the divine protection; and to make use of Plutarch's expressions, *As if God were present with, and fought for them*, *ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ συμπαραβύτος*.

When they had broken and routed the enemy's

¹ Plut. in Lye. p. 52.

² Plut. vit. Lye. p. 50. Idem in institut. Lacon. p. 237.

³ Of the method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, &c. vol. iii. p. 471.

⁴ Plut. p. 51. ⁵ Cic. Tusc. Quest. lib. ii. n. 34.

⁶ Ode vii. lib. 1.

⁷ Plut. in vit. Lyeurg. p. 54. ⁸ Ibid. p. 55.

⁹ Plut. in vit. Lyeurg. p. 56. ¹⁰ Herod. l. vii. cap. 104.

¹¹ Plut. in Lacon. institut. p. 239.

¹² Ἄλλὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πόλιν τοὺς ποταμούς τῶν ἑσπέρων, καὶ τὰς ἀποθημῶν. Τίσιον (Σεν) ἔ τὰς, ἔ τὴν τὰς. Plut. Lacon apothem. p. 241. Sometimes they that were slain were brought home upon their shields.

¹³ Cic. lib. i. Tusc. Quest. n. 102. Plut. in vit. Agea. p. 612.

¹⁴ Plut. in vit. Lyeurg. p. 53.

forces,¹ they never pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory; after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to cut in pieces and destroy an enemy that yielded and fled. And this proved as useful as it was honourable to the Spartans; for their enemies, knowing all who resisted them were put to the sword, and that they spared none but those that fled, generally chose rather to fly than to resist.

When the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice,² and the form of government he had established seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself; as Plato says of God,³ that after he had finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced, when he saw it revolve and perform its first motions with so much justness and harmony; so the Spartan legislator, pleased with the greatness and beauty of its laws, felt his joy and satisfaction redouble, when he saw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward so happily.

But desiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he signified to the people, that there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the mean time he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. When he was arrived at Delphi, he consulted the god, to know whether the laws he had made were good and sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The priestess answered, that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that, as long as Sparta observed them, she would be the most glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus sent this answer to Sparta; and then, thinking he had fulfilled his ministry, he voluntarily died at Delphi, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance. His notion was, that even the death of great persons and statesmen should not be useless and unprofitable to the state, but a kind of supplement to their ministry, and one of their most important actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the rest. He therefore thought, that in dying thus he should crown and complete all the services which he had rendered his fellow-citizens during his life; since his death would engage them to a perpetual observation of his institutions, which they had sworn to observe inviolably till his return.

Although I represent Lycurgus's sentiments upon his own death in the light wherein Plutarch has transmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them; and I make the same declaration with respect to several other facts of the like nature, which I sometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very unworthy of approbation. The pretended wise men among the heathens had, as well concerning this article as several others, but very faint and imperfect notions; or to speak more properly, remained in great darkness and error. They laid down this admirable principle, which we meet with in many of their writings, that man,⁴ placed in the world as in a certain post by his general, cannot abandon it without the express command of him upon whom he depends, that is, of God himself. At other times, they looked upon man as a criminal condemned to a melancholy prison, from whence indeed he might desire to be released, but could not lawfully attempt

to be so, but by the course of justice, and the order of the magistrate; and not by breaking his chains and forcing the gates of his prison. These notions are beautiful, because they are true; but the application they made of them was wrong, by taking that for an express order of the Deity, which was the pure effect of their own weakness or pride, by which they were led to put themselves to death, either that they might deliver themselves from the pains and troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the case with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA, AND UPON THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

I. Things commendable in the laws of Lycurgus.

There must needs have been (to judge only by the event) a great fund of wisdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus; since, as long as they were observed in Sparta, (which was above 500 years) it was a most flourishing and powerful city. It was not so much (says Plutarch, speaking of the laws of Sparta,) the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wise man, who passes his whole life in the exercise of virtue: or rather continues the same author, as the poets feign, that Hercules, only with his lion's skin and club, went from country to country to purge the world of robbers and tyrants: so Sparta, with a slip of parchment⁵ and an old coat, gave laws to all Greece, which willingly submitted to her dominion; suppressed tyrannies and unjust authority in cities; put an end to wars, as she thought fit, and appeased insurrections; and all this generally without moving a shield or a sword, and only by sending a simple ambassador amongst them, who no sooner appeared, than all the people submitted, and flocked about him like so many bees about their monarch: so much respect did the justice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

1. The nature of the Spartan government.

We find at the end of Lycurgus's life a reflection made by Plutarch, which of itself comprehends a great encomium upon that legislator. He there says, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all those who have treated of the establishment of a political state of government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus; with this difference, that they confined themselves wholly to words and theory: but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and speculative projects, did really and effectually institute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philosophers.

In order to succeed in this undertaking, and to establish the most perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down, as it were, and blended together, what he found best in every kind of government, and most conducive to the public good; thus tempering one species with another, and balancing the inconveniences to which each of them in particular is subject, with the advantages that result from their being united together. Sparta had something of the monarchical form of government, in the authority of her kings; the council of thirty, otherwise called the senate, was a true aristocracy; and the power vested in the people of nominating the senators, and of giving sanction to the laws, resembled a democratical government. The institution of the Ephori afterwards served to rectify what was amiss in those previous establishments, and to supply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires Lycurgus's wisdom in his institution of the senate, which was

⁵ This was what the Spartans called *acytale*, a thong of leather or parchment, which they twisted round a staff in such a manner, that there was no vacancy or void space left upon it. They wrote upon this thong, and when they had written, they untwisted it, and sent it to the general for whom it was intended. This general, who had another stick of the same size with that on which the thong was twisted and written upon, wrapped it round that staff in the same manner, and by that means found out the connexion and arrangement of the letters, which otherwise were so displaced and out of order, that there was no possibility of their being read. *Plut. in vit. Lyc. p. 444.*

¹ *Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 54.*

² *Ibid. p. 57.*

³ This passage of Plato is in his *Timæus*, and gives us reason to believe, that this philosopher had read what Moses said of God when he created the world; *Viñt Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.* Gen. i. 31.

⁴ *Vetat Pythagoras, iniussu imperatoris, id eat Dei do presidio et statione vitæ deedere.* Cic. de senect. n. 73.

⁵ *Cato sic abiit è vitâ, ut causam moriendi nectum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominus ille in nobis Deus iniussu hinc nos suo demeritare. Cùm verò causam justam Deus tunc dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Cato, semper multis; nullo, modis fidius, vir sapiens, latu ex his tenebris in lucem illam exesseret. Nec tamen illa vincula carceris rupeit: leges cum vetant; sed tanquam à magistratu aut ab aliquâ potestate legitima, sic à Deo evocatus atque emissus, exierit.* Id. l. 1. *Tusc. Quæst. n. 74.*

equally advantageous both to the kings and the people; because by this means,¹ the law became the only supreme mistress of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.

2. *Equal division of the lands: gold and silver banished from Sparta.*

The design formed by Lycurgus of making an equal distribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely banishing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, lawsuits, and dissensions, by abolishing the use of gold and silver, would appear to us a scheme of a commonwealth finely conceived in speculation, but utterly impracticable in execution, did not history assure us, that Sparta actually subsisted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the transaction I am now speaking of among the laudable part of Lycurgus's laws, I do not pretend it to be absolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can scarce be reconciled with that general law of nature, which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another: and yet this is what was really done upon this occasion. Therefore, in this affair of dividing the lands, I consider only so much of it as was truly commendable in itself, and worthy of admiration.

Can we possibly conceive, that a man could persuade the richest and most opulent inhabitants of a city to resign all their revenues and estates, to level and confound themselves with the poorest of the people: to subject themselves to a new way of living, both severe in itself, and full of restraint; in a word, to debar themselves of the use of every thing wherein the happiness and comfort of life is thought to consist? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an institution as this would have been less wonderful, had it subsisted only during the life of the legislator; but we know that it lasted many ages after his decease. Xenophon, in the encomium he has left us of Agesilaus, and Cicero, in one of his orations, observe, that Lacedæmon was the only city in the world that preserved her discipline and laws for so considerable a term of years unaltered and inviolate. *Soli, said the latter,² speaking of the Lacedæmonians, toto orbe terrarum septingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* I believe, however, that in Cicero's time the discipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminished: but all historians agree, that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lysander, though incapable himself of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immense sums of gold and silver, which were the fruit of his victories, and thereby subverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and silver money was not the first wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the institutions of their legislator. It was the consequence of the violation of another law still more fundamental. Ambition was the vice that preceded, and made way for, avarice. The desire of conquests drew on that of riches, without which they could not propose to extend their dominions. The main design of Lycurgus, in the establishing his laws, and especially that which prohibited the use of gold and silver, was, as Polybius,³ and Plutarch have judiciously observed, to curb and restrain the ambition of his citizens: to disable them from making conquests, and in a manner to force them to confine themselves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretensions any farther. Indeed, the government which he established, was sufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for the raising her to a dominion over other cities.

The design, then, of Lycurgus was not to make the Spartans conquerors.⁴ To remove such thoughts

from his fellow-citizens, he expressly forbid them though they inhabited a country surrounded with the sea, to meddle with maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or ever to fight upon the sea. They were religious observers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon that occasion they began to think of making themselves masters at sea, that they might be able to keep so formidable an enemy at the greater distance. But having soon perceived, that these maritime, remote commands, corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aside without any difficulty, as we shall observe, when we come to speak of king Pausanias.

When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with shields and lances,⁵ it was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend themselves against the invasions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and soldiers; but it was only that, under the shadow of their arms, they might live in liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace, by being content with their own territories, without usurping those of others, and by being persuaded, that no city or state, any more than individuals, can ever hope for solid and lasting happiness but from virtue only. Men of a depraved taste (says Plutarch⁶ farther on the subject,) who think nothing so desirable as riches and a large extent of dominion, may give the preference to those vast empires that have subdued and enslaved the world by violence; but Lycurgus was convinced, that a city had occasion for nothing of that kind, in order to be happy. His policy, which has justly been the admiration of all ages, had no farther views than to establish equity, moderation, liberty, and peace, and was an enemy to all injustice, violence, and ambition, and the passion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.

Such reflections as these, which Plutarch agreeably intersperses in his lives, and in which their greatest and most essential beauty consists, are of infinite use towards the giving us true notions, wherein consists the solid and true glory of a state that is really happy; as also to correct those false ideas which we are apt to form of the vain greatness of those empires which have swallowed up kingdoms, and of those celebrated conquerors who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and usurpation.

3. *The excellent education of their youth.*

The long duration of the laws established by Lycurgus, is certainly very wonderful: but the means he made use of to succeed therein are no less worthy of admiration. The principal of these was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and severe discipline: for (as Plutarch observes) the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infused his laws as it were, into the minds and manners of his children, and made them suck in almost with their mother's milk an affection for his institutions. This was the reason why his principal ordinances subsisted above 500 years, having sunk into the very temper and hearts of the people, like a strong and good dye,⁷ that penetrates thoroughly. Cicero makes the same remark, and ascribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their own natural disposition as to their excellent education: *Cujus civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus, non solum natura corroborata, sed etiam etiam disciplina putatur.*⁸ All this shows of what importance it is to a state to take care that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inspire them with a love for the laws of their country.

The great maxim of Lycurgus, which Aristotle repeats in express terms,⁹ was, that as children belong to the state, their education ought to be directed by the state, and the views and interests of the state only

¹ Νῦμος ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἰσχύϊ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

² Αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνθρώποι τὴν αὐτὴν νόμον. Plut. Epist. viii.

³ Pro Plac. num. Ixiit. ⁴ Polyb. l. vi. p. 491.

⁵ Plut. in moribus Lacod. p. 239.

¹ Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 50.

² Ibid. at in vit. Agesil. p. 614.

³ Ὅστις βαρὺς ἀρετῶν καὶ ἰσχυρὰς καθεψαμένως. Plut.

Ep. iii.

⁴ Orat. pro Flac. n. 63.

⁵ L. viii. Politic.

considered therein. It was for this reason he enacted, that they should be educated all in common, and not left to the honour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a soft and blind indulgence, and a mistaken tenderness, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tenderest years, they were inured to labour and fatigue by the exercises of hunting and racing, and accustomed betimes to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and, what is difficult to make mothers believe, all these hard and laborious exercises tended to procure them health, and make their constitutions the more vigorous and robust; able to bear the hardships and fatigues of war, for which they were all designed from their cradles.

4. Obedience.

But the most excellent thing in the Spartan education, was its teaching young people so perfectly well how to obey. It is from hence the poet Simonides gives that city such a magnificent epithet,¹ which denotes that they alone knew how to subdue the passions of men, and to render them pliant and submissive to the laws, in the same manner as horses are taught to obey the spur and the bridle, by being broken and trained while they are young. For this reason, Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta,² that they might learn there the noblest and greatest of all sciences, that is, how to command, and how to obey.

5. Respect towards the aged.

One of the lessons oftenest and most strongly inculcated upon the Lacedæmonian youth, was to entertain great reverence and respect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occasions, by saluting them, by making way for them, and giving them place in the streets,³ by rising up to show them honour in all companies and public assemblies; but above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and submission: by these characteristics a Lacedæmonian was known wherever he came; if he had behaved otherwise, it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himself, and a dishonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into the theatre once to see a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a seat; but when he came near the place where the Spartan ambassadors and their retinue were sitting, they all rose up out of reverence to his age, and seated him in the midst of them. Lysander therefore had reason to say,⁴ that old age had no where so honourable an abode as in Sparta, and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.

II. Things blamable in the laws of Lyncurgus.

In order to perceive more clearly the defects in the laws of Lyncurgus, we have only to compare them with those of Moses, which we know were dictated by more than human wisdom. But my design in this place is not to enter into a strict detail of the particulars wherein the laws and institutions of Lyncurgus are faulty: I shall content myself with making only some slight reflections, which probably the reader has already anticipated, as he must have been justly disgusted by the mere recital of some of those ordinances.

1. The choice made of the children that were either to be brought up or exposed.

To begin, for instance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, which of them were to be brought up, and which exposed to perish; who would not be shocked at the unjust and inhuman custom of pronouncing sentence of death upon all such infants as had the misfortune to be

born with a constitution that appeared too weak and delicate to undergo the fatigues and exercises to which the commonwealth destined all her subjects? Is it then impossible, and without example, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy, should ever alter as they grow up, and become in time of a robust and vigorous constitution? Or suppose it were so, can a man no way serve his country, but by the strength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wisdom, prudence, counsel, generosity, courage, magnanimity, and, in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and the intellectual faculties? *Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoquæ querimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.*⁵ Did Lyncurgus himself render less service, or do less honour to Sparta, by establishing his laws, than the greatest generals did by their victories? Agesilaus was of so small a stature, and so mean in person, that at the first sight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing; and yet, little as he was, he made the great king of Persia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

But what is yet stronger than all I have said, has any other person a right or power over the lives of men, than he from whom they received them, even God himself? And does not a legislator visibly usurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himself such a power without his commission? That precept of the decalogue, which was only a renewal of the law of nature, *Thou shalt not kill*, universally condemns all those among the ancients, who imagined they had a power of life and death over their slaves, and even over their own children.

2. Their care confined only to the body.

The great defect in Lyncurgus's laws (as Plato and Aristotle have observed) is, that they tended only to form a nation of soldiers. All that legislator's thoughts seemed wholly bent upon the means of strengthening the bodies of the people, without any concern for the cultivation of their minds. Why should he banish from his commonwealth all arts and sciences, which, besides many other advantages,⁶ have this most happy effect, that they soften our manners, polish our understandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; such, in a word, as qualifies us for company and society, and makes the ordinary intercourse of life agreeable? Hence it came to pass, that there was something of a roughness and austerity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times even something of ferocity, a failing that proceeded chiefly from their education, and that rendered them disagreeable and offensive to all their allies.

3. Their barbarous cruelty towards their children.

It was an excellent practice in Sparta, to accustom their youth betimes to suffer heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and by several severe and laborious exercises to bring the body into subjection to reason,⁷ whose faithful and diligent minister it ought to be in the execution of all her orders and injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all sorts of hardships and fatigues. But was it rational in them to carry their severities so far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? and was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers to see the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay even to see them expiring under the lashes, without concern?

4. The mother's inhumanity.

Some people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children slain in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of joy and satisfaction. For my part I should think it much better that nature should

¹ Δυσσπιδέστερος, that is to say, *Tamer of men*.

² Μεινιστάμενος των μικροτάτων το καλλίστων, *dehiscens in ætate*.

³ Plut. in Læcon, Institut. p. 277.

⁴ Lysandrum Lacedæmonium dicere autem solitum Lacedæmonio esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis. *Cic. de sen. p. 63.* *Ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ κάλλιστα γήρως.* Plut. in Lys. p. 733.

⁵ Cicar. l. i. de offi. n. 79. Ibid. n. 76.

⁶ Omnes artes quibus eras puerilis ad humanitatem in formari solent. *Cic. Orat. pro Arch.*

⁷ Exerendum corpus, et in efficiendum est ut obediens consilio rationique possit in exsequendis negotiis et latebris tolerando. Lib. i. de offi. n. 79.

show herself a little more on such occasions, and that the love of one's country should not utterly extinguish the sentiments of maternal tenderness. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of battle was told that his son was killed, spoke much more properly on the subject: *Let us at present think, said he, how to conquer the enemy; to-morrow I will mourn for my son.*

5. Their excessive leisure.

Nor can I see what excuse can be made for that law, imposed by Lycurgus upon the Spartans, which enjoined the spending the whole of their time, except when they were engaged in war, in idleness and inaction. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the slaves and strangers that lived amongst them, and put nothing into the hands of the citizens but the lance and the shield. Not to mention the danger there was in suffering the number of slaves that were necessary for tilling the land, to increase to such a degree as to become much greater than that of their masters, which was often an occasion of seditious and riots among them; how many disorders must men necessarily fall into, that have so much leisure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour? This is an inconvenience even now but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their injudicious education. Except in the time of war, most of our gentry spend their lives in a most useless and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts, and commerce, as beneath them, and derogatory to their gentility. They seldom know how to handle any thing but their swords. As for the sciences, they take but a very small tincture of them; just so much as they cannot well be without; and many have not the least knowledge of them, nor any manner of taste for books or reading. We are not to wonder then, if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual visits and frivolous discourses, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men that have any parts or understanding!

6. Their cruelty towards the Helots.

Lycurgus would be utterly inexcusable if he gave occasion, as he is accused of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exercised towards the Helots in his republic. These Helots were slaves employed by the Spartans to till the ground. It was their custom not only to make these poor creatures drunk, and expose them before their children, in order to give them an abhorrence for so shameful and odious a vice, but they treated them also with the utmost barbarity, and thought themselves at liberty to destroy them by any violence or cruelty whatsoever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occasion related by Thucydides,¹ 2000 of these Helots disappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them. Plutarch pretends, this barbarous custom was not practised till after Lycurgus's time, and that he had no hand in it.

7. Modesty and decency entirely neglected.

But that wherein Lycurgus appears to be most culpable, and what most clearly shows the prodigious enormities and gross darkness in which the Pagans were plunged, is the little regard he showed for modesty and decency, in what concerned the education of girls, and the marriages of young women; which was without doubt the source of those disorders that prevailed in Sparta, as Aristotle has wisely observed. When we compare these indecent and licentious institutions of the wisest legislator that ever profane antiquity could boast, with the sanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts; what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the Christian religion!

Nor will it give us a less advantageous notion of this pre-eminence, if we compare the most excellent and laudable part of Lycurgus's institutions with the laws of the gospel. It is, we must own, a wonderful

thing, that a whole people should consent to a division of their lands, which set the poor upon an equal footing with the rich; and that by a total exclusion of gold and silver, they should reduce themselves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legislator, when he enacted these laws, had the sword in his hand; whereas the Christian Legislator says but a word, *Blessed are the poor in spirit*, and thousands of the faithful through all succeeding generations, renounce their goods, sell their lands and estates, and leave all to follow Jesus Christ, their master, in poverty and want.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS. THE LAWS OF SOLON. THE HISTORY OF THAT REPUBLIC FROM THE TIME OF SOLON TO THE REIGN OF DARIUS THE FIRST.

I have already observed, that Athens was at first governed by kings. But they had little more than the name; for their whole power being confined to the command of the armies, vanished in time of peace. Every man was master in his own house, where he lived in an absolute state of independence. Codrus, the last king of Athens, having devoted himself to die for the public good, his sons Medon and Nileus quarrelled about the succession. The Athenians took this occasion to abolish the regal power, though it did not much incommode them; and declared, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens; at the very same time that the Jews,² weary of the theocracy, that is, of having the true God for their king, would absolutely have a man to reign over them.

Plutarch observes, that Homer, when he enumerates the ships of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of *people* to none but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred, that the Athenians even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time vested in the people.

In the place of their kings they substituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of Archons. But this perpetual magistracy appeared still, in the eyes of this free people, as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were desirous of abolishing even the very shadow; for which reason, they first reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one; and this they did with the view of resuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferred to their magistrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not sufficient to restrain those turbulent spirits, who were grown excessively jealous of their liberty and independence very tender and apt to be offended at any thing that seemed to encroach upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the least appearance of dominion or superiority. From hence arose continual factions and quarrels: there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her that she could preserve herself from ruin in the midst of those long and frequent dissensions, with which she had to struggle.

Misfortunes instruct. Athens learned, at length, that true liberty consists in a dependence upon justice and reason. This happy subjection could not be established, but by a legislator. She therefore pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and integrity. It does not appear that Greece had, before his time, any A. M. 3380.
written laws. He published some, Ant. J. C. 624.
whose rigour, anticipating, as it were, the Stoical doctrine, was so great, that it punished the smallest offence, as well as the most enormous crimes, equally with death. These laws of Draco, written, says Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had the same fate as usually attends all violent extremes. Sentiments of humanity in the judg-

¹ Lib iv

² Codrus was contemporary with Saul.

compassion for the accused, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehensions the accusers and witnesses were under of rendering themselves odious to the people; all these motives, I say, concurred to produce a remissness in the execution of the laws; which by that means, in process of time, became, as it were abrogated through disuse: and thus an excessive rigour paved the way for impunity.

The danger of relapsing into their former disorders, made them have recourse to fresh precautions: for they were willing to slacken the curb and restraint of fear, but not to break it. In order therefore to find out mitigations, which might make amends for what they took away from the letter of

A. M. 3400. the law, they cast their eyes upon Ant. J. C. 604. one of the wisest and most virtuous persons of his age, I mean Solon;

whose singular qualities, and especially his great mildness, had acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city.

His chief application had been to the study of philosophy, and especially to that part of it which we call politics, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary merit gave him one of the first ranks among the seven sages of Greece, who rendered the age we are speaking of so illustrious. These sages often paid visits to one another.¹ One day that Solon went to Miletus to see Thales, the first thing he said to him was, that he wondered why he had never chosen to have either wife or children. Thales made him no answer then: but a few days after he contrived that a stranger should come into their company, and pretend that he was just arrived from Athens, from whence he had set out about ten days before. Solon asked him, if there was no news at Athens when he came away. The stranger, who had been taught his lesson, replied, that he had heard of nothing but the death of a young gentleman, whose funeral was attended by all the town; because, as they said, he was the son of the worthiest man in the city, who was then absent.—Alas! cried Solon, interrupting the man's story: how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitted! But pray, what is the gentleman's name?—I heard his name, replied the stranger, but I have forgotten it: I only remember, that the people talked much of his wisdom and justice.—Every answer afforded new cause for anxiety and terror to the inquiring father, who was so justly alarmed.—Was it not, said he at length, the son of Solon?—The very same, replied the stranger. Solon at these words rent his clothes, and beat his breast, and, expressing his sorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himself to the most sensible affliction. Thales, seeing this, took him by the hand, and said to him with a smile: Comfort yourself, my friend; all that has been told to you is a mere fiction. Now you see the reason why I never married: it is because I am unwilling to expose myself to such trials and afflictions.

Plutarch has given us a large refutation of Thales's reasoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the most natural and reasonable attachments in life, in lieu of which the heart of man will not fail to substitute others of an unjust and unlawful nature, which will expose him to the same pains and inconveniences. The remedy, says this historian, against the grief that may arise from the loss of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our estates, and reduce ourselves to poverty, to make an absolute renunciation of all friendship, or to confine ourselves to a state of celibacy; but upon all such accidents and misfortunes, to make a right use of our reason.

Athens,² after some interval of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warrior as he was a statesman, relapsed into her former dissensions about the government of the commonwealth, and was divided into as many parties, as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. For those that lived upon the mountains, were fond of popular government; those in the low-lands were for an oligarchy;

and those that dwelt on the sea-coasts, were for having a mixed government, compounded of those two forms blended together; and these hindered the other two contending parties from getting any ground of each other. Besides these, there was a fourth party which consisted only of the poor, who were grievously harassed and oppressed by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party was determined to choose themselves a chief, who should deliver them from the inhuman severity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new division of the lands.

In this extreme danger all the wise Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, who was obnoxious to neither party; because he had never sided either with the injustice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they solicited him very earnestly to take the management of affairs, and to endeavour to put an end to these differences and disorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him so dangerous a commission: however, he was at last chosen Archon, and was constituted supreme arbiter and legislator, with the unanimous consent of all parties: the rich liking him, as he was rich, and the poor, because he was honest. He now had it in his power to make himself king: several of the citizens advised him to it; and even the wisest among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reason to bring about a favourable change consistent with the laws, were not unwilling that the supreme power should be vested in one man, who was so eminently distinguished for his prudence and justice. But, notwithstanding all the remonstrances that were made to him, and all the solicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refusal of the diadem as an effect of pusillanimity and meanness of spirit, he was still firm and unchangeable in his purpose, and thought only of settling a form of government in his country, that should be the parent of a just and reasonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders and evils which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alteration or changes, than such as he thought he could persuade the citizens to comply with, by the influence of reason; or bring them into, by the weight of his authority; wisely mixing, as he himself said, authority and power with reason and justice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the laws which he had made for the Athenians, were the best that could be given them; *Yes, said he, the best they were capable of receiving.*

The soul of popular states is equality. But, for fear of disgusting the rich, Solon durst not propose any equality of lands and wealth; whereby Attica as well as Laconia, would have resembled a paternal inheritance divided among a number of brethren. However, he went so far as to put an end to the slavery and oppression of those poor citizens, whose excessive debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to sell their persons and liberty, and reduce themselves to a state of servitude and bondage. An express law was made, which declared all debtors discharged and acquitted of all their debts.

This affair drew Solon into a troublesome scrape,³ which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he first determined to cancel the debts, he foresaw, that such an edict, which had something in it contrary to justice, would be extremely offensive. For which reason, he endeavoured in some measure to rectify the tenor of it, by introducing it with a asperious preamble, which set forth a great many plausible pretexes, and gave a colour of equity and reason to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he first disclosed his design to some particular friends, whom he used to consult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms in which this edict should be expressed. Now, before it was published, his friends, who were more interested than faithful, secretly borrowed large sums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in purchasing of lands, as knowing they would not be af-

¹ Plut. in Solon. p. 81, 82.
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² Ib. p. 85, 86.

³ Plut. in Solon. p. 87

sected by the edict. When the edict was published, the general indignation that was raised by such a base and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, though in fact he had no hand in it. But it is not enough for a man in office to be disinterested and upright himself; all that surround and approach him ought to be so too; wife, relations, friends, secretaries, and servants. The faults of others are charged to his account; all the wrongs, all the rapine, that may be committed either through his negligence or connivance, are justly imputed to him; because it is his business, and one of the principal duties of his being put into trust, to prevent those corruptions and abuses.

This ordinance at first pleased neither of the two parties: it disgusted the rich, because it abolished the debts; and dissatisfied the poor, because it did not ordain a new division of the lands, as they had expected, and as Lycurgus had actually effected at Sparta. But Solon's influence at Athens fell very short of that which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wisdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity, had procured him.

However, in a little time afterwards, this ordinance was generally approved, and the same powers as before were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws that had been made by Draco, except those against murder. The reason of his doing this, was the excessive rigour of those laws, which inflicted death alike upon all sorts of offenders; so that they who were convicted of sloth and idleness, or they that had stolen only a few herbs or a little fruit out of a garden, were as severely punished as those that were guilty of murder or sacrilege.

He then proceeded to the regulation of officers, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reason he distributed all the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to the difference of their incomes and revenues, and according to the value and estimation of each particular man's estate. Those that were found to have 500 measures *per annum*, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the first rank; those that had 300 were placed in the second; and those that had but 200 made up the third.

All the rest of the citizens, whose income fell short of 200 measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were never admitted into any employments.¹ But, in order to make them amends for this exclusion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the assemblies and judgments of the people; which at first seemed to be a matter of little consequence, but in time became extremely advantageous, and made them masters of all the affairs of the city: for most of the law-suits and differences were ultimately referred to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgments of the magistrates; and in the assemblies of the people the greatest and most important affairs of the state, relating to peace or war, were also determined.

The Areopagus, so called from the place where its assemblies were held,² had been a long time established. Solon restored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the supreme court of judicature, a general inspection and superintendency over all affairs, as also the care of causing the laws (of which he made that body the guardian) to be observed and put in execution. Before his time, the citizens of the greatest probity and worth were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the first that thought it convenient that none should be honoured with that dignity, except such as had passed through the office of Archon. Nothing was so august as this senate;³ and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes

referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal.

Nothing was regarded or attended to here, but truth alone; and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make use of any exordium, digression, or peroration.

Solon, to prevent as much as possible the abuse which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a second council, consisting of 400 men, 100 out of every tribe; and ordered all causes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were proposed to the general assembly of the people; to the judgment of which the sentiments of the other were to submit, and to which alone belonged the right of giving a final sentence and decision. It was upon this subject that Anacharsis (whom the reputation of the sages of Greece had brought from the heart of Scythia) said one day to Solon, "I wonder you should empower wise men only to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and decision of them wholly to fools."

Upon another occasion, when Solon was conversing with him upon some other regulations he had in view, Anacharsis, astonished that he could expect to succeed in his designs of restraining the avarice and injustice of the citizens by written laws, answered him in this manner: "Give me leave to tell you, that these written laws are just like spiders' webs: the weak and small may be caught and entangled in them; but the rich and powerful will break through them and despise them."

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very sensible of the inconveniences that attend a democracy, or popular government: but, having thoroughly studied, and being perfectly well acquainted with, the character and disposition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take the sovereignty out of the people's hands; and that if they parted with it at one time, they would soon resume it at another by force and violence. He therefore contented himself with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus and the council of Four Hundred; judging, that the state, being supported and strengthened by these two powerful bodies, as by two good anchors, would not be so liable to commotions and disorders as it had been, and that the people would enjoy more tranquillity.

I shall mention only some of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the rest. In the first place,⁴ every particular person was authorised to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured and insulted; so that the first comer might prosecute the offender, and bring him to justice for the outrage he had committed.

The design of this wise legislator by this ordinance was, to accustom his citizens to have a fellow-feeling of one another's sufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the same body.

By another law,⁵ those persons that in public differences and dissensions did not declare themselves of one party or other, but waited to see how things would go before they determined, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have all their estates confiscated. Solon had learnt, from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the powerful, and even the wise and virtuous, are usually the most backward to expose themselves to the inconveniences which public dissensions and troubles produce in society; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them so vigilant and active in the defence of it, as the passions of the factious render them industrious to destroy it; that the right side being thus abandoned by those that are capable of giving more weight, authority, and strength to it by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to grapple with the audacious and violent enterprises of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortune, which may be attended with the most fatal con-

¹ Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

² This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, called Areopagus, that is to say, *the hill of Mars*; because it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Halirothius, the son of Neptune.

³ Vei. Max. l. viii. c. 1. Lucian in Hermot. p. 503. Quintil. l. vi. c. 1.

⁴ Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

⁵ Ibid. p. 89.

sequences to a state, Solon judged it proper to force the well affected, by the fear of greater inconveniences to themselves, to declare at the very beginning of any commotion, for the party that was in the right, and to animate the spirit and courage of the best citizens by engaging with them in the common danger. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almost as an enemy and a traitor, that should appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at, the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and sure resource against the sudden enterprises of wicked and profligate citizens.

Solon abolished the giving of portions in marriage with young women unless they were only daughters;¹ and ordered that the bride should carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of clothes, and some household goods of little value; for he would not have matrimony become a traffic, and a mere commerce of interest; but desired that it should be regarded as an honourable fellowship and society, in order to raise subjects to the state, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniously together, and to give continual testimony of mutual love and tenderness to each other.

Before Solon's time, the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills; the wealth of the deceased always devolved upon his children and family. Solon's law allowed every one that was childless, to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit; preferring by that means friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint, and rendering every man truly master of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to bestow it where he pleased. This law however did not authorize indifferently all sorts of donations: it justified and approved of none but those that were made freely and without any compulsion; without having the mind distempered and intoxicated by potions or charms, or perverted and seduced by the allurements and caresses of a woman; for this wise lawgiver was justly persuaded, that there is no difference to be made between being seduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleasure and pain, in the same light, when they are made use of as means to impose upon men's reason, and to captivate the liberty of their understandings.

Another regulation he made was to lessen the rewards of the victors at the Isthmian and Olympic games,² and to fix them at a certain value, viz. 100 drachmas, which make about two pounds, for the first sort; and 500 drachmas, or about ten pounds, for the second. He thought it a shameful thing, that athlete and wrestlers, a sort of people not only useless, but often dangerous to the state, should have any considerable rewards allotted them, which ought rather to be reserved for the families of those persons who died in the service of their country; it being very just and reasonable, that the state should support and provide for such orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.

In order to encourage arts, trades, and manufactures, the senate of the Areopagus was charged with the care of inquiring into the ways and means that every man made use of to gain his livelihood, and of chastising and punishing all those who led an idle life. Besides the fore-mentioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flourishing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reasons still more important.

First, Solon considered, that such persons as have no fortune, and make use of no methods of industry to gain their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjust and unlawful means for acquiring money; and that the necessity of substituting some way or other disposes them for committing all sorts of misdemeanours, rapine, knaveries, and frauds; from which springs up a school of vice in the bosom of the commonwealth; and such a leaven gains ground, as does not fail to spread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

In the second place, the most able statesmen have

always looked upon these indigent and idle people as a troop of dangerous, restless, and turbulent spirits, eager after innovation and change, always ready for seditions and insurrections, and interested in revolutions of the state, by which alone they can hope to change their own situation and fortune. It was for all these reasons, that in the law we are speaking of, Solon declared, that a son should not be obliged to support his father in old age or necessity, if the latter had not taken care to have his son brought up to some trade or occupation. All children that were spurious and illegitimate, were exempted from the same duty: for it is evident, says Solon, that whoever thus contemns the dignity and sanctity of matrimony, has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propose to ourselves in having children, but only the gratification of a loose passion. Having then satisfied his own desires, he has no proper right over the persons who may spring from this disgraceful intercourse, upon whose lives, as well as births, he has entailed an indelible infamy and reproach.

It was prohibited to speak any ill of the dead;³ because religion directs us to account the dead as sacred, justice requires us to spare those that are no more, and good policy should hinder hatred from becoming immortal.

It was also forbidden to affront or give ill language to any body in the temples, in courts of judicature, in public assemblies, and in the theatres, during the time of representation: for to be no where able to govern our passions and resentments, argues too untractable and licentious a disposition; as on the other hand, to restrain them at all times, and upon all occasions, is a virtue beyond the strength of mere human nature, and a perfection reserved for the evangelical law.

Cicero observes, that this wise legislator of Athens, whose laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law against parricide; and being asked the reason why he had not, he answered: "That to make laws against, and ordain punishments for, a crime that hitherto had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it."⁴ I omit several of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifest contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkness, knowledge and error, which we generally find even among the very wisest of the heathens, who had no established principles.

After Solon had published his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to observe them religiously, at least for the term of 100 years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather strength by custom; as also to rid himself of the trouble and importunity of those who came to consult him about the meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and ill will of others: for, as he said himself, in great undertakings it is hard (if not impossible) to please all parties. He was absent ten years, in which interval of time we are to place his journeys into Egypt, into Lydia, to visit king Croesus, and into several other countries. At his return he found

the whole city in commotion and trouble;⁵ the three old factions were revived, and had formed three different parties. Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low-lands; Megacles, son of Alcmeon, was the leader of the inhabitants upon the sea-coast; and Pisistratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were joined the handicraftsmen and labourers who lived by their industry, and who were particularly hostile to the rich: of these three leaders the two latter were the most powerful and considerable.

Megacles was the son of that Alcmeon whom Croesus had extremely enriched for a particular service which he had done him.⁶ He had likewise married a lady, who had brought him an immense portion: her

¹ Plat. in Solon. p. 89.

² *Septienter fecisse dicitur, cum de eo nihil sanxerit, quod antea commissum non erat; ne, non tam prohibere quam admonere, videretur.* *Pro. Ross. Amer. n. 70.*

³ Plat. in Solon. p. 94.

⁴ Herod. lib. vi. c. 125-131.

⁵ Plat. in Solon. p. 89.

⁶ *Hut. p. 91* *Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.*

name was Agarista, the daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Cleisthenes was the richest and most opulent prince at this time in Greece. In order to be able to choose a worthy son-in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character, from his own experience, Cleisthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and spend a year with him at his house; for this was an ancient custom in that country. Several youths accepted the invitation, and came from different parts to the number of thirteen. Nothing was seen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and conversations upon all sorts of topics. One of the gentlemen, who had hitherto surpassed all his competitors, lost the princess, by having made use of some indecent gestures and postures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Cleisthenes, at the end of the year, declared for Megacles, and sent the rest of the noblemen away, loaded with civilities and presents. Such was Megacles.

Pisistratus was a well-bred man,¹ of a gentle and insinuating behaviour, ready to succour and assist the poor;² prudent and moderate towards his enemies; a most artful and accomplished dissembler; and one who had all the exterior of virtue, even beyond the most virtuous; who seemed to be the most zealous stickler for equality among the citizens, and who absolutely declared against all innovations and change.

It was not very hard for him to impose upon the people with all this artifice and address. But Solon quickly saw through his disguise, and perceived the drift of all his seeming virtue and fair pretences; however he thought fit to observe measures with him in the beginning, hoping, perhaps, by gentle methods to bring him back to his duty.

It was at this time³ Thespis began to change the Grecian tragedy;⁴ I say change: because it was invented long before. This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the rest for the sake of hearing Thespis, who acted himself, according to the custom of the ancient poets. When the play was ended, he called to Thespis, and asked him, "Whether he was not ashamed to utter such lies before so many people?" Thespis made answer, "That there was no harm in lies of that sort, and in poetical fictions, which were made only for diversion."—"No," replied Solon, giving a great stroke with his stick upon the ground; "but if we suffer and approve of lying for our own diversion, it will quickly find its way into our serious engagements, and all our business and affairs."

In the mean time Pisistratus still pushed on his point; and, in order to accomplish it, made use of a stratagem that succeeded as well as he could expect.⁵ He gave himself several wounds;⁶ and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he caused himself to be carried in a chariot into the market place, where he inflamed the populace, by giving them to understand that his enemies had treated him in that manner, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the public good.

An assembly of the people was immediately convened: and there it was resolved, in spite of all the remonstrances Solon could make against it, that fifty guards should be allowed Pisistratus for the security of his person. He soon augmented the number as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himself master of the citadel. All his enemies betook themselves to flight, and the whole city was in great

consternation and disorder, except Solon, who loudly reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being asked what it was that gave him so much firmness and resolution? *It is,* said he, *my old age.* He was indeed very old, and did not seem to risk much, as the end of his life was very near: though it often happens, that men grow fonder of life in proportion as they have less reason and right to desire it should be prolonged. But Pisistratus, after he had subdued all, thought this conquest imperfect till he had gained Solon: and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to conciliate an old man, he spared no caresses, omitted nothing that could tend to soften and win upon him, and showed him all possible marks of friendship and esteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his person, and publicly professing a great veneration for his laws; which in truth he both observed himself, and caused to be observed by others. Solon seeing it was impossible either to bring Pisistratus by fair means to renounce this usurpation or to depose him by force, thought it a point of prudence not to exasperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him, and hoped, at the same time, that by entering into his confidence and counsels, he might at least be capable of conducting and turning into a proper channel a power which he could not abolish, and of mitigating the mischief and calamity that he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not survive the liberty of his country two years complete: for Pisistratus made himself master of Athens, under the archon Comias, the first year of the 51st Olympiad, and Solon died the year following, under the archon Hegestratus, who succeeded Comias.

The two parties, the heads of which were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of Athens. He was, however, soon recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference that arose upon occasion of this match, having embroiled them afresh, the Alcmaeonidae had the worst, and were obliged to retire. Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself. His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintained him in it; and without doubt his eloquence,⁷ which even in Tully's judgment was very great, rendered him very acceptable to the Athenians who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of oratory, as it made them forget the care of their liberty. An exact submission to the laws distinguished Pisistratus from most other usurpers: and the mildness of his government was such as might make many a lawful sovereign blush. For which reason the character of Pisistratus has been thought worthy of being set in opposition to that of other tyrants. Cicero, doubting what use Cæsar would make of his victory at Pharsalia, wrote to his dear friend Atticus, *We do not yet know, whether the destiny of Rome will have us groan under a Phalaris, or live under a Pisistratus.*⁸

This tyrant, indeed, if we are to call him so, always showed himself very popular and moderate; and had such a command of his temper,⁹ as to bear reproaches and insults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word. His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens:¹⁰ in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. It is said he was the first who opened a public library in Athens,¹¹ which after his time was much augmented, and at last carried into Persia by Xerxes, when he took the city. But Zelenus Nicanor, a long time afterwards, caused it to be brought back to Athens. Cicero¹² thinks also

¹ Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

² We are not here to understand such as begged or asked alms: for in those times, says Isocrates, there was no citizen that died of hunger, or dishonoured his city by begging. *Orat. Arcop.* p. 309.

³ Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

⁴ Tragedy was in being a long time before Thespis; but it was only a chorus of persons that sang, and said approbrious things to one another. Thespis was the first that improved this chorus by the addition of a character, who, in order to give the rest time to take breath, and to recover their spirits, recited an adventure of some illustrious person. And this recital gave occasion afterwards for introducing the subjects of tragedies.

⁵ Herod. l. i. c. 59—64.

⁶ Plut. in Solon. p. 95, 96.

⁷ Pisistratus dicendo tantum valuisse dicitur, ut ei Atheniensium regium imperium oratione capere permitterent. *Val. Max.* l. viii. c. 9.

⁸ Quis doctior isdem temporibus, ut ejus eloquentia literis instructior fuisse traditur, quam Pisistrati? *Cic. de Orat.* l. iii. n. 127.

⁹ Invenitur est Phalarimæ, quàm Pisistratum, sit imitatoris. *Ad M. t. l. vii. Ep. xix.*

¹⁰ Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

¹¹ Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 17.

¹² Athen. l. xii. p. 539.

¹³ Lib. iii. de Orat. c. 137.

It was Pisistratus who first made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer; who arranged the books in the order in which we now find them; whereas before they were confused and not digested; and who first caused them to be publicly read at the feasts called Panathenæa. Plato ascribes this honour to his son Hipparchus.¹

Pisistratus died in tranquillity,² and transmitted to his sons the sovereign power, which he had usurped thirty years before; seventeen of which he had reigned in peace.

His sons were Hipparchus and Hipparchus. Thucydides adds a third, Ant. J. C. 526. whom he calls Thessalus. They seem to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to Hipparchus what we have said concerning the poems of Homer,³ adds, that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he sent a vessel of fifty oars on purpose for him. He likewise entertained at his house Simonides another famous poet of the isle of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, to whom he gave a large pension, and made very rich presents. The design of these princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, says Plato, to soften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuse into them a relish and love for virtue, by giving them a taste for learning and the sciences. Their care extended even to the instructing of the peasants and country people, by erecting not only in the streets of the city, but in all the roads and highways, statues of stone, called Mercuries, with grave sentences and moral maxims carved upon them; in which manner those silent monitors gave instructive lessons to all passengers. Plato seems to suppose that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. But Thucydides shows,⁴ that Hipparchus, as the eldest of the sons, succeeded his father in the government.

Be this as it may, their reign in the whole, after the death of Pisistratus, was only of eighteen years' duration: it ended in the following manner.

Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship.⁵ Hipparchus, angry with the former for a personal affront he pretended to have received from him, endeavoured to revenge himself upon his sister, by putting a public affront upon her, obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn procession, in which she was to carry one of the sacred baskets, alleging, that she was not in a fit condition to assist at such a ceremony. Her brother, and still more his friend, being stung to the quick by so gross and outrageous an affront, took from that moment a resolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a festival, which they judged would be very favourable for their purpose: this was the feast of the Panathenæa, in which the ceremony required that all the tradesmen and artificers should be under arms. For the greater security, they admitted only a very small number of the citizens into their secret: conceiving that upon the first motion all the rest would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hipparchus came out of the palace, and went to the Cermicus, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were, to give the necessary orders for the ceremony. The two friends having followed him thither, saw one of the conspirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betrayed. They could have executed their design that moment upon Hipparchus; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city, where, meeting with Hipparchus, they killed him; but being immediately apprehended, themselves were slain and Hipparchus found means to dispel the storm.

After this affair, he no longer observed any mea-

sures, and reigned like a true tyrant, putting to death a vast number of citizens. To guard himself for the future against a like enterprize, and to secure a safe retreat for himself, in case of any accident, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a foreign support, and to that end gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsacus.

In the mean time, the Alcæonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution, had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus, and who saw their hopes frustrated by the bad success of the last conspiracy, did not however lose courage, but turned their views another way. As they were very rich and powerful, they got themselves appointed by the Amphictyons, who constituted the general council of Greece, to superintend the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi, for the sum of 300 talents, or 300,000 crowns.⁶ As they were naturally generous, and had besides their reasons for being so on this occasion, they added to this sum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole front of the temple all of Parian marble, at their particular expense; whereas by the contract made with the Amphictyons, it was only to have been made of common stone.

The liberality of the Alcæonidæ was not altogether a free bounty; neither was their magnificence towards the god of Delphi a pure effect of religion: policy was the chief motive. They hoped by this means to acquire great influence in the temple, and it happened according to their expectation. The money, which they plentifully poured into the hands of the priests, rendered them absolute masters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who presided over it, and who for the future becoming their echo, did no more than faithfully repeat the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the assistance of his voice and authority. As often therefore as any Spartan came to consult the priestess, whether upon his own affairs or upon those of the state, no promise was ever made him of the god's assistance, but upon condition that the Lacedæmonians should deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was so often repeated to them by the oracle, that they resolved at last to make war against the Pisistratidæ, though they were under the strongest engagements of friendship and hospitality with them: herein preferring the will of God, says Herodotus, to all human considerations.⁷

The first attempt of this kind miscarried; and the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss. Notwithstanding a little time after, they made a second, which seemed to promise no better success than the first; because most of the Lacedæmonians, seeing the siege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired and left only a small number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's children, who had been clandestinely conveyed out of the city, in order to be put in a safe place, being taken by the enemy, the father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was stipulated, that he should depart out of Attica in five days' time.

Accordingly, he actually retired. A. M. 3496. within the time limited, and settled Ant. J. C. 508. at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, seated at the mouth of the river Scamander.

Pliny observes,⁸ that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the same year the kings were expelled Rome. Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Their names were infinitely respected at Athens in all succeeding ages, and almost held in equal reverence with those of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour that had never been conferred on any man before. The very sight of these statues, exposed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and detestation of tyranny, and daily renewed their sentiments of gratitude to those generous defenders of their liberty, who had not scrupled

¹ In Hipparch. p. 228. ² Arist. lib. v. de Rep. c. 12.

³ In Hip. p. 228, 229. ⁴ Lib. vi. p. 446

⁵ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446-450.

⁶ Herod. l. v. c. 62-66.

⁷ About 40,000*l.* sterling.

⁸ Τα γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ περιβόητα ἱερουργεῖν, ἃ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων.

⁹ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.

to purchase it with their lives, and to seal it with their blood. Alexander the Great,¹ who knew how dear the memory of these men was to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal in this respect, thought he did them a sensible pleasure in sending back to them the statues of those two great men, which he found in Persia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes had formerly carried thither from Athens. Pausanias ascribes this action to Seleucus Nicator, one of the successors of Alexander; and adds, that he also sent back to the Athenians their public library, which Xerxes had carried off with him into Persia. Athens,² at the time of her deliverance from tyranny, did not confine her gratitude solely to the authors of her liberty, but extended it even to a woman who had signalized her courage on that occasion. This woman was a courtesan, named Leena, who by the charms of her beauty, and skill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius and Aristogiton. After their death, the tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this woman, caused her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conspirators. But she bore all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible constancy, and expired in the midst of them; showing the world that her sex is more courageous, and more capable of keeping a secret, than some men imagine. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to be lost; and to prevent the lustre of it from being sullied by the consideration of her character as a courtesan, they endeavored to conceal that circumstance, by representing her, in the statue which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioness without a tongue.

Plutarch, in the life of Aristides,³ relates a circumstance which does great honour to the Athenians, and shows to what a pitch they carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their respect for his memory. They had learned that the grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived at Lemnos, in very mean and poor circumstances, nobody being willing to marry her upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens sent for her, and marrying her to one of the most rich and considerable men of their city, gave her an estate in land in the town of Potamos for her portion.

Athens seemed, in recovering her liberty, to have also recovered her pristine courage. During the reigns of her tyrants, she had acted with indolence and indifference, as knowing what she did was not for herself, but for them. But after her deliverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity she exerted was of a quite different kind; because then her labours were her own.

Athens, however, did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Clisthenes, one of the Alcmeonidae, and Isagoras, who were men of the greatest power in the city, by contending with each other for superiority, created two considerable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his side, made an alteration in the form of their establishment, and instead of four tribes, whereof they consisted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the names of the ten sons of Ion, whom the Greek historians make the father and first founder of the nation. Isagoras, seeing himself inferior in credit to his rival, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, obliged Clisthenes to depart from Athens, with 700 families of his adherents. But they soon returned with their leader, and were restored to all their estates and fortunes.

The Lacedæmonians, stung with spite and jealousy against Athens, because she took upon her to act independent of their authority; and repenting also that they had delivered her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had since discovered the imposture, began to think of reinstating Hippas, one of the sons of Pisistratus; and to that end sent for him from Sigæum, whither he had retired. They then

communicated their design in an assembly of the deputies of their allies, whose assistance and concurrence they were anxious to secure, in order to render their enterprise successful.

The deputy of Corinth spoke first on this occasion, and expressed great astonishment that the Lacedæmonians who were themselves avowed enemies of tyranny, and professed the greatest abhorrence for all arbitrary government, should desire to establish it elsewhere; he exposed to their view in the fullest light, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical government, which his own country, Corinth, had but very lately felt by woful experience. The rest of the deputies applauded his discourse, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterprise came to nothing; and had no other effect than to discover the base jealousy of the Lacedæmonians, and to cover them with shame and confusion.

Hippias, defeated of his hopes, retired into Asia to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured by every method to engage in a war against Athens: representing to him, that the taking of so rich and powerful a city would render him master of all Greece. Artaphernes hereupon required of the Athenians that they would reinstate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other answer, than by a downright and absolute refusal. This was the original ground and occasion of the wars between the Persians and the Greeks, which will be the subject of the following books.

ARTICLE IX.

ILLUSTRIOUS MEN WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.

I begin with the poets, as the most ancient.

HOMER, the most celebrated and illustrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the least knowledge either with respect to the country where he was born or the time in which he lived. Among the seven cities of Greece that contended for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna seems to have the best title to that glorious distinction.

Herodotus tells us,⁴ that Homer wrote 400 years before his time, that is, 340 years after the taking of Troy; for Herodotus flourished 740 years after that expedition.

A. M. 3160
Ant. J. C. 844

Some authors have pretended that he was called Homer, because he was born blind. Velleius Paterculus rejects this story with contempt. *If any man,*⁵ says he, *believes that Homer was born blind, he must be so himself, and even have lost all his senses.* Indeed, according to the observation of Cicero,⁶ Homer's works are rather pictures than poems, so perfectly does he paint to the life, and set the images of every thing he undertakes to describe before the eyes of the reader; and he seems to have been intent upon introducing all the most delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords into his writings, and making them in a manner pass in review before his readers.

What is most astonishing in this poet is,⁷ that being the first, at least of those that are known, who applied himself to that kind of poetry which is the most sublime and difficult of all, he should however soar so high and with such rapidity, as to carry it at once to the utmost perfection; which seldom or never happens in other arts, but by slow degrees, and after a long series of years.

The kind of poetry we are speaking of is the Epic Poem, so called from the Greek word *ἔπος*; because it is an action related by the poet. The subject of this

⁴ Lib. ii. c. 53.

⁵ Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbis est. *Paterc.* l. i. c. 5.

⁶ Taceul. *Quæst.* l. v. n. 114.

⁷ Clarissimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, sine exemplo maximum: qui magnitudine operæ, et fulgore carminum, solus appellari Poëta meruit. In quo hæc maximum est, quod neque ante illum quem ille imitaretur; neque post illum, qui imitari eum posset, inventus est: neque quonquam alium, cuius operæ primus auctor fuerit. in eo perfectissimum, præter Homorum et Archilochum reperimus. *Pell. Patere.* l. i. c. 5.

¹ *Plin.* l. xxiv. c. 8.

² *Ibid.* l. vii. c. 53. l. xxiv. c. 8.

must be great, instructive, serious, containing only one principal event, to which all the rest must refer and be subordinate; and this principal action must have passed in a certain space of time, which must not exceed a year at most.

Homer has composed two poems of this kind, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; the subject of the first is the anger of Achilles, so pernicious to the Greeks, when they besieged Ilium, or Troy; and that of the second is the voyages and adventures of Ulysses after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable, that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have all taken their plans and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only succeeded in proportion to their success in copying him. The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and fit for others to be formed upon: *Fons ingeniorum Homerus*.¹

All the greatest men, and the most exalted geniuses that have appeared for these two thousand and five or six hundred years in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere; those whose writings we are still forced to admire; who are still our masters, and who teach us to think, to reason, to speak, and to write; all these, says Madame Dacier,² acknowledge Homer to be the greatest of poets, and look upon his poems as the model on which all succeeding poets should form their taste and judgment. After all this, can there be any man so conceited of his own talents, be they never so great, as reasonably to presume, that his decisions should prevail against such a universal concurrence of judgment in persons of the most distinguished abilities and characters?

So many testimonies, so ancient, so uniform, and so universal, entirely justify Alexander the Great's favourable judgment of the works of Homer, which he looked upon as the most excellent and valuable production of the human mind: *pretiosissimum humani animi opus*.³

Quintilian,⁴ after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a just idea of his character and manner of writing in these few words: *Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, superaverit. Idem latus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis. In great things what a sublimity of expression; and in little, what a justness and propriety! Diffusive and concise, pleasant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiousness and his brevity.*

HESIOD. The most common opinion is, that he was contemporary with Homer. It is said, that he was born at Cumæ, a town in Æolis, but that he was brought up at Ascra, a little town in Boeotia, which has since passed for his native country. Thus Virgil calls him the old man of Ascra.⁵ We know little or nothing of this poet, but by the few remaining poems which he has left, all in hexameter verse; which are, 1st, *The Works and Days*; 2dly, *The Theogony*, or the genealogy of the gods; 3dly, *The Shield of Hercules*: of which last some doubt whether it was written by Hesiod.

1. In the first of these poems, entitled, *The Works and Days*, Hesiod treats of agriculture, which requires, besides a great deal of labour, a due observation of times, seasons, and days. This poem is full of excellent sentences and maxims for the conduct of life. He begins it with a short, but lively description of two sorts of disputes; the one fatal to mankind, the source of quarrels, discords, and wars; and the other infinitely useful and beneficial to men, as it sharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and sciences. He then makes an admirable description of the four different ages of the world; the golden, the silver, the brazen,

and the iron age. The persons who lived in the gold en age are those whom Jupiter after their death turned into so many Genii or spirits,⁶ and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a commission to go up and down the earth, invisible to the sight of men, and to observe all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in composing his *Georgics*, as he himself acknowledges in this verse:—

Ascreumque cano Romana per oppida carmen,⁷
And sing the Ascrean verse to Roman swains.

The choice made by these two illustrious poets of this subject for the exercise of their muse, shows in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent sources of the wealth and plenty of a country. It is much to be deplored, that in after-ages a taste so agreeable to nature, and so well adapted to the preservation of innocence of manners, should have gone to decay. Avarice and luxury have entirely depressed it. *Nimirum alii subiere ritus, circæque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritia tantum artes coluntur.*⁸

2. *The Theogony* of Hesiod, and the poems of Homer, may be looked upon as the surest and most authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the ancients, and of the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to suppose, that these poets were the inventors of the fables which we read in their writings. They only collected and transmitted to posterity, the traces of the religion which they found established, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. *The Shield of Hercules*, is a separate fragment of a poem, wherein it is pretended that Hesiod celebrated the most illustrious heroines of antiquity; and it bears that title; because it contains, among other things, a long description of the shield of Hercules, concerning whom the same poem relates a particular adventure.

The poetry of Hesiod, in those places that are susceptible of ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not so sublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian⁹ reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.*

ARCHILOCHUS. The poet Archilochus born in Paros, inventor of the Iambic verse, lived in the time A. M. 3280. Ant. J. C. 724, of Candaules, king of Lydia. He has this advantage in common with Homer, according to Velleius Paterculus, that he carried at once that kind of poetry which he invented to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to these verses, and which at first were the only sort used, are composed of one short and one long syllable. The Iambic verse, such as it was invented by Archilochus, seems very proper for a vehement and energetic style; accordingly we see that Horace, speaking of this poet, says that it was his anger, or rather his rage, that armed him with his Iambics, for the exercising and exerting of his vengeance.

*Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.*¹⁰

And Quintilian says,¹¹ he had an uncommon force of expression, was full of bold thoughts, and of those strokes that are concise, but keen and piercing; in a word, his style was strong and nervous. The longest of his poems are said to be the best.¹² The world have passed the same judgment upon the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom says the same of his friend Atticus's letters.

The verses of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious;¹³ witness those he writ against Ly-

¹ Διμωρος.

² Geor. l. ii. v. 176.

³ Lib. i. c. 5.

⁴ Plin. in Procem. l. xiv.

⁵ Art. Poet.

⁶ Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validè tum breves vibrantesque sententiæ, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum. Quin. l. 3. c. 1.

⁷ Ut Aristophani Archilochi iambus, epistola longissima quæque optima videtur. Cic. Epist. xii. 16. ad Atticum.

⁸ Hor. Epod. Od. vi. et Epist. xix. l. 1.

¹ Plin. l. xvii. c. 5.

² In Homer's life, which is prefixed to her translation of the *Iliad*.

³ Plin. l. vii. c. 29.

⁴ Eclog. vi. v. 70.

Quin. a. l. x. cap. 1

cambes, his father-in-law, which drove him to despair. For this double reason,¹ his poetry, how excellent soever it was reckoned in other respects, was banished out of Sparta, as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and morals of young people, than to be useful in cultivating their understanding. We have only some very short fragments remaining of this poet. Such a niceness in a heathen people, with regard to the quality of the books which they thought young persons should be permitted to read, is highly worth our notice, and will rise up in condemnation against many Christians.

HIPPONAX. This poet was of Ephesus, and signalized himself some years after Archilochus, in the same kind of poetry, and with the same force and vehemence. He was ugly, little, lean, and slender.² Two celebrated sculptors, who were brothers, Bupalus and Athenis (some call the latter Anthermus,) diverted themselves at his expense, and represented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack satiric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleasantry with such keen strokes of satire, that they hanged themselves out of mortification: others say they only quitted the city of Ephesus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not spare even those to whom he owed his life. How monstrous was this! Horace joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and represents them as two poets equally dangerous.³ In the Anthologia there are three or four epigrams,⁴ which describe Hipponax as terrible even after his death. They admonish travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours, *Φεῦγε τὸν χαλαζὶ πᾶσι τάφῳ, τὸν φοβεῖσθαι. Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.*

It is thought he invented the Scazon verse, in which the Spondee is used instead of the Iambus in the sixth foot of the verse that bears that name.

STESICHORUS. He was of Himera, a city in Sicily, and excelled in Lyric poetry, as did those other poets, of whom we are going to speak. Lyric poetry is that, the verses of which, digested into odes and stanzas, were sung to the Lyre, or to other such like instruments. Stesichorus flourished betwixt the 37th and 47th Olympiads. Pausanias,⁵ after many other fables, relates, that Stesichorus having been punished with the loss of sight for his satirical verses against Helen, did not recover it till he had retraced his invectives, by writing another ode contrary to the first; which latter kind of ode is since called *Palinodia*. Quintilian says,⁶ that he sang of wars and illustrious heroes, and that he supported upon the lyre all the dignity and majesty of epic poetry.

ALCMAN. He was of Lacedæmon, or as some will have it, of Sardis, in Lydia, and lived much about the same time as Stesichorus. Some make him the first author of amorous verses.

ALCEUS. He was born at Mitylene, in Lesbos: it is from him that the Alcaic verse derived its name. He was a professed enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and particularly to Pittacus, against whom he particularly inveighed in his verses. It is said of him,⁷ that being once in a battle, he was seized with such fear and terror, that he threw down his arms and ran

away. Horace has thought fit to give us the same account of himself.⁸ Poets do not value themselves so much upon prowess as upon wit. Quintilian says,⁹ that the style of Alcaeus was close, magnificent, and chaste; and to complete his character, adds, that he very much resembled Homer.

SIMONIDES. This poet was a native of Ceos, an island in the Ægean sea. He continued to flourish at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He excelled principally in elegy.¹⁰ The invention of local memory is ascribed to him, of which I have spoken elsewhere.¹¹ At twenty-four years of age he disputed for, and carried the prize of poetry.

The answer he gave a prince, who asked him what God was, is much celebrated.¹² That prince was Hiero, king of Syracuse. The poet desired a day to consider the question proposed to him. On the morrow he asked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his answer, he still doubled the time. The king, surprised at this behaviour, demanded his reason for it.—It is, replied Simonides, because the more I consider the question, the more obscure it seems: *Quia quanto divitiis considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior.* The answer was wise, if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majesty, which no understanding can comprehend, nor any tongue express.¹³

After having travelled through many cities of Asia,¹⁴ and amassed considerable wealth by celebrating, in his verses, the praises of those who were capable of rewarding him well, he embarked for the island of Ceos, his native country. The ship was cast away. Every one endeavoured to save what they could. Simonides did not encumber himself with any thing and when he was asked the reason of it, he replied,—I carry all I have about me. *Mecum, inquit, mea sunt cuncta.* Several of the company were drowned being overwhelmed by the weight of the things they attempted to save, and those who got to shore were plundered by thieves. All that escaped went to Clazomenæ, which was not far from the place where the vessel was lost. One of the citizens who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was exceedingly pleased, and thought it an honour to receive him into his house. He supplied him abundantly with necessities, whilst the rest were obliged to beg through the city. The poet, upon meeting them, did not forget to observe how justly he had answered them in regard to his effects: *Dixi, inquit, mea mecum esse cuncta; vos quod rapistis, perit.*

He was reproached with having dishonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not composing any verses till he had agreed on the price to be paid for them. In Aristotle,¹⁵ we find a proof of this which does him no honour. A person who had won the prize in the chariot-races, desired Simonides to compose a song of triumph upon that subject. The poet, not thinking the reward sufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. This prize had been won by mules, and he pretended that animal did not afford the proper matter for praise. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule; and the poem was made. Money has long had power to bestow nobility and beauty:

¹ Tecum Philippus et celerem fugam

Sensi, reliqua non bene parvula. *Her. Od. li. 7. 9.*

² In eloquio brevis et magnificus et diligens, plerumque Homero similis.

³ Sed me relictis, Musa prociac, jocis
Cum retractas munera nœm. *Horat.*
Mastius lacrymis Simonides. *Catull.*

⁴ Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres.

⁵ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 15.

⁶ Certè hoc est Deus, quod et cum dicitur, non potest dici: cum æstimatur, non potest æstimari; cum comparatur, non potest comparari; cum definitur, ipsa definitio crescit. *S. Aug. serm. de temp. cix.*

⁷ Nobis ad intellectum poëtarum angus tum est. Et ideo sie eum (Deum) dignè æstimamus, dum inestimabilem dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum sentio. Magnitudinem Dei qui se putat nosse, minuit: qui non vult minuire, non novit *Almut. Feltz.*

⁸ Rhet. l. iii. c. 2.

¹⁴ Phædr. l. iv.

¹ Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi ex civitate sua exportari jusserunt, quod eorum parum verecundum ac pudicum lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluere enim ea liberorum suorum animos imbuti, ne plura moribus noceret, quam ingeniis prodesset. Itaque maximum poëmam, aut certè summo proximum, quia domum sibi inivisum obscenis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio mulctarunt. *Vel. Pat. l. vi. c. 3.*

² Hipponacti notabilis vultus fœditas erat: quamobrem innamem ejus lascivia jecurum si proposuere ridendum circula. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum distinxit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impulsæ, quod falsum est. *Plin. l. xxvi. c. 5.*

³ In malos asperimus

Parata tollo cornua;

Qualis Lycambe spreus infido gener,

Aut acer hostis Bupalus. *Epod. vi.*

⁴ Anthol. l. iii.

⁵ Paus. in Lacon. p. 200.

⁶ Stesichorum, quàm sit ingenio validus, materiam quoque ostendunt. maxima bella et clarissimos enanctem duces, et epici carminis opera lyra sustinentem. *L. z. c. 1.*

⁷ Herod. l. v. c. 95.

Et genas et formam regina pecunia donat.

As this animal is generated between a she-ass and a horse, the poet, as Aristotle observes, considered them ^{as} first only on the base side of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he styled them *illustrious foals of rapid steeds*.

Χαίρειν ἡλιποπόδων θυγατρὶς ἵππων.

SAPPHO. She was of the same place, and lived at the same time, with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse took its name from her. She composed a considerable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining: these are sufficient to satisfy us that the praises given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic softness, numbers, harmony, and infinite graces, of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a farther proof of her merit, she was called the Tenth Muse; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their money. It were to be wished, that the purity of her manners had been equal to the beauty of her genius; and that she had not dishonoured her sex by her vices and irregularities.

ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He lived in the 72d Olympiad. Anacreon¹ spent a great part of his time at the court of Polycrates, that fortunate tyrant of Samos; and not only shared in all his pleasures, but was of his council. Plato tells us,² that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a vessel of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote him a most obliging letter, entreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would be esteemed and relished as they deserved. It is said, the only study of this poet was joy and pleasure: and those remains we have of his poetry sufficiently confirm it. We see plainly in all his verses, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impossible to express the elegance and delicacy of his poems: nothing could be more estimable, had their object been more noble.

THESPIAS. He was the first inventor of Tragedy. I defer speaking of him, till I come to give some account of the tragic poets.

Of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.

These men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in this present history. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laertius.

THALES, the Milesian. If Cicero³ is to be believed, Thales was the most illustrious of the seven wise men. It was he that laid the first foundations of philosophy in Greece, and gave rise to the sect called the Ionic sect; because he, the founder of it, was of Ionia.

He held water to be the first principle of all things;⁴ and that God was that intelligent being, by whom all things were formed from water. The first of these opinions he had borrowed from the Egyptians, who, seeing the Nile to be the cause of the fertility of all their lands, might easily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the first of the Greeks that studied astronomy. He had exactly foretold the time of the eclipse of the sun that happened in the reign of Astyages, king of Media, of which mention has been made already.

He was also the first that fixed the term and duration of the solar year among the Grecians. By comparing the bigness of the sun's body with that of the moon, he thought he had discovered, that the body of the moon was in solidity but the 720th part of the sun's body, and consequently, that the solid body of the sun was above 700 times bigger than the solid body of the moon. This computation is very far from the truth; as the sun's solidity exceeds not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or solidity. But we know that in all these matters and particularly in that of which we are now speaking, the first observations and discoveries were very imperfect.

When Thales travelled into Egypt,⁵ he discovered an easy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramids, by observing the time when the shadow of our body is equal in length to the height of the body itself.

To show that philosophers were not so destitute,⁶ as some people imagined, of that sort of talents and capacity which is proper for business; and that they would be as successful as others in growing rich, if they thought fit to apply themselves to that pursuit, he bought the fruit of all the olive-trees in the territory of Miletus before they were in blossom. The profound knowledge he had of nature had probably enabled him to foresee that the year would be extremely fertile. It proved so in fact; and he made a considerable profit by his bargain.

He used to thank the gods for three things: that he was born a reasonable creature, and not a beast; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a Barbarian. Upon his mother's pressing him to marry when he was young, he told her, it was then too soon; and after several years were elapsed, he told her it was then too late.

As he was one day walking, and very attentively contemplating the stars, he chanced to fall into a ditch.—Ha! says a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what passes in the heavens, and what is so infinitely above your head, if you cannot see what is just at your feet, and before your nose?

He was born the first year of the 35th, and died the first year of the A. M. 3457. 58th, Olympiad; consequently, he Ant. J. C. 547. lived to be above ninety years of age.

SOLOON. His life has been already related at length.

CHILLO. He was a Lacedæmonian: very little is related of him. *Æsop* asking him one day, how Jupiter employed himself? *In humbling those, says he, that exalt themselves, and exalting those who abase themselves.*

He died of joy at Pisa, upon seeing his son win the prize at boxing, in the Olympic games. He said when he was dying, that he was not conscious to himself of having committed any fault during the whole course of his life (an opinion well becoming the pride and blindness of a heathen philosopher;) unless it was once, when he made use of a little dissimulation and evasion, in giving judgment in favour of a friend: in which action he did not know, whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

PITTACUS. He was of Mitylene, a city of Lesbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous lyric poet, and with Alcæus himself, who was at the head of the exiled party, he drove the tyrant who had usurped the government out of that island.

The inhabitants of Mitylene being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To spare the blood of his fellow citizens, he offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in single combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious, and killed his adversary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous consent, conferred the sovereignty of the city upon him; which he accepted, and behaved himself with so much moderation and wisdom, that he was always respected and beloved by his subjects.

In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not spare Pittacus in his verses notwithstanding the mildness of his government and temper, but inveighed severely against him. The poet fell afterwards into Pittacus's hands, who was so far from taking revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and showed by that act of clemency and generosity, that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having governed ten years with great equity and wisdom, he voluntarily resigned his authority, and retired. He used to say,⁷ that the proof of a

¹ Herod. l. iii. c. 121.

² In Hipparch. p. 228, 229.

³ Princeps Thales, ut ait de septem cui sex reliquos concessisse primas ferunt. Lib. iv. Acad. Quest. n. 118.

⁴ Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 25.

⁵ Plin. lib. xxvi. cap. 12.

⁶ Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 111.

⁷ *Ἐὶ τοὺς τυραννοὺς δ' ἄρ' ἔχον παρασκευάσειν παθόντων, καὶ αὐτῶν, ἄλλ' ἔμπ' αὐτοῖς.* Plut. in Conv. sept. cap. p. 132.

good government was to engage the subjects not to be afraid of their prince, but to be afraid for him. It was a maxim with him, that no man should ever give himself the liberty of speaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died in the 52d Olympiad.

BIAS. We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattes, king of Lydia, by a stratagem, to raise the siege of Priene, where he was born. The city was hard pressed by famine; upon which he caused two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them pass into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in astonished the king, who thereupon sent deputies into the city, upon pretence of offering terms of peace, but really to observe the state of the town and people. Bias, guessing their errand, had ordered the granaries to be filled with great heaps of sand, and those heaps to be covered with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king of the great plenty of provisions they had seen in the city, he hesitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raised the siege. One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended, was, to do all the good we can, and ascribe all the glory of it to the gods.¹

CLEOBULOS. We know as little of him as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the isle of Rhodes; or, as some will have it, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty of Athens.

PERIANDER. He is numbered among the wise men, though he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had first made himself master of that city, he wrote to Thrasylbulos, tyrant of Miletus, to know what measures he should take with his new-acquired subjects. The latter, without any other answer, led the messenger into a field of wheat, where in walking along he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn that were higher than the rest. Periander perfectly well understood the meaning of this enigmatical answer, which was a tacit intimation to him, that, in order to secure his own life, he should cut off the most powerful of the Corinthian citizens. But, if we may believe Plutarch,² Periander did not relish so cruel advice.

He wrote circular letters to all the wise men,³ inviting them to pass some time with him at Corinth, as they had done the year before at Sardis with Croesus. Princes in those days thought themselves much honoured, when they could have such guests in their houses. Plutarch describes an entertainment,⁴ which Periander gave these illustrious guests; and observes, at the same time, that the decent simplicity of it, adapted to the taste and character of the persons entertained, did him much more honour than the greatest magnificence could have done. The subject of their discourse at table was sometimes grave and serious, and sometimes pleasant and gay. One of the company proposed this question: Which is the most perfect popular government?—That, answered Solon, where an injury done to any private citizen is such to the whole body:—That, says Bias, where the law has no superior:—That, says Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor:—That, says Anacharsis, where virtue is honoured and vice detested:—says Pittacus, Where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked:—says Cleobulus, Where the citizens fear blame more than punishment:—says Chilo, Where the laws are more regarded and have more authority, than the orators.—From all these opinions, Periander concluded, that the most perfect popular government would be that which came nearest to aristocracy, where the sovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.

Whilst these wise men were assembled together at Periander's court, a courier arrived from Amasis, king of Egypt, with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a close correspondence. The purport of this letter was to consult him how he should answer a proposal made him by the king of Ethiopia, of his

drinking up the sea; in which case the Ethiopian king promised to resign to him a certain number of cities in his dominions: but if he did not do it, then he, Amasis, was to give up the same number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was usual in those days for princes to propound such enigmatical and puzzling questions to one another. Bias answered him directly, and advised him to accept the offer on the condition that the king of Ethiopia would stop all the rivers that flow into the sea: for the business was only to drink up the sea, and not the rivers. We find an answer to the same effect ascribed to Æsop.

I must not here forget to take notice, that these wise men, of whom I have been speaking, were all lovers of poetry, and composed verses themselves, some of them a considerable number, upon subjects of morality and policy, which are certainly topics well worthy of the muses.—Solon,⁵ however, is reproached for having written some licentious verses; which may teach us what judgment we ought to form of these pretended wise men of the pagan world.

Instead of some of these seven wise men, which I have mentioned, some people have substituted others; as Anacharsis, for example, Myso, Epimenides, Pherecydes. The first of these is the most known in history.

ANACHARSIS. Long before Solon's time the Nomad Scythians, were in great reputation for their simplicity, frugality, temperance, and justice. Homer calls them a very just nation.⁶ Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian, once having reproached him with his country:—My country, you think, replied Anacharsis, is no great honour to me: and you, Sir, are no great honour to your country.—His good sense, profound knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. He wrote a treatise in verse upon the art military, and composed another tract on the laws of Scythia.

He used to make visits to Solon. It was in conversation with him that he compared laws to cobwebs, which entangle only little flies, whilst wasps and hornets break through them.

Being inured to the austere and poor life of the Scythians, he set little value upon riches. Croesus invited him to come and see him, and without doubt hinted to him, that he was able to mend his fortune. "I have no occasion for your gold," said the Scythian in his answer: "I came into Greece only to enrich my mind, and improve my understanding; I shall be very well satisfied, if I return into my own country, not with an addition to my wealth, but with an increase of knowledge and virtue." However, Anacharsis accepted the invitation, and went to that prince's court.

We have already observed that Æsop was much surprised and dissatisfied with the cold and indifferent manner in which Solon viewed the magnificence of the palace, and the vast treasures of Croesus; because it was the master, and not the house, that the philosopher wished to have reason to admire. "Certainly," says Anacharsis to Æsop on that occasion, "you have forgotten your own fable of the fox and panther. The latter, as her highest merit, could only show her fine skin, beautifully marked and spotted with different colours: the fox's skin, on the contrary was very plain, but contained within it a treasure of subtleties and stratagems of infinite value. This very image," continued the Scythian, "shows me your own character. You are affected with a splendid outside whilst you pay little or no regard to what is truly the man, that is, to what which is in him, and consequently properly his."

Æsop. I join Æsop with the wise men of Greece; not only because he was often amongst them,⁷ but

¹ Plat. in Solon, p. 79.

² Hæd. lib. N. v. 6

³ Plat. in Conv. sept. sap. p. 155.

⁴ Æsopus ille à Phrygia fabulator, haud immeritò sapientis existimatus est: cum quæ utilia monitu suauisque erant, non sèverè, non imperiosè præcepit et censuit, ut philosophis mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apologos commentus, et salubriter ac prospicienter animadversas, in mentes animos

⁵ Οἷον αὖτις πρῶτος, ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων.

⁶ In Conv. sept. sap.

⁷ Diog. Laert. in vit. Perand.

⁸ In Conv. sept. sap.

because he taught true wisdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.

Æsop was by birth a Phrygian. He had abundance of wit; but was terribly deformed: he was short, hunch-backed, and horribly ugly in face, having scarce the figure of a man; and for a very considerable time almost without the use of speech. As to his condition of life, he was a slave; and the merchant who had bought him, found it very difficult to get him off his hands, so extremely were people shocked at his unsightly figure and deformity.

The first master he had sent him to labour in the field; whether it was that he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to remove so disagreeable an object out of his sight.

He was afterwards sold to a philosopher named Xanthus. I should never have done, should I relate all the strokes of wit, the sprightly repartees, and the arch and humorous circumstances of his words and behaviour. One day his master designing to treat some of his friends, ordered Æsop to provide the best of every thing he could find in the market. Æsop bought nothing but tongues, which he desired the cook to serve up with different sauces. When dinner came, the first and second courses, the side dishes and the removes were tongues. Did I not order you, says Xanthus in a violent passion, to buy the best victuals the market afforded? And have I not obeyed your orders? says Æsop. Is there any thing better than a tongue? Is not the tongue the bond of civil society, the key of sciences, and the organ of truth and reason? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments established and administered: with that men instruct, persuade, and preside in assemblies: it is the instrument by which we acquit ourselves of the chief of all our duties, the praising and adoring the gods. Well then, replied Xanthus, thinking to catch him, go to market again to-morrow, and buy me the worst of every thing: the same company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diversify my entertainment. Æsop the next day provided nothing but the very same dishes; telling his master that the tongue was the worst thing in the world. It is, says he, the instrument of all strife and contention, the foment of law-suits, and the source of divisions and wars; it is the organ of error, of lies, calumny, and blasphemy.

Æsop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the very first uses he made of it was to go to Cæsus, who, on account of his great reputation and fame, had been long desirous to see him. The strange deformity of Æsop's person shocked the king at first, and much abated the good opinion he had conceived of him. But the beauty of his mind soon shone forth through the coarse veil that covered it; and Cæsus found, as Æsop said on another occasion, that we ought not to consider the form of the vessel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

He made several voyages into Greece,¹ either for pleasure, or upon the affairs of Cæsus. Being at Athens a short time after Pisistratus had usurped the sovereignty and abolished the popular government, and observing the Athenians bore this new yoke with great impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs who demanded a king from Jupiter.

It is doubted whether the fables of Æsop, such as we have them, are all his, at least in regard to the expression. Great part of them are ascribed to Planudes, who wrote his life, and lived in the fourteenth century.

Æsop is reckoned the author and inventor of this simple and natural manner of conveying instruction by tales and fables; in which light Phædrus speaks of him:

*Æsopus auctor quam materiam præcipi,
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.*

But the glory of this invention is really due to the poet Hesiod:² an invention which does not seem to

be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit, and yet has been much esteemed and made use of by the greatest philosophers and ablest politicians. Plato tells us, that Socrates,³ a little before he died, turned some of Æsop's fables into verse; and Plato himself earnestly recommends it to nurses to instruct their children in it sometimes,⁴ in order to form their manners, and to inspire them early with the love of wisdom.

Fables could never have been so universally adopted by all nations, as we see they have, if there was not a vast fund of useful truths contained in them, and agreeably concealed under that plain and negligent disguise, in which their peculiar character consists. The Creator certainly designing to instruct mankind, by the very prospect of nature, has endowed the brute part of it with various instincts, inclinations, and properties, to serve as so many pictures in miniature to man, of the several duties incumbent upon him; and to point out to him the good or evil qualities he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for instance, a lively image of meekness and innocence in the lamb; of fidelity and friendship in the dog; and on the contrary, of violence, rapaciousness, and cruelty, in the wolf, the lion, and the tiger; and so of the other species of animals; and all this he has designed, not only as instruction, but as a secret reproof to man if he should be indifferent about those qualities in himself, which he cannot forbear esteeming or detesting, even in the brutes themselves.

This is a dumb language which all nations understand; it is a sentiment engraven in nature, which every man carries about with him. Æsop was the first of all the profane writers who laid hold of and unfolded it, made happy application of it, and attracted men's attention to this sort of simple and natural instruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to persons of all ages and conditions. He was the first that, in order to give body and substance to virtues, vices, duties, and maxims of society, did by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of clothing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beasts, and ascribing sense and reason to plants and trees, and all sorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of Æsop are void of all ornament; but abound with good sense, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they are more particularly composed. Those of Phædrus are in a style somewhat more elevated and diffused, but at the same time have a simplicity and elegance, that very much resemble the Attic spirit and style in the plain way of writing, which was the finest and most delicate kind of composition in use among the Grecians. Monsieur de la Fontaine, who was very sensible that the French tongue is not susceptible of the same elegant simplicity, has enlivened his fables with a sprightly and original turn of thought and expression, peculiar to himself, which no other person has yet been able to imitate.

It is not easy to conceive,⁵ why Seneca asserts as a fact, that the Romans in his time had never tried their pens in this kind of composition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?

Plutarch relates the manner of Æsop's death.⁶ He went to Delphi, with a great quantity of gold and silver, to offer in the name of Cæsus, a great sacrifice to Apollo, and to give to each inhabitant a considerable sum.⁷ A quarrel, which arose between him and the people of Delphi, occasioned him after the sacrifice, to send back the money to Cæsus, and to inform him, that those for whom it was intended had rendered themselves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants

nomine tamen Æsopi maxime celebrantur, ducere animos solent, præcipue rusticorum et imperitorum; qui et simplicius que facta sunt audiunt, et capri voluptate facile illis quibus delectantur consentiunt. *Quintil. l. v. c. 12*

¹ Plat. in Phæd. p. 60.

² Lib. ii. de Rep. p. 378.

³ Non audio te usque ad producere, ut fabellas quoque et Æsopæos logus intentaturus Romanis ingentis opus, soliti tibi venustate conercent. *Senec. de Consol. ad Polyb. c. 27.*

⁴ De sera Numinis vigilia, p. 556, 557.

⁵ Four mine, equal to 240 livres, or about 81. 10s.

que hominum, cum audiendi quadam illecebra induit. *Aut. Gall. Nœ. Att. lib. ii. cap. 29.*

⁶ Phædr. l. i. fab. 2.

⁷ Ille quoque fabulæ, quæ, etiam si originem non ab Æsopo acceperunt (nam videtur earum primus auctor Hesiodus),

of Delphi caused him to be condemned as guilty of sacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, punished them with a plague and famine; so that to put an end to these evils, they caused it to be signified in all the assemblies of Greece, that if any one for the honour of Æsop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him satisfaction. At the third generation,¹ a man from Samos presented himself, who had no other relation to Æsop than being descended from the persons who had bought that fabulist. The Delphians made this man satisfaction, and

¹ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 134.

thereby delivered themselves from the pestilence and famine that distressed them.

The Athenians, those excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble statue to this learned and ingenious slave; to let all the people know, says Phædrus,² that the ways of honour were open indifferently to all mankind, and that it was not to birth, but merit, they paid so honourable a distinction.

*Æsopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici,
Servumque collocarunt æterna in basi,
Patere honores scirent ut cuncti viam,
Nec generi tribuit, sed virtuti gloriam.*

² Herod. lib. ii.

THE

HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

BOOK VI.

This Book contains the history of the Persians and Grecians, in the reigns of Darius I. and Xerxes I., during the space of forty-eight years, from the year of the world 3483, to the year 3531.³

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF DARIUS, INTERMIXED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

BEFORE Darius came to be king,¹ he was called Ochus. At his succession he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Persian language signifies an Avenger, or a man that defeats the schemes of another; probably because he had punished and put an end to the insolence of the Magian impostor. He reigned thirty-six years.

SECTION I.—DARIUS'S MARRIAGES. THE IMPOSITION OF TRIBUTES. THE INSOLENCE AND PUNISHMENT OF INTAPHERNES. THE DEATH OF ORETES. THE STORY OF DEMOCEDUS A PHYSICIAN. THE JEWS PERMITTED TO CARRY ON THE BUILDING OF THEIR TEMPLE. THE GENEROSITY OF SYLOSON REWARDED.

BEFORE Darius was elected king he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is not known. Artabazanes, the eldest of the three sons whom he had by her, afterwards disputed the empire with Xerxes.

When Darius was seated in the throne,² the better to secure himself
Ant. J. C. 521. therein, he married two of Cyrus's daughters, Atossa and Aristona. The former had been wife to Cambysea, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he possessed the throne. Aristona was still a virgin when Darius married her; and of all his wives was the person he most loved. He likewise married Parnys, daughter of the true Smerdis, who was Cambysea's brother, as also Phedyma, daughter to Otanes, by whose management the imposture of the Magian

was discovered. By these wives he had a great number of children of both sexes.

We have already seen, that the seven conspirators who put the Magian to death, had agreed among themselves, that he whose horse, on a day appointed, first neighed at the rising of the sun, should be declared king; and that Darius's horse, by an artifice of his groom, procured his master that honour. The king,³ desiring to transmit to future ages his gratitude for this signal service, caused an equestrian statue to be set up, with this inscription: *Darius the son of Hystaspes acquired the kingdom of Persia by means of his horse* (whose name was inserted,) *and of his groom Oebares*. There is in this inscription, in which we see the king is not ashamed to own himself indebted to his horse and his groom, for so transcendent a benefaction as the regal diadem, when it was his interest, one would think, to have it considered as the fruits of a superior merit; there is, I say, in this inscription, a simplicity and sincerity strikingly characteristic of those ancient times, and extremely remote from the pride and vanity of our own.

One of the first cares of Darius,⁴ when he was settled in the throne, was to regulate the state of the provinces, and to put his finances into good order. Before his time, Cyrus and Cambyses had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations such free gifts only as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they had occasion for them. But Darius perceived that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations subject to him in peace and security, without keeping up regular forces; and equally impossible to maintain these forces, without assigning them a certain pay; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying taxes and impositions upon the people.

In order therefore the better to regulate the administration of his finances, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain sum to the satrap appointed for that purpose. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all imposts. Herodotus gives an exact enumeration of these provinces

¹ For the Author's Introduction to this division of the work, see page xxx. of the Preface.

² Herod. i. vi. c. 98. Val. Max. i. ix. c. 2.

³ Herod. i. iii. c. 89.

⁴ Herod. i. iii. c. 96.

lib. c. 80—87

rich may very much contribute to give us a just idea of the extent of the Persian empire.

In Asia it comprehended all that now belongs to the Persians and Turks; in Africa, it took in Egypt and part of Nubia, as also the coast of the Mediterranean as far as the kingdom of Barca; in Europe part of Thrace and Macedonia. But it must be observed, that in this vast extent of country, there were several nations, which were only tributary, and not properly subjects to Persia; as is the case at this day with respect to the Turkish empire.

History observes,¹ that Darius, in imposing these tributes, showed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants of every province; such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were interested in giving him a true and impartial account. He then asked them, if such and such sums, which he proposed to each of them for their respective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay; his intention being, as he told them, not to oppress his subjects, but only to require such aids from them as were proportioned to their incomes, and absolutely necessary for the defence of the state. They all answered, that the sums he proposed were very reasonable, and such as would not be burdensome to the people. The king, however, was pleased to abate one half, choosing rather to keep a great deal within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.

But notwithstanding this extraordinary moderation on the king's part, as there is something odious in all imposts, the Persians, who had given the surname of Father to Cyrus, and of Master to Cambyzes, thought fit to characterize Darius by that of Merchant.²

The several sums levied by the imposition of these tributes or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in the whole to about 44,000,000 *per annum* French, or something less than 2,000,000 English money.

After the death of the Magian impostor,³ it was agreed that the Persian noblemen who had conspired against him, should, besides several other marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of those noblemen, being refused admittance into the king's apartment at a time when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage attacked the officers of the palace, abused them outrageously, cutting their faces with his scymitar. Darius highly resented so heinous an insult; and at first apprehended it might be a conspiracy amongst the noblemen. But when he was well assured of the contrary, he caused Intaphernes, with his children, and all that were of his family, to be seized, and had them all condemned to death, confounding through a blind excess of severity, the innocent with the guilty. In these unhappy circumstances, the wife of the criminal went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the most lamentable manner, and never ceasing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetic eloquence of sorrow and distress. The king could not resist to moving a spectacle, and besides her own, granted her the pardon of any one of her family whom she should choose. This gave the unhappy lady great perplexity, who desired, no doubt to save them all. At last, after a long deliberation, she determined in favour of her brother.

This choice, wherein she seemed not to have followed the sentiments which nature should dictate to a mother and a wife, surprised the king; and when he desired she might be asked the reason of it, she made answer, that by a second marriage the loss of a husband and children might be retrieved; but that, her father and mother being dead, there was no possibility of recovering a brother. Darius, besides the life

of her brother, granted her the same favour for the eldest of her children.

I have already related in this volume,⁴ by what an instance of perfidiousness Oretes, one of the king's governors in Asia Minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and detestable a crime did not go unpunished. Darius found out, that Oretes strangely abused his power, making no account of the blood of those persons who had the misfortune to displease him. This satrap carried his insolence so far, as to put to death a messenger sent him by the king, because the orders he had brought him were disagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himself well settled in the throne, would not venture to attack him openly; for the satrap had no less than 1000 soldiers for his guard, not to mention the soldiers he was able to raise from his government, which included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a secret manner to rid himself of so dangerous a servant. With this commission he intrusted one of his officers, of approved fidelity and attachment to his person. The officer, under pretence of other business, went to Sardis, where with great dexterity, he sounded the dispositions of the people. To pave the way to his design, he first gave the principal officers of the governor's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more express and particular. And as soon as he found himself perfectly sure of the disposition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king in plain terms commanded them to put the governor to death; and this order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiscated to the king; and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa. Among the rest there was a celebrated physician of Crotona, whose name was Democedes. This physician's story is very singular, and happened to be the occasion of some considerable events.

Not long after the forementioned transaction,⁵ Darius chanced to have a fall from his horse in hunting by which he wrenched one of his feet in so violent manner, and put his heel out of joint. The Egyptians were then reckoned the most skillful in physic; for which reason the king had several physicians of that nation about him. These undertook to cure the king,⁶ and exerted all their skill on so important an occasion; but they were so awkward in the operation, and in the handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; so that he passed seven days and seven nights without sleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occasion by some person, who had heard him extolled at Sardis as a very able physician. He was sent for immediately, and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and a very poor apparel; for he was at that time actually a prisoner. The king asked him, whether he had any knowledge of physic? At first he denied he had, fearing, that if he should give any proofs of his skill, he should be detained in Persia, and by that means be forever debarred from returning to his own country, for which he had an exceeding affection. Darius, displeased with his answer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was necessary to own the truth; and therefore offered his service to the king. The first thing he did was to apply gentle fomentations to the part affected. This remedy had a speedy effect; the king recovered his sleep; and in a few days was perfectly cured, both of the sprain and the dislocation. To recompense the physician, the king made him a present of two pair of golden chains. Upon which Democedes asked him whether he meant to reward the happy success of his endeavours by doubling his misfortunes? The king was pleased with that saying; and ordered his eunuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, that they might see the person to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very magnificent pre-

¹ Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 172.

² ΚΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ signifies something still more mean and contemptible, but I do not know how to express it in our language. It may signify a broker or a retailer, any one that buys to sell again.

³ Herod. i. iii. c. 118, 119.

⁴ Herod. i. iii. c. 120, 122.

⁵ Ib. c. 129, 130

⁶ Anciently the same persons practised both as physicians and surgeons.

sents; so that in one day's time he became extremely rich.

Democedes was a native of Crotona,¹ a city of Græcia Magna in the lower Calabria in Italy, from whence he had been obliged to fly, on account of the ill-treatment he received from his father. He first went to Ægina,² where, by several successful cures, he acquired great reputation: the inhabitants of this place settled on him a yearly pension of a talent. The talent contained sixty minæ, and was worth about 3000 livres French money. Some time after he was invited to Athens; where they augmented his pension to 5000 livres *per annum*.³ After this he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a pension of 2000 crowns.⁴ It redounds much to the honour of cities or princes, by handsome pensions or salaries, to engage such persons in their service as are of public benefit to mankind; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and settle among them. The Crotonians from this time had the reputation of having the ablest physicians; and next after them, the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argives were at the same time reputed to excel in music.

Democedes,⁵ after performing this cure upon the king, was admitted to the honour of eating at his table, and came to have great influence at Susa. At his intercession, the Egyptian physicians were pardoned, who had all been condemned to be hanged for having been less skilful than the Grecian physician; as if they were obliged to answer for the success of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. This is a strange abuse, though too common an effect of unlimited power, which is seldom guided by reason or equity, and which, being accustomed to see every thing give way implicitly to its authority, expects that its commands, of what nature soever, should be instantly performed! We have seen something of this kind in the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general sentence of death upon all his magicians, because they could not divine what it was he had dreamed in the night, which he himself had forgotten. Democedes procured also the enlargement of several of those persons who had been imprisoned with him. He lived in the greatest affluence, and was in the highest esteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great distance from his own country, and his thoughts and desires were continually bent upon Greece.

He had the good fortune to perform another cure,⁶ which contributed to raise his credit and reputation still higher. Atossa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breast. As long as the pain was moderate, she bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on herself, out of modesty, to discover her disorder. But at last she was constrained to it, and sent for Democedes; who promised to cure her, and at the same time requested that she would be pleased to grant him a certain favour he should beg of her, entirely consistent with her honour. The queen engaged her word, and was cured. The favour desired by the physician was to procure him a journey into his own country; and the queen was not unmindful of her promise. It was worth while to take notice of such events,⁷ which though not very considerable in themselves, yet give occasion to the greatest enterprises of princes, and are even the secret springs and distant causes of them.

As Atossa was conversing one day with Darius, she took occasion to represent to him, that, as he was in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring the fatigues of war, and had numerous armies at command, it would be for his honour to form some great enterprise, and let the Persians see they had a man of courage for their king. You have hit my thoughts, replied Darius; for I was meditating

an attack upon the Scythians. I had much rather, says Atossa, that you would first turn your arms against Greece. I have heard great things said in praise of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth; and should be very glad to have some of them in my service. Besides, you have a person here that might be very useful to you in such an enterprise, and could give you a perfect knowledge of the country: the person I mean is Democedes, who hath cured both you and me. This was enough for the king, and the affair was resolved upon immediately. Fifteen Persian noblemen were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and to examine with him all the maritime places as thoroughly as possible. The king strictly charged these persons, above all things, to keep watchful eye upon the physician, that he did not give them the slip, and to bring him back with them to the Persian court.

Darius, in giving such an order, plainly showed he did not understand the proper methods for engaging men of abilities and merit to reside in his dominions, and for attaching them to his person. To pretend to do this by authority and compulsion, is the sure way of suppressing all knowledge and industry, and of driving away the liberal arts and sciences, which must be free and unconfin'd, like the genius from whence they spring. For one man of genius that will be kept in a country by force, thousands will be driven away who would probably have chosen to reside in it, if they could enjoy their liberty and meet with kind treatment.

When Darius had formed his design of sending in to Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occasion he had for his service in conducting the Persian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to observe their situation and strength: at the same time earnestly desiring him, that, when that was done, he would return back with them to Persia. The king permitted him to carry all his moveables with them, and give them, if he pleased, to his father and brothers, promising, at his return, to give him as many of greater value; and signified to him farther, that he would order the galley in which he was to sail, to be laden with very rich presents, for him to bestow as he thought fit on the rest of his family. The king's intention appeared, by this manner of speaking, to be undisguised and without artifice: but Democedes was afraid it might be a snare laid for him, to discover whether he intended to return to Persia or not; and therefore, to remove all suspicion, he left his own goods behind him at Susa, and only took with him the presents designed for his family.

The first place the commissioners landed at was Sidon in Phenicia, where they equipped two large vessels for themselves, and put all they had brought along with them on board a transport. After having passed through, and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum in Italy. Here the Persian noblemen were taken up as spies; and Democedes, taking advantage of this arrest, made his escape from them, and fled to Crotona. When the Persian lords had recovered their liberty, they pursued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotonians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover seized the loaded vessel; and the Persians, having lost their guide, laid aside the thoughts of going through the other parts of Greece, and set out for their own country. Democedes let them know, at their departure, that he was going to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wrestler of Crotona, whose name was very well known to the king. This voyage of the Persian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate consequence; because on their return home, they found the king engaged in other affairs.

In the third year of this king's reign,⁸ which was but the second A. M. 3485. according to the Jewish computation, the Samaritans gave the Jews new trouble. In the preceding reigns, they had procured an order to prohibit the Jews from proceeding

¹ Herod. l. iii. c. 131.

² An island between Attica and Peloponnesus.

³ 100 minæ.

⁴ Herod. l. iii. c. 132.

⁵ Two talents.

⁶ lb. c. 135. 137.

⁷ Non sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia.

⁸ et quæ magnam sepe ipsam motus orientur. Tac. l. iv.

any farther in building of the temple of Jerusalem. But upon the earnest exhortation of the prophets, and the express order of God, the Israelites had lately resumed the work, which had been interrupted for several years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourse to their ancient practices, to prevent them. To this end they applied to Tattenai, whom Darius had made governor of the provinces of Syria and Palestine. They complained to him of the audacious proceedings of the Jews, who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, presumed to rebuild their temple: which must necessarily be prejudicial to the king's interests. Upon this representation of theirs, the governor thought fit to go himself to Jerusalem. And being a person of great equity and moderation, when he had inspected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a stop to it without any farther deliberation; but inquired of the Jewish elders what license they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus, he would not of himself ordain any thing in contradiction to it, but sent an account of the matter to the king, and desired to know his pleasure. He gave the king a true representation of the matter, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus, which the Jews alleged in their justification, and desired him to order the registers to be consulted, to know whether Cyrus had really published such an edict, and to be pleased to send him instructions how he was to act in the affair. Darius having commanded the registers to be examined,¹ the edict was found at Ecbatana, in Media, the place where Cyrus was at the time of its being granted. Now Darius having a great respect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and caused another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing else to influence the king, would be very laudable; but the Scripture informs us, that it was God himself who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inspired him with a favourable disposition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itself. In the first place it ordains, that all the victims, oblations, and other expenses of the temple, be abundantly furnished the Jews, as the priests should require: in the second place it enjoins the priests of Jerusalem, when they offered their sacrifices to the God of Heaven, to pray for the preservation of the life of the king and the princes his children; and lastly, it goes so far as to denounce imprecations against all princes and people that should hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that should attempt to destroy it: by all which Darius evidently acknowledges, that the God of Israel is able to overturn the kingdoms of the world, and to dethrone the most mighty and powerful princes.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authorized to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expenses thereof were also to be furnished to them out of the taxes and imposts of the province. What must have become of the Jews, when the crimes of disobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at such a juncture their superiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to justify themselves.

The same prince, some time after, gave a still more signal proof of his love for justice, and of his abhorrence of informers, a detestable race of men, by their very nature and condition enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious that I mean the famous edict, published by this prince against Haman, in favour of the Jews, at the request of Esther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vashti, one of his wives. According to archbishop Usher, this Vashti is the same person as is called by profane writers Atossa; and the Ahasuerus of the Holy Scriptures the same as Darius; but according to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being related in the sacred history: I have given, however, a brief account of it in this volume.

Such actions of justice do great honour to a prince's

memory; as do also those of gratitude, of which Darius, on a certain occasion, gave a very laudable instance. Syloson,² brother to Polycrates tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a present of a suit of clothes, of a curious red colour, which extremely pleased Darius's fancy, and would never suffer him to make any return for it. Darius at that time was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyses, whom he accompanied to Memphis, in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Persia, Syloson went to Susa, presented himself at the gate of his palace, and caused himself to be announced as a Grecian, to whom his majesty was under some obligation. Darius, surprised at such a message, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be brought in. When he saw him, he remembered him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor; and was so far from being ashamed of an adventure which might seem not to be much for his honour, that he ingeniously applauded the gentleman's generosity, which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleasure to a person from whom he could have no expectations; and then proposed to make him a considerable present of gold and silver. But money was not the thing Syloson desired: the love of his country was his predominant passion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would settle him at Samos, without shedding the blood of his citizens, by driving out the person that had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius consented, and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with success.³

SECTION II.—REVOLT AND REDUCTION OF BABYLON.

IN the beginning of the fifth year of Darius, Babylon revolted, and A. M. 3488. could not be reduced till after a Ant. J. C. 516. twenty months' siege. This city, formerly mistress of the East, grew impatient of the Persian yoke, especially after the removing of the imperial seat to Susa, which very much diminished Babylon's wealth and grandeur. The Babylonians, taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Persia, first on the death of Cambyses, and afterwards on the massacre of the Magians, made secretly for four years together all kinds of preparations for war. When they thought the city sufficiently stored with provisions for many years, they set up the standard of rebellion; which obliged Darius to besiege them with all his forces. Now God continued to accomplish those terrible threatenings he had denounced against Babylon: that he would not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waste with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal solitude. In order to fulfil these predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel against Darius, and by that means to draw upon themselves the whole force of the Persian empire; and they themselves were the first to put these prophecies in execution, by destroying a great number of their own people, as will be seen presently. It is probable that the Jews, of whom a considerable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city before the siege was formed, as the prophet Isaiah⁴ and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before, and Zechariah very lately in the following terms: *Thou Zion that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country, and save thyself.*

The Babylonians to make their provision last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was heard of; which was, to destroy all such of their own people as were unserviceable on this occasion. For this purpose they assembled together all their wives and children, and strangled them. Only every man was allowed to keep his best beloved wife, and one servant-maid to do the business of the family.

¹ Herod. i. lii. c. 139, 140.

² Ib. c. 150—160.

³ Isa. xlviii. 2. Jer. i. 2. li. 6, 9, 45. Zech. ii. 6—9

⁴ Ezra c. vi.

After this cruel execution, the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themselves out of all danger both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vast quantity of provisions they had laid up, began to insult the besiegers from the tops of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Persians, for the space of eighteen months, did all that force or stratagem was capable of, to make themselves masters of the city; nor did they forget to make use of the same means as had so happily succeeded with Cyrus some years before; I mean that of turning the course of the river. But all their efforts were fruitless; and Darius began almost to despair of taking the place, when a stratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was strangely surprised one morning to see Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven lords that made the association against the Magians; to see him, I say, appear before him all over blood, with his nose and ears cut off, and his whole body disfigured with wounds. Starting up from his throne, he cried out, "Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus?"—"You yourself, O king," replied Zopyrus. "The desire I had of rendering you service has put me into this condition. As I was fully persuaded that you would never have consented to this method, I took counsel alone of the zeal which I have for your service." He then opened to him his design of going over to the enemy; and they settled every thing together that was proper to be done. The king could not see him set out upon this extraordinary project without the utmost affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city; and having told them who he was, was soon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having dissuaded him from continuing any longer before a city which it was impossible for him to take. He offered the Babylonians his service, which could not fail of being highly useful to them, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the Persians, and since the desire of revenge would inspire him with fresh courage and resolution. His name and person were both well known at Babylon: the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his wounds, testified for him; and by proofs not to be suspected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore placed implicit confidence in whatsoever he told them, and gave him moreover the command of as many troops as he desired. In the first sally he made he cut off 1000 of the besiegers: a few days after he killed double the number; and on the third time, 4000 of their men lay dead upon the spot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus; the whole city strove who should extol him most, and they had not words sufficient to express their high value for him, and how happy they esteemed themselves in having gained so great a man. He was now declared generalissimo of their forces, and intrusted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and made him by that means master of a city, which he never could have been able to take either by force or famine.

As powerful as this prince was, he found himself incapable of making a sufficient recompense for so great a service; and he used often to say, that he would with pleasure sacrifice 100 Babylons, if he had them, to restore Zopyrus to the condition he was in before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himself. He settled upon him, during life, the whole revenue of this opulent city, of which he alone had procured him the possession, and heaped all the honours upon him that a king could possibly confer upon a subject. Megabyzus, who commanded the Persian army in Egypt against the Athenians, was the son to this Zopyrus; and that Zopyrus who went over to the Athenians as a deserter, was his grandson.

Not sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon,

than he ordered the 100 gates to be pulled down and all the walls of that proud city to be entirely demolished, that she might never be in a condition to rebel more against him. If he had pleased to make use of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occasion have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himself with causing 3000 of those who were principally concerned in the revolt to be impaled, and granted a pardon to all the rest. And, in order to hinder the depopulation of the city, he caused 50,000 women to be brought from the several provinces of his empire, to supply the place of those whom the inhabitants had so cruelly destroyed at the beginning of the siege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty she had exercised towards the Jews, in falling upon a free people without any reason or provocation; in destroying their government, laws, and worship; in forcing them from their country, and transporting them to a strange land; where they imposed a most grievous yoke of servitude upon them, and made use of all their power to crush and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however by God, and having the honour to be styled his peculiar people.

SECTION III.—DARIUS PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS. A DIGRESSION UPON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT NATION.

AFTER the reduction of Babylon,¹ Darius made great preparations for war against the Scythians, who inhabited that large tract of land which lies between the Danube and the Tannais. His pretence for undertaking this war was, to be revenged of that nation for the invasion of Asia by their ancestors;² a very frivolous and sorry pretext; and a very ridiculous ground for reviving an old quarrel, which had ceased 120 years before.

While the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which lasted eight-and-twenty years, the Scythians' wives married their slaves. When the husbands were on their return home, these slaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and disputed their entrance into their country. After some battles fought with nearly equal loss on both sides, the masters considering that it was doing too much honour to their slaves to put them upon the foot of soldiers, marched against them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This stratagem had the intended effect: for not being able to bear the sight of their masters thus armed, they all ran away.

I designed in this place to imitate Herodotus, who in writing of this war takes occasion to give an ample account of all that relates to the customs and manners of the Scythians. But I shall be much more brief in my account of this matter than he is.

A Digression concerning the Scythians.

Formerly there were Scythians both in Europe and Asia, most of them inhabiting those parts that lie towards the North. I design now chiefly to treat of the first, namely, of the European Scythians.

Historians, in the accounts they have left us of the manners and character of the Scythians, relate things of them that are entirely opposite and contradictory to one another. One while they represent them as the justest and most moderate people in the world; another while they describe them as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carried its cruelty to such excesses, as are shocking to human nature. This contrariety is a manifest proof, that those different characters are to be applied to different nations in that vast and extensive tract of country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one and the same general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

¹ Herod. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. ii. c. 5

² Mention is made of this before.

Strabo¹ has quoted authors, who mention some Scythians dwelling upon the coast of the Euxine sea, that cut the throats of all strangers who came amongst them, fed upon their flesh, and made pots and drinking vessels of their skulls, when they had dried them. Herodotus,² in describing the sacrifices which the Scythians offered to the god Mars, says, they used to offer human victims. Their manner of making treaties,³ according to this author's account, was very strange and particular.

They first poured wine into a large earthen vessel,⁴ and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let some of their blood run into the wine, and stained likewise their armour therein; after which they themselves, and all that were present, drank of that liquor, uttering the heaviest imprecations against the person that should violate the treaty.

But what the same historian relates,⁵ concerning the ceremonies observed at the funeral of their kings, is still more extraordinary. I shall only mention such of those ceremonies, as may serve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died, they embalmed his body, and wrapped it up in wax; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, exposing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finished, they laid the body down in the place appointed for the burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his master of horse, his chancellor, his secretary of state, who were all put to death for that purpose. To these they added several horses, a great number of drinking vessels, and a certain part of all the furniture belonging to their deceased monarch: after which they filled up the grave, and covered it with earth. This was not all. When the anniversary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the same number of horses, and, having first prepared their bodies for the purpose, by embowelling them and stuffing them with straw, they placed the officers on horseback round the king's tomb, probably to serve him as guards. These ceremonies in all appearance took their rise from a notion they might have of their king's being still alive; and upon this supposition they judged it necessary, that he should have his court and ordinary officers still about him. Whether employments, which terminated in this manner, were much sought after, I will not determine.

It is now time to pass to the consideration of their manners and customs, milder and more humane; though possibly in another sense they may appear to be equally savage. The account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from Justin.⁶ According to this author, the Scythians lived in great innocence and simplicity. They were ignorant indeed of all arts and sciences, but then they were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any division of their lands amongst themselves, says Justin: it would have been in vain for them to have done it; since they had not apply themselves to cultivate them. Horace, in one of his odes, of which I shall insert a part by and by, tells us, that some of them did cultivate a certain portion of land allotted to them for one year only, at the expiration of which they were relieved by others, who succeeded them on the same conditions. They had no houses, nor settled habitation; but wandered continually with their cattle and their flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in waggons, covered with the skins of beasts, which were all the houses they had to dwell in. Justice⁷ was observed and maintained amongst them through the natural temper and disposition of the people, and not by any

compulsion of laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No crime was more severely punished amongst them than theft; and that with good reason. For their herds and flocks, in which all their riches consisted, being never shut up, how could they possibly subsist, if theft had not been most rigorously punished? They coveted neither silver nor gold, like the rest of mankind; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were strangers to the use of linen or woollen manufactures; and to decend themselves from the violent and continued cold of their climate, they made use of nothing but the skins of beasts.

I said before, that these manners of the Scythians might appear to some people very wild and savage. And indeed, what can be said for a nation that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has herds of cattle, of which they content themselves with eating the milk, and neglect the flesh? The wool of their sheep might supply them with warm and comfortable clothes, and yet they use no other raiment than the skins of animals. But that which is the greatest demonstration of their ignorance and savageness, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and silver, which have always been had in such great request in all civilized nations.

But, oh! how happy was this ignorance; how vastly preferable this savage state to our pretended politeness! This contempt of all the conveniences of life, says Justin,⁸ was attended with such an honesty and uprightness of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbours' goods. For the desire of riches can only take place, where riches can be made use of. And would to God, says the same author, we could see the same moderation prevail among the rest of mankind, and the like indifference to the goods of other people! The world would not then have been seen was perpetually succeeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of those that are cut off by the sword, exceed that of those who fall by the irreversible decree and law of nature.

Justin finishes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. It is a surprising thing, says he,⁹ that a happy natural disposition, without the assistance of education, should have inspired the Scythians with such a wisdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain to, neither by the institutions of their legislators, nor the rules and precepts of all their philosophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation should be preferable to those of a people so much improved and refined by the polite arts and sciences. So much more happy effects were produced by the ignorance of vice in the one, than by the knowledge of virtue in the other!

The Scythian fathers¹⁰ thought with good reason that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another. One of their kings, whose name was Scylurus, finding himself draw near his end, sent for all his children, and giving to each of them one after another a bundle of arrows tied fast together, desired them to break them. Each used his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very easily broken.—Let this image, says the father, be a lesson to you of the mighty advantage that results from union and concord. In order to strengthen and enlarge these domestic advantages,¹¹ the Scythians

¹ Hæc continentia illis morum quoque justitiam indidit, nihil alienum concupiscuntibus. Quippe iidem divitiarum cupidæ est, ubi et usus. Atque utinam relictis mortalibus similibus moderatio et abstinentia alieni foret! profecto non tantum bellorum per omnia secula terris omnibus continuatur; neque plus hominum ferrum et arma, quam naturalis fatorem conditio rapere.

² Porcus ut admirabile videatur, hæc illis naturam dedit quod Græci longa sapientium doctrina præceptisque phylloso-phorum consequi nequeunt, cultoque moris inculcatis barbaris collatione superari. Tantò plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignorantia, quàm in his cognitio virtutis!

³ Plut. de garrul. p. 511.

⁴ I acian in Tex. p. 52.

¹ Strab. l. vii. p. 208.

² Herod. l. iv. c. 62.

³ This custom was still practised by the Iberians, who were originally Scythians, in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it. Ann. l. xii. c. 47.

⁴ Herod. l. iv. c. 70.

⁵ Ib. c. 71, 72.

⁶ Lib. ii. c. 2.

⁷ Justitia gentis ingenis culta, non legibus.

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used to admit their friends into the same terms of union with them as their relations. Friendship was considered by them as a sacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from that which nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.

Ancient authors seem to have vied with each other who should most extol the innocence of manners, that reigned among the Scythians, by magnificent encomiums. That of Horace, I shall transcribe at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to the Scythians, but joins the Getæ with them, who were their near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs against the luxury and irregularities of the age in which he lived. After having told us, that peace and tranquillity of mind is not to be procured either by immense riches, or sumptuous buildings, he adds, "A hundred times happier are the Scythians, who roam about in their itinerant houses, their waggon; and happier even are the frozen Getæ. With them the earth, without being divided by land-marks, produceth her fruits, which are gathered in common. There each man's tillage is but of one year's continuance; and when that term of his labour is expired, he is relieved by a successor, who takes his place, and manures the ground on the same conditions. There the innocent step-mothers form no cruel designs against the lives of their husbands' children by a former wife. The wives do not pretend to domineer over their husbands on account of their fortunes, nor are to be corrupted by the insinuating language of spruce adulterers. The greatest portion of the maiden is her father's and mother's virtue, her inviolable attachment to her husband, and her perfect disregard of all other men. They dare not be unfaithful, because they are convinced that infidelity is a crime, and its reward is death."

When we consider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we possibly forbear to look upon them with esteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at least, bear a great resemblance to that of the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation; who did not till the ground; who had no other occupation than that of feeding their flocks and herds; and who dwelt in tents? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not understanding, or rather for despising, the use of gold and silver? Is it not to be wished that those metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth,¹ and that they had never been dug from thence to become the causes and instruments of almost every crime? What advantage could gold or silver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the necessities of men actually require, and who took care to set narrow bounds to those necessities? It is no wonder, that, living as they did, without houses, they should make no account of those arts that were so highly valued in other places, as architecture, sculpture, and painting; or that they should despise fine clothes and costly furniture, since they found the skins of beasts sufficient to defend them against the inclemency of the seasons. After all, can we truly

say, that these pretended advantages contribute to the real happiness of life? Were those nations that had them in the greatest plenty, more healthful or robust than the Scythians? Did they live to a greater age than they? Or did they spend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or a greater exemption from cares and troubles? Let us acknowledge, to the shame of ancient philosophy; the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themselves to the study of wisdom, carried it however to a greater height in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the name of goods or riches to any thing, but, what, humanly speaking, truly deserved that title; as health, strength, courage, the love of labour and liberty, innocence of life, sincerity, an abhorrence of all fraud and dissimulation, and, in a word, all such qualities as render a man more virtuous and more valuable. If to these happy dispositions, we could add the knowledge and love of the true God and of our Redeemer, without which the most exalted virtues are of no value, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of the present age, we are tempted to believe, that the pencils which drew so beautiful a picture, were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Justin and Horace have decked them with virtues that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the same testimony of them; and Homer in particular, whose opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them *the most just and upright of men*.

But at length (who could believe it?) luxury, which might be thought to thrive only in an agreeable and delightful soil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the fences, which the constant practice of several ages, founded in the nature of the climate and the genius of the people, had set against it, did at last effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them in that respect, upon a level with the other nations, where it had long been predominant. It is Strabo,² that acquaints us with this particular, which is very worthy of our notice: he lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. After having greatly commended the simplicity, frugality, and innocence, of the ancient Scythians, and their extreme aversion to all deceit and dissimulation, he owns, that their intercourse in later times with other nations, had extirpated those virtues, and planted the contrary vices in their stead. One would think, says he, that the natural effect of such an intercourse with civilized and polite nations, would only have been that of rendering them more humanized and courteous, by softening that air of savageness and ferocity, which they had before; but, instead of that, it introduced a total ruin of their ancient manners, and transformed them into quite different creatures. It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenius says,³ the Scythians abandoned themselves to voluptuousness and luxury, at the same time that they suffered self-interest and avarice to prevail amongst them.

Strabo, in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny, but that it was to the Romans and Grecians this fatal change of manners was owing. Our example, says he, has perverted almost all the nations of the world: by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleasure amongst them, we have taught them insincerity and fraud, and a thousand kinds of shameful and infamous arts to get money. It is a miserable talent, and a very unhappy distinction for a nation, through its ingenuity in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing that tends to nourish and promote luxury, to become the corrupter of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were, of their vices and debauchery.

It was against these Scythians, but at a time when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmost vigour, that Darius turned his arms. This expedition I am now going to relate.

¹ Campestre melius Scythæ,
Quorum plastra vagas rîdè trahunt domos,
Vivant, et rigidi Getæ:
Immediata quibus juventa liberâs
Fruens et Cæcerem ferunt!
Nec cultura placeat longior annus;
Infunctumque laboribus
Æquâli recreat sortis vicariis.
Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens:
Nec dotata recit
Conjux, nec nitido fidi adultero.
Ducunt magna parentum
Virtus, et metuens altitudo viri.
Certe fœdere castitas:
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium esse mori.

Hor. Lib. iii. Od. 24.

² Aurum irreperitum, et sic melius situm
Cum terra celat, spernemus furit,
Quam cugere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.

Hor. Lib. iii. Od. 3.

³ Lib. vii. p. 301.

⁴ Lib. xii. p. 534.

SECTION IV.—DARIUS'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS.

I HAVE already observed,¹ that the pretence used by Darius, for undertaking this war against the Scythians, was the irruption formerly made by that people into Asia; but in reality he had no other end than to satisfy his own ambition, and to extend his conquests.

His brother Artabanes, for whom he had a great regard, and who, on his side, had no less zeal for the true interests of the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occasion to speak his sentiments with all the freedom that an affair of such importance required. "Great prince," says he to him,² "they who form any great enterprise, ought carefully to consider, whether it will be beneficial or prejudicial to the state; whether the execution of it will be easy or difficult; whether it will be likely to augment or diminish their glory; and lastly, whether the thing designed be consistent with, or contrary to, the rules of justice. For my own part, I cannot perceive, sir, even though you were sure of success, what advantage you can propose to yourself in undertaking a war against the Scythians. Consider the vast distance between them and you; and the prodigious space of land and sea that separates them from your dominions; besides, they are a people that dwell in wild and uncultivated deserts; that have neither towns nor houses; that have no fixed settlement, or place of habitation; and that are destitute of all manner of riches. What have your troops to gain from such an expedition? or, to speak more properly, what have they not rather to lose?"

Accustomed as the Scythians are to remove from country to country, if they should think proper to fly before you, not out of cowardice or fear, for they are a very courageous and warlike people, but only with a design to harass and ruin your army by continual and fatiguing marches; what will become of us in such an uncultivated, barren, and naked country, where we shall neither find forage for our horses, nor provision for our men? I am afraid, sir, that through a false notion of glory, and the insinuations of flatterers, you may be hurried into a war, which may turn to the dishonour of the nation. You now enjoy the sweets of peace and tranquillity in the midst of your people, where you are the object of their admiration, and the author of their happiness. You are sensible the gods have placed you upon the throne to be their coadjutor, or, to speak more properly, to be the dispenser of their bounty, rather than the minister of their power. You pride yourself upon being the protector, the guardian, and the father of your subjects; and you often declare to us, because you really believe so, that you look upon yourself as invested with sovereign power, only to make your people happy. What exquisite joy must it be to so great a prince as you are, to be the source of so many blessings; and under the shadow of your name to preserve such infinite numbers of people in so desirable a tranquillity? Is not the glory of a king who loves his subjects, and is beloved by them; who, instead of waging war against neighbouring or distant nations, makes use of his power to keep them in peace and amity with each other; is not such a glory infinitely preferable to that of ravaging and spoiling a country, of filling the earth with slaughter and desolation, with horror, consternation, and despair? But there is one motive more, which ought to have a greater influence upon you than all others; I mean that of justice. Thanks to the gods, you are not of the number of those princes, who acknowledge no other law than that of force,³ and who imagine that they have a peculiar privilege annexed to their dignity, which private persons have

not, of invading other men's properties. You do not make your greatness consist in being able to do whatever you will,⁴ but in willing only what may be done without infringing the laws, or violating justice. To speak plain, shall one man be reckoned unjust, and a robber, for seizing on a few acres of his neighbour's estate; and shall another be reckoned just and great, and have the title of hero, because he seizes upon and usurps whole provinces? Permit me sir, to ask you, what title have you to Scythia? What injury have the Scythians done you? What reason can you alledge for declaring war against them? The war, indeed, in which you have been engaged against the Babylonians, was at the same time both just and necessary; the gods have accordingly crowned your arms with success. It belongs to you, sir, to judge, whether that which you are now going to undertake, be of the same nature."

Nothing but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince and the good of his country, could inspire such a freedom: as, on the other hand, nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius,⁵ as Tacitus observes of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things which are generally incompatible, the sovereignty and liberty. Far from being offended at the freedom used by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, though he did not follow it; for he had taken his resolution. He departed from Susa at the head of an army of 700,000 men; and his fleet, consisting of 600 ships, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations that dwelt upon the sea-coasts of Asia Minor and the Hellespont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Bosphorus, which he passed upon a bridge of boats: after which, having made himself master of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube otherwise called the Ister, where he had ordered his fleet to join him. In several places on his march he caused pillars to be erected with magnificent inscriptions, in one of which he suffered himself to be called, *the best and handsomest of all men living*. What vanity! what a littleness of soul was this!

And yet if this prince's faults had terminated only in sentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excusable than they do, at least they would not have been so pernicious to his subjects. But how shall we reconcile Darius's disposition,⁶ which seemed to be so exceedingly humane and gentle, with his barbarous and cruel behaviour towards Oebazus, a venerable old man, whose merit as well as quality, entitled him to respect? This nobleman had three sons, who were all preparing themselves to attend the king in this expedition against the Scythians. Upon Darius's departure from Susa, the good old father begged as a favour of him, that he would please to leave him one of his sons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age. One, replied Darius, *will not be sufficient for you; I will leave you all the three*; and immediately he caused them all to be put to death.

When the army had passed the Danube upon a bridge of boats,⁷ the king was for having the bridge broken down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving so considerable a detachment of his troops as was necessary to guard it. But one of his officers represented to him, that it might be proper to keep that, as a necessary resource, in case the war with the Scythians should prove unfortunate. The king acquiesced, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians, who built it; giving them leave, at the same time, to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the space of two months: he then proceeded on his march to Scythia.

As soon as the Scythians were informed that Da-

¹ Herod. l. iv. c. 23—96.

² Omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, metum debent, an quod incubatur, reipublice utile, ipsi gloriosum, aut primum effectum, aut certe non arduum sit. *Tacit. Hist. l. ii. 76.*

³ Id in summa fortuna equius, quod validius: et sua ratione private domus: de alienis certare, regiam laudem esse. *Tacit. Annal. l. xxv. c. 1.*

⁴ Ut felicitatis est quantum velis posse, sic magnitudinis velle quantum possis. *Plin. in Panegy. Traj.*

⁵ Novus Cmsar res olim dissonabiles miscuit, principatum et libertatem. *Tacit. in vit. Agric. cap. iii.*

⁶ Herod. l. iv. c. 84. Senec. de Ira, c. 16

⁷ Herod. l. iv. c. 90, 101.

rius was marching against them,¹ they immediately entered into consultation upon the measures necessary to be taken. They were very sensible, that they were not in a condition to resist by themselves so formidable an enemy. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring nations, and desired their assistance, alleging, that the danger was general, and concerned them all, and that it was their common interest to oppose an enemy, whose views of conquest were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable answers to their demand; others absolutely refused to enter into a war which, they said, did not regard them; but they had soon reason to repent their refusal.

One wise precaution taken by the Scythians,² was to place their wives and children in safety, by sending them in carriages to the most northern parts of the country; and with them likewise they sent all their herds and flocks, reserving nothing to themselves but what was necessary for the support of their army. Another precaution of theirs was to fill up all their wells, and stop up their springs, and to consume all the forage in those parts through which the Persian army was to pass. This done, they marched, in conjunction with their allies, against their enemy, not with a view of giving him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him into such places as suited best their interest. Whenever the Persians seemed disposed to attack them, they still retired farther up into the country; and thereby drew them on, from place to place, into the territories of those nations that had refused to enter into alliance with them, whose lands became a prey to the two armies of the Persians and Scythians.

Darius,³ weary of these tedious and fatiguing pursuits, sent a herald to the king of the Scythians, whose name was Indathyrus, with this message in his name:—"Prince of the Scythians, wherefore dost thou continually fly before me? Why dost thou not stop somewhere or other, either to give me battle, if thou believest thyself able to encounter me, or, if thou thinkest thyself too weak, to acknowledge thy master, by presenting him with earth and water?" The Scythians were a high-spirited people extremely jealous of their liberty, and prone to all sorts of violence to all slavery. Indathyrus sent Darius the following answer:—"If I fly before thee, prince of the Persians, it is not because I fear thee: what I do now, is no more than what I am used to do in time of peace. We Scythians have neither cities nor lands to defend: If thou hast a mind to force us to come to an engagement, come and attack the tombs of our fathers, and thou shalt find what manner of men we are. As to the title of master which thou assumest, keep it for other nations than the Assyrians. For my part, I acknowledge no other master than the great Jupiter, one of my own ancestors, and the goddess Vesta."

The farther Darius advanced into the country,⁴ the greater hardships his army was exposed to. Just when it was reduced to the last extremity, there came a herald from the Scythian prince, who was commissioned to present to Darius a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The king desired to know the meaning of those gifts. The messenger answered, that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the Persian king to find out the meaning. Darius concluded at first, that the Scythians thereby consented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were represented by the mouse and frog; as also their cavalry, whose swiftness was represented by the bird; together with their own persons and arms, signified by the arrows. But Gobryas, one of the seven lords that had deposed the Magian impostor, expounded the enigma in the following manner: "Know," says he to the Persians, "that unless you can fly in the air like birds, or hide yourselves in the earth like mice, or dive under the water like frogs, you shall in no wise be able to avoid the arrows of the Scythians."

And,⁵ indeed, the whole Persian army, marching

in a vast, uncultivated, and barren country, completely destitute of water, was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin; nor was Darius himself exempt from the common danger. He owed his preservation to a camel, which was loaded with water, and followed him with great difficulty through that wild and desert country. The king afterwards did not forget this benefactor; to reward him for the service he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return to Asia he settled a certain district of his own upon him for his peculiar use and subsistence, for which reason the place was called Gaugamela, that is, in the Persian tongue, *the Camel's habitation*. It was near the same place that Darius Codomanus received a second overthrow by Alexander the Great.

Darius deliberated no longer,⁶ finding himself under an absolute necessity of quitting his rash enterprise. He began then to think in earnest of returning home; and saw but too plainly, that there was no time to be lost. As soon therefore as night came, the Persians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires, as usual; and leaving the old men and the sick behind them in the camp together with all their asses, which made a sufficient noise, they set out upon their march, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone till the next morning; whereupon they immediately sent a considerable detachment to the Danube: this detachment being perfectly well acquainted with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a great while before the Persians. The Scythians had sent expresses beforehand to persuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country; and the latter had promised to do it, but without designing to execute their promise. The Scythians now pressed them to it more earnestly, and represented to them, that the time prescribed by Darius for staying there was elapsed; that they were at liberty to return home, without either violating their word or their duty; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yoke of their subjection, and make themselves a happy and free people; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterprises against any of his neighbours.

The Ionians entered into consultation upon the affair. Miltiades the Athenian, who was prince, or as the Greeks call it, tyrant, of the Chersonesus of Thrace, at the mouth of the Hellespont, was one of those that accompanied Darius, and furnished him with ships for his enterprise. Having the public interest more at heart than his private advantage,⁷ he was of opinion that they should comply with the request of the Scythians and embrace so favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia; all the other commanders acquiesced in his sentiments, except Hystieus, the tyrant of Miletus. When it came to his turn to speak, he represented to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius: that it was under that prince's protection that each of them was master in his own city; and if the power of the Persians should sink or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose their tyrants and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs were influenced by his opinion; and, as is usual in most cases, the consideration of private interest prevailed over the public good. They resolved therefore to wait for Darius; but in order to deceive the Scythians, and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared to them that they had resolved to retire, pursuant to their request; and, the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the same time to do their part, to return speedily back to meet the common enemy, to attack and defeat them. The Scythians being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a second time.

They missed Darius,⁸ who had taken a different

¹ Herod. l. iv. c. 102, 118, 119.

² Ib. c. 124, 125.

³ Ib. c. 126, 127.

⁴ Ib. c. 128, 132.

⁵ Strabo, l. vii. p. 305. l. xvi. p. 737

⁶ Herod. l. iv. c. 134, 140.

⁷ Amicior omnium libertati quam suae dominationi fuit.

Corn. Nep.

⁸ Herod. l. iv. c. 141, 144

route from that in which they expected to come up with him. He arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube, and, finding it broken down, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and that consequently he should be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hystieus, the Milesian, who at last answered, and put the king out of his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge; so that Darius repassed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyzus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country, and entirely reduce it to his obedience. After which he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following, in order to refresh his army which had suffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

Megabyzus continued some time in Thrace;¹ whose inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they had the discretion to unite their forces, and to choose one chief commander. Some of them had very particular customs. In one of their districts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expressed great sorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the prospect of the misery which the newborn infant had to experience. While on the other hand, on the death of any of their family, they all rejoiced because they looked upon the deceased person as happy only from that moment wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another district, where polygamy was in fashion, when a husband died, it was a great dispute among his wives which of them was best beloved. She in whose favour the contest was decided, had the privilege of being sacrificed by her nearest relation upon the tomb of her husband, and of being buried with him: whilst all the other wives envied her happiness, and thought themselves in some sort dishonoured.

Darius,² on his return to Sardis, after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, having learned for certain that he owed both his own safety and that of his whole army to Hystieus, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince to his court, and desired him freely to ask any favour in recompense of his service. Hystieus hereupon desired the king to give him Mircina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His request was readily granted; and he returned to Miletus, where he caused a fleet of ships to be equipped, and then set out for Thrace. Having taken possession of the territory granted him, he immediately set about the execution of his project in building a city.

Megabyzus,³ who was then governor of Thrace for Darius, immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in those quarters. He considered, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it abounded in timber fit for building of ships; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who were able to furnish great numbers of men for land and sea service; that, if once, those people were under the guidance of a leader so skilful and enterprising as Hystieus, they might become so powerful both by sea and land, that it would be no longer possible for the king to keep them in subjection; especially considering that they had a great many gold and silver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any project they might think fit to form. At his return to Sardis, he represented all these things to the king, who was convinced by his reasons, and therefore sent for Hystieus to come to him at Sardis, pretending to have some great designs in view, wherein he wanted the assistance of his counsel. When he had brought him to his court by this means, he carried him to Susa, making him believe that he set an extraordinary value upon a

friend of such fidelity and understanding; (two qualifications that rendered him very dear to him, and of which he had given such memorable proofs in the Scythian expedition; giving him to understand, at the same time, that he should be able to find something for him in Persia which would make him ample amends for all that he could leave behind him. Hystieus, pleased with so honourable a distinction, and finding himself likewise under a necessity of complying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and left Aristagoras to govern Miletus in his room.

Whilst Megabyzus was still in Thrace,⁴ he sent several Persian noblemen to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, to require him to give earth and water to Darius his master: this was the usual form of one prince's submitting to another. Amyntas readily complied with that request, and paid all imaginable honours to the envoys. Towards the end of an entertainment which he made for them, they desired that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the custom of the country: however the king would not venture to refuse them. The Persian noblemen being heated with wine, and thinking they might use the same freedom as in their own country, did not observe a due decorum towards those princesses. The king's son, whose name was Alexander, could not see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, without great resentment and indignation. Wherefore upon some pretence or other, he contrived to send the ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again presently, and had the precaution to get the king, his father, also out of the company. In this interval he caused some young men to be dressed like women, and to be armed with poinards under their garments. These pretended ladies came into the room instead of the others; and when the Persians began to treat them as they had before treated the princesses, they drew out their poinards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this slaughter soon reached Susa, and the king appointed commissioners to take cognizance of the matter; but Alexander by the power of bribes and presents, stifled the affair so that nothing came of it.

The Scythians,⁵ to be revenged of Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube, and ravaged all the part of Thrace that had submitted to the Persians as far as the Hellespont. Miltiades to avoid their fury, abandoned the Chersonesus; but after the enemy retired, he returned thither again, and was restored to the same power he had before over the inhabitants of the country.

SECTION V.—DARIUS'S CONQUEST OF INDIA.

ABOUT the same time, that is, A. M. 3496
in the thirteenth year of Darius's reign, this prince having an ambition to extend his dominion eastwards, first resolved, in order to facilitate his conquests, to get a proper knowledge of the country. To this end,⁶ he caused a fleet to be built and fitted out at Caspatyra, a city upon the Indus, and did the same at several other places on the same river, as far as the frontiers of Scythia.⁷ The command of this fleet was given to Scylax,⁸ a Grecian of Caryandis, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down that river, and get all the knowledge he possibly could of the country on both sides, quite down to the mouth of the river, to pass from thence into the Southern Ocean, and to steer his course afterwards to the west, and so return back that way to Persia. Scylax, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed quite down the river Indus, entered the Red Sea by the straits of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his setting out from Caspatyra, he arrived

¹ Herod. l. v. c. 17, 21.

² Ibid l. vi. c. 40.

³ Ibid. l. iv. c. 44.

⁴ Asiatic Scythia is meant.

⁵ There is a geographical treatise entitled Περσικὸς, and composed by one Scylax of Caryandis, who is thought to be the same person spoken of in this place. But that opinion is attended with some difficulties, which have given occasion to many learned dissertations.

⁶ Herod. l. v. c. 1.

⁷ Ibid. c. 11, 23.

⁸ Ibid. c. 23, 25.

in Egypt, at the same port from whence Necho,¹ king of Egypt, had formerly sent the Phœnicians, who were in his service, with orders to sail round the coasts of Africa. Very probably this was the same port where now stands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the Red Sea. From thence Scylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of all his discoveries. Darius afterwards entered India with an army, and subjected all that vast country. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of so important a war. But Herodotus says not one word about it: he only tells us, that India made the twentieth province,² or government, of the Persian empire, and that the annual revenue accruing from hence to Darius was 360 talents of gold, which amount to near 11,000,000 livres, French money, something less than 500,000*l.* sterling.

SECTION VI.—THE REVOLT OF THE IONIANS.

DARIUS,³ after his return to Susa from his Scythian expedition, A. M. 3500. Ant. J. C. 504. had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast in the room of Megabyzus.

From a small spark,⁴ kindled by a sedition at Naxos, a great flame arose, which gave occasion to a considerable war. Naxos was the most important island of the Cyclades in the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago. In this sedition the principal inhabitants having been overpowered by the populace, who were the greater number, many of the richest families were banished out of the island. Hereupon they fled to Miletus, and implored the assistance of Aristagoras, to reinstate them in their native place. He was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hystieus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along with him to Susa. Aristagoras promised to give these exiles the assistance they desired.

But not being powerful enough himself to execute what he had promised, he went to Sardis, and communicated the affair to Artaphernes. He represented to him that this was a very favourable opportunity for reducing Naxos under the power of Darius; that if he were once master of that island all the rest of the Cyclades would fall of themselves into his hands, one after another; that in consequence the isle of Æubœa (now Negropont,) which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near them, would be easily conquered, which would give the king a free passage into Greece, and the means of subjecting all that country; and, in short, that 100 ships would be sufficient for the effectual execution of this enterprise. Artaphernes was so pleased with the project, that instead of 100 vessels, which Aristagoras required, he promised him 200, in case he obtained the king's consent to the expedition.

The king, charmed with the mighty hopes with which he was flattered, very readily approved the enterprise, though founded only upon injustice and a boundless ambition, as also upon perfidiousness on the part of Aristagoras and Artaphernes. No consideration gave him a moment's pause. The most injurious project is formed and accepted without the least reluctance or scruple: motives of advantage and convenience solely determine. The isle lies convenient for the Persians; this is conceived a sufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms. And, indeed, most of the other expeditions of this prince had no better principle.

As soon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's consent to this project, he made the necessary preparations for executing it. The better to conceal his design, and to surprise the people of Naxos, he spread a report that his fleet was going towards the Hellespont; and the spring following he sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletus under the command of Megabates a Persian nobleman of the royal family of Achæmenes. But being directed in his commission

to obey the orders of Aristagoras, the high spirited Persian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, especially one who treated him in a haughty and imperious manner. This pique occasioned a breach between the two generals, which rose so high, that Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design formed against them. Upon which they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the capital of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire.

The project having thus miscarried,⁵ Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras, and entirely ruined his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionian instantly foresaw that this accident would be attended not only with the loss of his government, but with his utter ruin. The desperate situation to which he was reduced, made him think of revolting from the king, as the only expedient whereby he could possibly save himself. No sooner had he formed this design, than a messenger came to him from Hystieus, who gave him the same counsel. Hystieus, who had now been some years at the Persian court, being disgusted with the manners of that nation, and having an ardent desire to return to his own country, thought this the most likely means of accomplishing his wish, and therefore gave Aristagoras that counsel. He flattered himself, that in case any troubles arose in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them; and, in fact, the thing happened according to his expectation. As soon as Aristagoras found his design seconded by the orders of Hystieus, he imparted them to the principal persons of Ionia, whom he found extremely well disposed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himself wholly in making preparations for it.

The people of Tyre, having been reduced to slavery when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppression for the space of seventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were restored, according to Isaiah's prophecy,⁶ to the possession of their ancient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the services he expected to receive from that city (which was so powerful by sea) in reducing the Ionians to their ancient subjection. This was the nineteenth year of Darius's reign.

The next year, Aristagoras,⁷ in order to engage the Ionians to adhere the more closely to him, reinstated them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and resigned it into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his influence and perhaps by the fear that they would be forced to it whether they would or no, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the same in every city. They complied the more readily, as the Persian power, since the check it received in Scythia, was the less able to protect them against the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty, and a state of independence, and professed enemies to all tyranny. Having united them all in this manner in one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he set up the standard of rebellion against the king, and made great preparations by sea and land for supporting a war against him.

To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour,⁸ Aristagoras went in the beginning of the following year to Lacedæmon, in order to bring that city into his interest, and engage⁹ it, to furnish him with succours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta.

¹ Herod. l. iv. c. 42.

² Lib. v. c. 25.

³ Ibid. l. iii. c. 94.

⁴ Ibid. c. 28, 34.

⁵ Herod. l. v. c. 35, 36.

⁶ And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire Isa. xxiii. 17.

⁷ Herod. l. v. c. 37, 38.

⁸ Ib. c. 38, 41, 49, 51.

He was the son of Anaxandrides by a second wife, whom the Ephori had obliged him to marry, because he had no issue by the first. He had by her three sons besides Cleomenes, namely Dorizens, Leonidas and Cleombrotus, the two last of which ascended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turns. Aristagoras then addressed himself to Cleomenes, and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him and represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that Sparta being the most powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to their liberty; that the Persians, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that considering the present spirit and disposition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire, and the place of the king's residence; he showed him at the same time, a plan of all the nations and towns through which they were to pass, engraven upon a little plate of brass which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes desired three days time to consider of his proposals. That term being expired, he asked the Ionian how far it was from the Ionian sea to Susa, and how much time it required to go from the one place to the other. Aristagoras, without considering the effect his answer was likely to have upon Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Susa was about three months' journey.¹ Cleomenes was so amazed at this proposal, that he immediately ordered him to depart from Sparta before sun-set. Aristagoras nevertheless followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to win him by arguments of another sort, that is by presents. The first sum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to 30,000 livres of French money; that being refused, he still rose in his offers, till at last he proposed to give him fifty talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, as apprehending nothing from so young a child, hearing the proposals that were made, cried out: *Fly, father, fly this stranger will corrupt you.* Cleomenes laughed, but yet observed the child's admonition, and actually retired: Aristagoras left Sparta.

From thence he proceeded to Athens,² where he found a more favourable reception. He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time when the Athenians were extremely well disposed to hearken to any proposals that could be made to them against the Persians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occasion. Hippias,³ the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, who, about ten years before, had been banished, after having tried in vain abundance of methods for his re-establishment, at last went to Sardis and made his application to Artaphernes. He insinuated himself so far into the good opinion of that governor, that he gave a favourable ear to all he said to the disadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced against them. The Athenians, having intelligence of this, sent an ambassador to Sardis, and desired of Artaphernes, not to give ear to what any of their outlaws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this message was, that, if they desired to live in peace, they must recall Hippias. When this haughty answer was brought back to the Athenians, the whole city was violently enraged against the Persians. Aristagoras, coming thither just at this juncture, easily

obtained all he desired. Herodotus⁴ remarks on this occasion, how much easier it is to impose upon a multitude, than upon a single person: and so Aristagoras found it; for he prevailed with 30,000 Athenians to come to a resolution, into which he could not persuade Cleomenes alone. They engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist him in his design; and it may be truly said, that this little fleet was the original source of all the calamities, in which both the Persians and Grecians were afterwards involved.

In the third year of this war, the Ionians, having collected all their forces together, and being reinforced with the twenty vessels furnished by the city of Athens, and five more from Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, set sail for Ephesus, and leaving their ships there, they marched by land to the city of Sardis: finding the place in a defenceless condition, they soon made themselves masters of it; but the citadel, into which Artaphernes retired, they were not able to force. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently were very combustible, an Ionian soldier having set fire to one house, the flames soon spread and communicated to the rest, and reduced the whole city to ashes. Upon this accident the Persians and Lydians, assembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them to think of retreating; and accordingly they marched back with all possible diligence, in order to re-embark at Ephesus: but the Persians arriving there almost as soon as they, attacked them vigorously, and destroyed a great number of their men. The Athenians, after the return of their ships, would never engage any more in this war, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Aristagoras.

Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis,⁵ and of the part the Athenians took in that affair, he resolved from that very time to make war upon Greece: and that he might never forget this resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry out to him with a loud voice every night, when he was at supper: *Sir, remember the Athenians.* In the burning of Sardis it happened that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of that country, was consumed with the rest of the city. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians to burn all the temples they found in Greece: to which they were likewise induced by a religious motive which I have explained before.

As Aristagoras,⁶ the head manager of this revolt, was Hystieus's lieutenant at Miletus, Darius suspected that the latter might probably be the contriver of the whole conspiracy: for which reason he entered into a free conference with him upon the subject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and the just grounds he had for his suspicion. Hystieus, who was a crafty courtier, and an expert master in the art of dissembling, appeared extremely surprised and afflicted; and speaking in a tone that at once expressed both sorrow and indignation, "Is it then possible, sir," said he to the king, "for your majesty to have entertained so injurious a suspicion of the most faithful and most affectionate of your servants? I concerned in a rebellion against you. Alas! what is there in the world that could tempt me to it? Do I want any thing here? Am I not already raised to one of the highest stations in your court? And besides the honour I have of assisting at your councils, do I not daily receive new proofs of your bounty, by the numberless favours you heap upon me?" After this he insinuated, that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his absence and distance from the country; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebel; that if he had stayed at Miletus, the conspiracy would never have been formed; that the surest way to restore the king's affairs in that province, would be to send him thither to quell the insurrection; that he promised him, on the forfeiture of

¹ [The actual aggregate distance between Sardis and Susa, or Sus, (not the modern Tostar,) taken through the points of Issus and Mosul, is 1,120 German miles, or 1,235 British miles; which, divided by 14 miles a day, for the mean rate of military marches, will produce 92½ days—exactly answering the three months mentioned by Aristagoras in the text. If to this distance be added—that, from Ephesus to Sardis, amounting to 21 parasangs or 63 Roman miles, equal to 60 British, then the whole aggregate distance will be 1,355 British miles and 95 days march.]

² Herod. l. v. c. 55. 96, 97.

³ This fact has been before treated at large in this vol.

⁴ Herod. l. v. c. 90, 103.

⁵ Ibid. c. 105.

⁶ Ibid. c. 105, 107.

his head to deliver Aristagoras into his hands; and engaged, besides all this, to make the large island of Sardinia tributary to him.¹ The best princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a subject into their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they easily undeceive themselves. Darius, imposed upon by the air of sincerity with which Hystieus spoke on this occasion, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to Ionia, on condition he came back to the Persian court as soon as he had executed what he promised.

The revolters,² in the mean time, though deserted by the Athenians, Ant. J. C. 498. and notwithstanding the considerable check they had received in Ionia, did not lose courage, but still pushed on their point with resolution. Their fleet set sail towards the Hellespont and the Propontis, and reduced Byzantium, with the greater part of the other Grecian cities, in that quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war, as also the people of Cyprus. The Persian generals, having divided their forces among themselves, marched three different ways against the rebels, and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain.

When Hystieus was arrived at Sardis,³ his intriguing temper induced him to form a plot against the government, into which he drew a great number of Persians. But, perceiving by some discourse he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that governor, he thought it not safe for him to stay any longer at Sardis, and retired secretly the night following to the isle of Chios; from thence he sent a trusty messenger to Sardis, with letters for such of the Persians as he had gained to his party. This messenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the whole plot was discovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated. But still imagining, that he could bring about some enterprise of importance, if he were once at the head of the Ionian league, he made several attempts to get into Miletus, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours succeeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.

There⁴ being asked why he had so strongly urged Aristagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in such calamities, he made answer, that it was because the king had resolved to transport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere story and fiction of his own inventing, Darius having never conceived any such design. The artifice however served his purpose extremely well, not only for justifying him to the Ionians, but also for engaging them to prosecute the war with vigour. For being alarmed at the thoughts of this transmigration, they came to a firm resolution to defend themselves against the Persians to the last extremity.

Artaphernes and Otanes,⁵ with the rest of the Persian generals, Ant. J. C. 497. finding that Miletus was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding that, if they could carry that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians, having intelligence of their design, determined in a general assembly to send no army into the field, but to fortify Miletus, and to furnish it to the utmost of their power with provisions, and all things necessary for enduring a siege; and to unite all their forces to engage the Persians at sea, their dexterity in maritime affairs inducing them to believe that they should have the advantage in a naval battle. The place of their rendezvous

was Lade, a small isle over against Miletus, where they assembled a fleet of 353 vessels. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though stronger by one half with respect to the number of their ships, were afraid to hazard a battle, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert: so that when the two fleets came to engage, the ships of Samos, of Lesbos, and several other places, sailed off, and returned to their own country, and the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above 100 vessels, which were all quickly overpowered by numbers, and almost entirely destroyed. After this, the city of Miletus was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors who utterly destroyed it. This happened six years after Aristagoras's revolt. All the other cities, as well on the continent as on the sea coast and in the isles, returned to their duty soon after, either voluntarily or by force. Those persons that stood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handsomest of the young men were chosen to serve in the king's palace; and the young women were all sent into Persia; the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. These were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Aristagoras and Hystieus.

The latter of these two had his share also in the general calamity:⁶ for that same year he was taken by the Persians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes caused him to be immediately hanged, without consulting Darius, lest that prince's affection for Hystieus should incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy should be left alive who might create the Persians new troubles. It appeared by the sequel, that Artaphernes's conjecture was well grounded: for when Hystieus's head was brought to Darius, he expressed great dissatisfaction at the authors of his death, and caused the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a person to whom he had infinite obligations, the remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven on his mind, ever to be effaced by the greatness of any crimes he had afterwards committed. Hystieus was one of those restless, bold, and enterprising spirits, in whom many good qualities are joined with still greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that promote the end they have in view; who look upon justice, probity, and sincerity, as mere empty names: who make no scruple to employ lying or fraud, treachery or even perjury, when it is to serve their turn; and who reckon the ruin of nations, or even their own country, as nothing, if necessary to their own elevation. His end was worthy his sentiments, and such as is common enough to these irreligious politicians who sacrifice every thing to their ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God, than their interest and fortune.

SECTION VII.—THE EXPEDITION OF DARIUS'S ARMY AGAINST GREECE.

DARIUS,⁷ in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled Ant. J. C. 491. all his other generals, sent Mardonius the son of Gobryas, a young lord of an illustrious Persian family, who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians. The king did not show much wisdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man, because he was a favourite, to all his oldest and most experienced generals; especially in so difficult a war, the success of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was infinitely concerned. His being son-in-law to the king was a quality indeed, that might augment his influence, but added nothing to his real merit, or his capacity as a general.

Upon his arrival in Macedonia, into which he had marched with his land forces after having passed through Thrace, the whole country, terrified by his

¹ This island is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore apt to believe, it must be an error that has crept into the text of Herodotus.

² Herod. l. v. c. 103, 104, 108, 122.

³ Ibid. vi. c. 1—5.

⁴ Ibid. c. 3.

⁵ Ibid. c. 6—10, 31, 33.

⁶ Herod. l. vi. c. 29, 30.

⁷ Ibid. c. 43, 45.

power, submitted. But his fleet attempting to double mount Athos (now called Capo Santo,) in order to gain the coasts of Macedonia, was attacked by so violent a storm, that upwards of 300 ships, with above 20,000 men, perished in the sea. His land army met at the same time with no less fatal a blow. For, being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked the Persian camp by night, made a great slaughter, and wounded Mardonius himself. All this ill success obliged him shortly after to return into Asia, with grief and confusion at his having miscarried both by sea and land in this expedition.

Darius perceiving, too late, that Mardonius's youth and inexperience had occasioned the defeat of his troops, recalled him, and put two other generals in his place, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The king's thoughts were earnestly bent upon putting in execution the great design he had long had in his mind, which was, to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a signal vengeance on the people of Athens and Eretria, whose enterprise against Sardis was perpetually in his thoughts.

I. *The State of Athens. The characters of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides.*

Before we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refresh our memories with a view of the state of Athens at this time, which alone sustained the first shock of the Persians at Marathon; as also to form some idea beforehand of the great men who shared in that celebrated victory.

Athens, just delivered from that yoke of servitude which she had been forced to bear for above thirty years, under the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed the advantages of liberty, the sweetness and value of which were only heightened and improved by that short privation. Lacedæmon, which was at this time the mistress of Greece, and had contributed at first to this happy change in Athens, seemed afterwards to repent of her good offices: and growing jealous of the tranquillity she herself had procured for her neighbours, she attempted to disturb it, by endeavouring to reinstate Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, in the government of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitless, and served only to manifest her ill will, and her grief to see Athens determined to maintain its independence even of Sparta itself. Hippias hereupon had recourse to the Persians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, sent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they must re-establish Hippias in his authority, unless they chose rather to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This second attempt succeeded no better than the first, and Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture. We shall see presently that he served as a conductor or guide to the Persian generals sent by Darius against Greece.

Athens, from the time of the recovery of her liberty, was quite another city than under her tyrants, and displayed a very different kind of spirit. Among the citizens,¹ Miltiades distinguished himself most in the war with the Persians, which we are going to relate. He was the son of Cimon, an illustrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half-brother by the mother's side, whose name was likewise Miltiades, of a very ancient and noble family in Ægina, who had lately received into the number of the Athenian citizens. He was a person of great credit even in the time of Pisistratus; but, as he could not endure the yoke of a despotic government, he joyfully embraced the offer made him, of going to settle with a colony in the Thracian Chersonesus, whither he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or, according to the language of those times, their tyrant. He, dying without children, left the sovereignty to Stesagoras, his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Cimon; and Stesagoras dying also without issue, the sons of Pisistratus, who then ruled the city of Athens, sent his brother Miltiades, the per-

son we are now speaking of, into that country to be his successor. He arrived there, and established himself in the government in the same year that Darius undertook his expedition against the Scythians. He attended that prince with some ships as far as the Danube; and it was he who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and to return home without waiting for Darius. During his residence in the Chersonesus, he married Hegesipyla,² daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be said in the sequel. Miltiades, having for several reasons abdicated his government in Thrace, embarked, and took all that he had on board five ships, and set sail for Athens. There he settled a second time, and acquired great reputation.

At the same time two other citizens,³ younger than Miltiades, began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely, Aristides and Themistocles. Plutarch observes, that the former of these two had endeavoured to form himself upon the model of Clisthene, one of the greatest men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had greatly contributed to the restoring it at Athens, by expelling the Pisistratidee out of that city. It was an excellent custom among the ancients, and which it were to be wished might prevail amongst us, that the young men ambitious of public employments, particularly attached themselves to such aged and experienced persons,⁴ as had distinguished themselves most eminently therein; and who, both by their conversation and example, could teach them the art of conducting themselves, and governing others with wisdom and discretion. Thus, says Plutarch, did Aristides attach himself to Clisthene, and Cimon to Aristides; and he enumerates several others, and among the rest Polybius, whom we have mentioned so often, and who in his youth was the constant disciple, and faithful imitator, of the celebrated Philopemen.

Themistocles and Aristides were of very different dispositions; but they both rendered great services to the commonwealth. Themistocles, who naturally inclined to popular government, omitted nothing that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain him friends; behaving himself with great affability and complaisance to every body, always ready to do service to the citizens, every one of whom he knew by name; nor was he very nice about the means he used to oblige them. Somebody talking with him once on this subject,⁵ told him he would make an excellent magistrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more impartial, and if he was not biassed in favour of one more than another: "God forbid," replied Themistocles, "I should ever sit upon a tribunal, where my friends should find no more credit or favour than strangers." Cleon, who appeared some time after at Athens, observed a quite different conduct, but yet such as was not wholly exempt from blame. When he came into the administration of public affairs, he assembled all his friends, and declared to them that from that moment he renounced their friendship, lest it should prove an obstacle to him in the discharge of his duty, and cause him to act with partiality and injustice. This was doing them very little honour, and entertaining no very high opinion of them. But, as Plutarch says, it was not his friends but his passions, that he ought to have renounced.

Aristides had the discretion to observe a just medium between these two vicious extremes. Being a favourer of aristocracy in imitation of Lycurgus, whom he greatly admired, he in a manner struck out a new path of his own; not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expense of justice, and yet always ready to do them service when consistent with it. He care-

¹ After the death of Miltiades, this princess had by a second husband a son, who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydides the historian. *Herod.*

² Plut. in Arist. p. 319, 320; and in Them. p. 112, 113. An seni sit ger. Resp. 780, 791.

³ Discere a peritis, sequi optimos. *Tacit. Agric.*

⁴ Cic. de Senect. Plut. An seni sit ger. Resp. p. 800.

fully avoided making use of his friends' recommendations for obtaining employments, lest it should prove a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plausible pretext for them to require the same favour from him on the like occasion. He used to say that the true citizen, or the honest man, ought to make no other use of his credit and power, than upon all occasions to practise what was honest and just, and engage others to do the same.

Considering this contrariety of principles and humours, we are not to wonder, if, during the administration of these great men, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles, who was bold and enterprising, was sure almost always to find Aristides against him, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other's designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the public, lest he should gain too great an ascendancy and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles, who had made some proposal really advantageous to the state, he could not contain himself, but cried aloud as he went out of the assembly, *that the Athenians would never prosper, till they threw them both into the Barathrum*! the Barathrum was a pit, into which malefactors condemned to die were thrown. But notwithstanding this mutual opposition, when the common interest was at stake, they were no longer enemies; and whenever they were to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they agreed together to lay aside all differences on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to resume them on their return, if they thought fit.

The predominant passion of Themistocles was ambition and the love of glory, which discovered itself from his childhood. After the battle of Marathon, of which we shall speak presently, when the people were every where extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themistocles generally appeared very thoughtful and melancholy: he spent whole nights without sleep, and was never seen at public feasts and entertainments as usual. When his friends, astonished at this change, asked him the reason of it, he made answer, *that Miltiades's trophies would not let him sleep*. These were a kind of spur, which never ceased to goad and animate his ambition. From this time Themistocles addicted himself wholly to arms; and the love of martial glory wholly engrossed him.

As for Aristides, the love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions. What he was most particularly admired for was his constancy and steadiness under the unforeseen changes to which those who have the administration of public affairs are exposed: for he was neither elevated with the honours conferred upon him, nor cast down at the contempt and disappointments he sometimes experienced. On all occasions he preserved his usual calmness and temper, being persuaded that a man ought to give himself up entirely to his country, and to serve it with a perfect disinterestedness, as well with regard to glory as to riches. The general esteem in which he was held for the uprightness of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the interests of the state, and the sincerity of his virtue, appeared one day in the theatre, when one of *Æschylus's* plays was acting. For when the actor had repeated that verse which describes the character of Amphiaræus, *He does not desire to seem an honest and virtuous man, but really to be so*, the whole audience cast their eyes upon Aristides, and applied the eulogium to him.

Another thing related of him, with respect to public employment, is very remarkable. He was no sooner made treasurer-general of the republic, than he made it appear that his predecessors in that office had cheated the state of vast sums of money, and, among the rest, Themistocles in particular; for this great man, with all his merit, was not irreproachable on that head. For which reason, when Aristides came to pass his accounts, Themistocles raised a powerful faction against him, accused him of having embezzled the public treasure, and prevailed so far as to have

him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the most virtuous part of the citizens, rising up against so unjust a sentence, not only the judgment was reversed, and the fine remitted, but he was elected treasurer again for the year ensuing. He then seemed to repent of his former administration; and, by showing himself more tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the secret of pleasing all that plundered the commonwealth. For, as he neither reproved them, nor narrowly watched their accounts, all those plunderers, grown fat with spoil and rapine, now extolled Aristides to the skies. It would have been easy for him, as we perceive, to have enriched himself in a post of that nature, which seems, as it were, to invite a man to it by the many favourable opportunities it lays in his way; especially as he had to do with officers, who, for their part, were intent upon nothing but robbing the public, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treasurer their master, upon condition he did them the same favour.

These very officers now made interest with the people to have him continued a third year in the same employment. But when the time of election was come, just as they were upon the point of electing Aristides unanimously, he rose up, and warmly reproved the Athenian people: "What," says he, "when I managed your treasure with all the fidelity and diligence an honest man is capable of, I met with the most cruel treatment, and the most mortifying return, and now that I have abandoned it to the mercy of all these robbers of the public, I am an admirable man and the best of citizens! I cannot help declaring to you that I am more ashamed of the honour you do me this day, than I was of the condemnation you passed against me this time twelvemonth; and with grief I find that it is more glorious with us to be complaisant to knaves, than to save the treasures of the republic." By this declaration he silenced the public plunderers, and gained the esteem of all good men.

Such were the characters of these two illustrious Athenians, who began to display the extent of their merit, when Darius turned his arms against Greece.

II. Darius sends heralds into Greece, in order to sound the people, and to require them to submit.

Before this prince would directly engage in this enterprise, he judged it expedient, first of all, to sound the Grecians, and to know in what manner the different states stood affected towards him. With this view he sent heralds into all parts of Greece, to require earth and water in his name; this was the form used by the Persians when they exacted submission from those they were desirous of bringing under subjection. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Grecian cities dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands; and among these were the inhabitants of *Ægina*, a little isle, over against and not far from Athens. This proceeding of the people of *Ægina* was looked upon as a public treason. The Athenians represented the matter to the Spartans, who immediately sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of it. The people of *Ægina* refused to deliver them, under pretence that he came without his colleague.² This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself suggested that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family; and succeeded in his attempt by the assistance of the priestess of Delphi, whom he had suborned to give an answer favourable to his designs. Demaratus not being able to endure so gross an affront, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with open arms, and gave him a considerable establishment in Persia. He was succeeded in the throne by Leutychides, who joined his colleague, and went with him to *Ægina*, from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants and committed them to the custody of the Athenians their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long

¹ *Plut. Apophthegm. p. 186.*

² *Herod. l. vi. c. 49—56.*

after, and the fraud he had committed at Delphi being discovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to set those prisoners at liberty; but they refused.

The Persian heralds that went to Sparta and Athens,¹ were not so favourably received as those that had been sent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take thence earth and water. I should be less surprised at this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding suitable enough to a popular government, rash, impetuous, and violent; where reason is seldom heard, and every thing is determined by passion. But I do not here recognize the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuse what was demanded; but to treat public officers in such a manner, was an open violation of the law of nations. If what historians say on this head be true,² the crime did not remain unpunished. Talthybius, one of Agamemnon's heralds, was honoured at Sparta as a god, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Persia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appease him, and to expiate their offence, they sent afterwards several of their chief citizens into Persia, who voluntarily offered themselves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hands of Xerxes, who would not let them suffer, but sent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage committed upon Darius's heralds.

III. *The Persians defeated at Marathon by Miltiades. The melancholy end of that general.*

Darius immediately sent away A. M. 3514. Datis and Artaphernes, whom he Ant. J. C. 490. had appointed generals in the room of Mardonius. Their instructions were to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houses and temples therein, to make all the inhabitants of both places prisoners, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. They set sail with a fleet of 5 or 600 ships,³ and an army of 500,000 men. After having made themselves masters of the isles in the Ægean sea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their course towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants: they reduced it entirely to ashes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and sent them to Persia. Darius,⁴ contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly, and gave them a village in the country of Cissia for their habitation, which was but a day's journey from Susa, where Apollonius Tyaneus found some of their descendants 600 years afterwards.⁵

After this success at Eretria,⁶ the Persians advanced towards Attica. Hippias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the sea-side. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria; and to let them know, that not an inhabitant of that place had escaped their vengeance, in hopes that this news would induce them to surrender immediately. The Athenians had sent to Lacedæmon, to desire succours against the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them instantly, and without deliberation; but which could not set out till some days after, on account of an ancient custom and a superstitious maxim amongst them, that did not permit them to begin their march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to succour them, so great terror had the formidable army of the Persians spread on every side. The inhabitants of Platææ alone furnished them with 1000 soldiers. In this extremity the

Athenians were obliged to arm their slaves, which had never been done there before this occasion.

The Persian army commanded by Datis consisted of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse: that of the Athenians amounted in all but to 10,000 men. It was headed by ten generals, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and these ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, one after another. There was a great dispute among those generals whether they should hazard a battle, or expect the enemy within their walls. The latter opinion had a great majority, and appeared very reasonable. For, what appearance of success could there be in facing with a handful of soldiers so numerous and formidable an army as that of the Persians? Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and showed that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to strike a terror into those of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Aristides strenuously defended this opinion, and brought some of the other commanders into it, so when the suffrages came to be taken, they were equal on both sides of the question. Hereupon Miltiades addressed himself to Callinachus, who was then polemarch,⁷ and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly represented to him, that the fate of their country was then in his hands; and that his single vote was to determine whether Athens should preserve her liberty, or be enslaved; and that he had it in his power by one word to become as famous as Harmodius and Aristogiton, the authors of that liberty which the Athenians enjoyed. Callinachus pronounced the word in favour of Miltiades's opinion; and accordingly a battle was resolved upon.

Aristides, reflecting that a command which changes every day must necessarily be feeble, unequal, not of a piece, often contrary to itself, and incapable either of projecting or executing any uniform design, was of opinion, that their danger was both too great and too pressing for them to expose their affairs to such inconveniences. In order to prevent them, he judged it necessary to vest the whole power in one single person; and to induce his colleagues to act conformably, he himself set the first example of resignation. When the day came on which it was his turn to take upon him the command, he resigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general. The other commanders did the same, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the love of the public good; and by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almost as glorious to acknowledge merit in other persons, as to have it in one's self. Miltiades, however, thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to gain what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should not be able either to surround him, or charge him in the rear. On the two sides of the army he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpose, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless. Datis, their commander, was very sensible that the place was not advantageous for him; but relying upon the number of his troops, which was infinitely superior to that of the Athenians, and, besides, not being willing to stay till the reinforcement of the Spartans arrived, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for the enemy's charging them. As soon as the signal of battle was given, they ran against the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Persians looked upon this first step of the Athenians as a piece of madness, considering their army was so small, and utterly destitute both of cavalry and archers: but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus observes, that this was the first time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner; which may seem somewhat astonishing. And, indeed, was there not reason to apprehend, that their running would in some mea-

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 133. 138.

² Ibid. c. 135. 136. Paus. in Lacon. p. 182. 183.

³ Plut. in Moral. p. 829. ⁴ Herod. l. vi. c. 119.

⁵ Philostr. l. i. c. 17.

⁶ Herod. l. vi. c. 102–120. Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. iv.–vi. ⁷ Herod. l. ii. c. 3. Plut. in Aristid. p. 321.

⁷ The polemarch at Athens was both an officer and a considerable magistrate, equally employed to command in the army and to administer justice. I shall give a larger account of this officer in another place.

sure weaken the troops and blunt the edge of their first impetuosity? and that the soldiers, having quitted their ranks, might be out of breath, exhausted, and in disorder, when they came up to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them in good order, and without stirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to sustain their charge advantageously? This consideration engaged Pompey,¹ at the battle of Pharsalia, to keep his troops steady, and to forbid them making any movement till the enemy made the first attack; but² Caesar³ blames Pompey's conduct in this respect, and gives this reason for it: that the impetuosity of an army's motion in running to engage, inspires the soldiers with a certain enthusiasm and martial fury, gives an additional force to their blows, and increases and inflames their courage, which by the rapid movement of so many thousand men together, is blown up and kindled, if I may use that expression, like flames by the wind. I leave it to military men to decide the point between these two great captains, and return to my subject.

The battle was very fierce and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak, and not so deep: the reason of which seems manifest enough. Having but 10,000 men to oppose to such a multitude of the enemy, it was impossible for him either to make an extensive front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice; and he imagined that he could gain the victory no otherwise than by the efforts he should make with his two wings, to break and disperse those of the Persians; not doubting but, when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to attack the enemy's main body in flank, and complete the victory without much difficulty. This was the same plan as Hannibal followed afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which succeeded so well with him, and which indeed can scarce ever fail of succeeding. The Persians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greatest effort particularly upon their front. This was led by Aristides and Themistocles, who supported the attack a long time with an intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very instant came up their two victorious wings, which had defeated those of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more seasonable for the main body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite borne down by the number of the Persians. The scale was quickly turned, and the Barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themselves to flight, not towards their camp, but to their ships, that they might make their escape. The Athenians pursued them thither, and set many of their vessels on fire. It was on this occasion that Cynægirus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, who had laid hold of one of the ships, in order to get into it with those that fled, had his right hand cut off,⁴ and fell into the sea and was drowned. The Athenians took seven ships. They had not above 200 men killed on their side in this engagement; whereas on the side of the Persians about 6000 were slain, without reckoning those who fell into the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those that were consumed with the ships set on fire.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father Pisistratus over the Athenians, had the baseness to become a servile

courtier to a Barbarian prince, and to implore his aid against his native country. Urged on by hatred and revenge, he suggested all the means he could invent to load his country with chains, and even put himself at the head of its enemies, to reduce that city to ashes to which he owed his birth, and against which he had no other ground of complaint, than that she would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignominious death, together with everlasting infamy entailed upon his name, was the just reward of so black a treachery.

Immediately after the battle,⁵ an Athenian soldier still reeking with the blood of the enemy, quitted the army and ran to Athens to carry his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magistrates' house, he only uttered two words, *Rejoice, the victory is ours,*⁶ and fell down dead at their feet.

The Persians had thought themselves so sure of victory,⁷ that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a statue to be made of it by Phidias in honour of the goddess Nemesis,⁸ who had a temple near the place where the battle was fought.

The Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to re-enter Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprising Athens before the Athenian forces should arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to secure their country, and performed the march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day. The distance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great exertion for an army that had just undergone a long and severe battle. By this means the design of the Persians miscarried.⁹

Aristides, the only general that stayed at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the spoil and prisoners, acted suitably to the good opinion that was entertained of him. For though gold and silver were scattered about in abundance in the enemy's camp, and though all the tents as well as galleys that were taken, were full of rich clothes and costly furniture, and treasure of all kinds, to an immense value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himself, but hindered every body else from touching it.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with 2000 men; and having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days' forced march: the distance from Sparta to Attica being no less than 1200 stadia, or 150 English miles. The battle was fought the day before they arrived:¹⁰ however, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy success of the battle, they returned to their own country.

They were hindered by a foolish and ridiculous superstition from having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history. For it is almost without example, that such a handful of men, as the Athe-

¹ Plat. de glor. Athen. p. 347.

² *Χαίρειτε, χαίρειτε*. I could not render the liveliness of the Greek expression in our language.

³ Paus. l. i. p. 62.

⁴ This was the goddess whose business it was to punish injustice and oppression.

⁵ *Plain of Marathon*.—This plain, so highly celebrated in classical history, is so denominated from the village of that name, which is situate at the N. W. extremity of a valley, which opens toward the S. E. into the great plain, which is quite flat, and extends along the sea shore from N. E. to S. W. The distance of the village from Athens is 8 hours or 24 miles, allowing 3 miles to each hour; but as the road is through a rocky and uneven country, the distance does not, perhaps, exceed 24 miles per hour, or 20 miles. From the village to the sea, the plain extends 3 miles. Beyond the village at the end of the plain, towards the sea, is seen the conspicuous Tomb (called *Τάφος* by Pausanias, and *Tape* in modern times; an appellation bestowed on every ancient tomb of this sort throughout Greece and Asia Minor.) raised over the bodies of the Athenians who fell in this battle.

¹⁰ Isocr. in Panegyri. p. 173.

¹ Cœs. in Bell. Civil. l. i. iii.

² Plut. in Pomp. p. 656. in Cœs. p. 719.

³ Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum à Pompelo videtur: propterea quod est quendam incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quæ studio pugne incouducitur. Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent. Cœs.

⁴ *Καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαμαρτυρεῖται καὶ τὸ Πλουτάρχου, ἀναγνώσαντες, τὴν μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν δεξιᾷ γυναικὶν εὐρεθεῖσαν, ὡς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Βίβλῃ περιετρεῖται, καὶ συνεκκρίναντες τὸν δῖον καὶ πάντων ἀνδρῶν.* Plut. in Cœs.

⁵ Justin adds, that Cynægirus, having first had his right and then his left hand cut off with an axe, laid hold of the vessel with his teeth, and would not let go, so violent was his rage against the enemy. This account is utterly fabulous, and has not the least appearance of truth.

mans were, should not only make head against so numerous an army as that of the Persians, but should entirely rout and defeat them. One is astonished to see so formidable a power attack so small a city and miscarry; and we are almost tempted to question the truth of an event that appears so improbable, which nevertheless is very certain. This battle alone shows what wonderful things may be performed by an able general, who knows how to take his advantages; by the intrepidity of soldiers that are not afraid of death: by a zeal for one's country; the love of liberty; a hatred and detestation of slavery and tyranny; which were sentiments natural to the Athenians, but undoubtedly very much augmented and inflamed by the very presence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their master, after all that had passed between them.

Plato,¹ in more places than one, makes it his business to extol the battle of Marathon, and is desirous that that action should be considered as the source and original cause of all the victories that were gained afterwards. It was undoubtedly this victory that deprived the Persian power of that terror which had rendered them so formidable, and had made every thing stoop before them: it was this victory that taught the Grecians to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name; that made them find by experience, that victory does not depend so much upon the number as the courage of troops; that set before their eyes, in a most conspicuous light, the glory there is in sacrificing one's life in defence of our country, and for the preservation of liberty; and lastly, that inspired them, through the whole course of succeeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm desire to imitate their ancestors, and not to degenerate from their virtue. For, on all important occasions, it was customary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop, that is, of that little army of heroes, whose intrepidity and bravery had done so much honour to Athens.

Those that were slain in the battle,² had all the honour immediately paid to them that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them all, in the very place where the battle was fought; upon which their own names and that of their tribes were recorded. There were three distinct sets of monuments separately erected, one for the Athenians, another for the Plataeans, and a third for the slaves whom they had admitted among their soldiers on that occasion. Miltiades's tomb was erected afterwards in the same place.

The reflection Cornelius Nepos³ makes upon what the Athenians did to honour the memory of their general, deserves to be taken notice of. Formerly, says he, speaking of the Romans, our ancestors rewarded virtue, by marks of distinction, neither pompous nor magnificent, which however were rarely granted, and for that very reason were highly esteemed: whereas now, they are so profusely bestowed, that little or no value is set upon them. The same thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was, that, in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was represented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. But this same people in later ages, being grown more powerful, and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed 300 statues to Demetrius Phalereus.

Plutarch makes the same reflection,⁴ and wisely observes, that the honour⁵ which is paid to great men ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their illustrious actions, but only as a mark of the esteem in which they are held, the remembrance whereof

such monuments are intended to perpetuate. It is not then the stateliness or magnificence of public monuments which gives them their value, or makes them durable, but the sincere gratitude of those that erect them. The 300 statues of Demetrius Phalereus were all thrown down even in his own life-time, but the picture in which Miltiades's courage was represented was preserved many ages after him.

This picture was kept at Athens in a gallery adorned and enriched with different paintings,⁶ all excellent in their kind, and done by the greatest masters; which, for that reason, was called *Poeicle*, from the Greek word ποικίλος, signifying varied and diversified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the isle of Thasos, and one of the finest painters of his time, painted this picture, or at least the greatest part of it; and, as he valued himself upon his reputation, and was more attached to glory than interest, he did it gratuitously, and would not receive any recompense for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him with a sort of coin that was more acceptable to his taste, by procuring an order from the Amphycyons which assigned him a public lodging in the city, where he might live during his own pleasure.

The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades was of no very long duration.⁷ After the battle of Marathon, he had desired and obtained the command of a fleet of seventy ships, in order to punish and subdue the islands that had favoured the Barbarians. Accordingly he reduced several of them; but having had ill success in the isle of Paros, and, upon a false report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raised the siege which he had laid to the capital, wherein he had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet; and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accused him of having raised the siege through treachery, and in consideration of a great sum of money given him by the king of Persia. Little probability as there was in this accusation, it nevertheless prevailed over the merit and innocence of Miltiades. He was condemned to lose his life,⁸ and to be thrown into the Borathrum; a sentence passed only upon the greatest criminals and malefactors. The magistrate opposed the execution of so unjust a condemnation. All the favour shown to this preserver of his country, was to have the sentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or 50,000 crowns French money, being the sum to which the expenses of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his solicitation and advice, amounted. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was put into prison, where he died of the wound he had received at Paros. Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized his piety on this occasion, as we shall find hereafter he signalized his courage. He purchased the permission of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of 50,000 crowns, in which he had been condemned; which sum the young man raised, as well as he could, by the assistance of his friends and relations.

Cornelius Nepos observes, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner with regard to Miltiades, was his very merit and great reputation, which made the people, who were but lately delivered from the yoke of slavery under Pisistratus, apprehend that Miltiades, who had formerly been tyrant of the Chersonesus, might affect the same at Athens. They therefore chose rather to punish an innocent person,⁹ than to be under perpetual apprehensions of him. To this same principle was the institution of the ostracism at Athens owing. I have elsewhere¹⁰ given an account of the most plausible reasons upon which the ostracism could be founded: but I do not see how we can fully justify so strange a policy, to which all merit becomes suspected, and virtue itself appears criminal.

This appears plainly in the banishment of Aria-

¹ In Menex. p. 239, 240. Et lib. iii. de Leg. p. 698, 699.

² Paus. in Attic. p. 60, 61.

³ Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. vi.

⁴ In præc. de rep. gen. p. 830.

⁵ Οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν τίμασι δίδωσι τοῖς πράξις, ἀλλὰ τιμῶμεν, ἥ τιμῆ, ἢ καὶ δεινὴν κολὰν χεῖρον.

⁶ Plin. l. xxxv. c. 9.

⁷ Herod. l. vi. c. 132, 136. Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. vii. viii.

⁸ Plut. in Gorg. p. 516.

⁹ Hæc corporis recipiens maluit eum innocentem plecti, quam se diutius esse in timore.

¹⁰ Method of teaching, &c. vol. iii. p. 407.

tides.¹ His inviolable attachment to justice obliged him on many occasions to oppose Themistocles, who did not pique himself upon his delicacy in that respect, and who spared no intrigues and cabals to engage the suffrages of the people, for removing a rival, who always opposed his ambitious designs. In this instance it was evident,² that a person may be superior in merit and virtue, without being so in influence. The impetuous eloquence of Themistocles prevailed over the justice of Aristides, and occasioned his banishment. In this kind of trial the citizens gave their suffrages by writing the name of the accused person upon a shell, called in Greek *ostracism*, from whence came the term *Ostracism*. On this occasion a peasant, who could not write, and did not know Aristides, applied to him, and desired him to put the name of Aristides upon his shell. "Has he done you any wrong," says Aristides, "that you are for condemning him in this manner?" "No," replied the other, "I do not so much as know him; but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every body call him 'the Just.'" Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote his own name in it, and returned it. He set out for his banishment, imploring the gods that no accident might befall his country, to make it regret him. The great Camillus,³ in a like case did not imitate his generosity, and prayed to a quite different effect, desiring the gods to force his ungrateful country, by some misfortune, to have occasion for his aid, and to recall him as soon as possible.

O fortunate republic, exclaims Valerius Maximus,⁴ speaking of Aristides's banishment, which, after having so basely treated the most virtuous man it ever produced, was yet able to find citizens zealously and faithfully attached to her service! *Felices Athenas, quæ post illius exilium invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem sui civem potuerunt; cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit!*

SECTION VIII.—DARIUS RESOLVES TO MAKE WAR IN PERSON AGAINST EGYPT AND AGAINST GREECE; IS PREVENTED BY DEATH. DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO OF HIS SONS, CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN. XERXES IS CHOSEN KING.

WHEN Darius received the news of the defeat of his army at Marathon,⁵ he was violently enraged; and that bad success was so far from discouraging or diverting him from carrying on the war against Greece, that it only served to animate him to pursue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the same time for the burning of Sardis, and for the dishonour incurred at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in person with all his forces, he despatched orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of his empire to arm themselves for this expedition.

After having spent three years in

A. M. 3517. making the necessary preparations,
Ant. J. C. 487. he had another war to carry on, occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. It

seems from what we read in Diodorus Siculus,⁶ that Darius went thither himself to quell it, and that he succeeded. That historian relates, that upon this prince's desiring to have his statue placed before Sesostris, the chief priest of the Egyptians told him he had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror; and that the king, far from being offended at the Egyptian priest's freedom, made answer, that he would endeavour to surpass it. Diodorus adds farther, that Darius detesting the impious cruelty which his predecessor Cambyses had exercised in that country, ex-

pressed great reverence for their gods and temples, that he had several conversations with the Egyptian priests upon matters of religion and government; and that, having learnt of them, with what gentleness their ancient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Persia, to form himself upon their model. But Herodotus,⁷ more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only observes, that this prince, resolving at once to chastise his revolted subjects, and to be avenged of his ancient enemies, determined to make war against both at the same time, and to attack Greece in person with the main body of his army, whilst the rest of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.

According to the ancient custom among the Persians,⁸ their king A. M. 3519.
Ant. J. C. 485. was not allowed to go to war, without having first named the person that should succeed him in the throne; a custom wisely established to prevent the state's being exposed to the troubles which generally attend the uncertainty of a successor, to the inconveniences of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders. Darius, before he undertook his expedition against Greece, thought himself the more obliged to observe this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a dispute between two of his sons on the subject of succeeding to the empire which might occasion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four more by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's accession to the throne: Artabazanes, called by Justin Artamenes, was the eldest of the former, and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alleged in his own behalf, that, as he was the eldest of all the brothers, the right of succession, according to the custom and practice of all nations, belonged to him in preference to the rest. Xerxes's argument was, that as he was the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire, it was more just that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon one of his descendants, than upon one that was not. Demaratus, the Spartan king, who had been unjustly deposed by his subjects, and was at that time in exile at the court of Persia, secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions: that Artabazanes was indeed the eldest son of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldest son of the king; and therefore Artabazanes being born when his father was but a private person, all he could pretend to, on account of his seniority, was only to inherit his private estate; but that he, Xerxes, being the first-born son of the king, had the best right to succeed to the crown. He farther supported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom but those children that were born after their father's accession. The right of succession was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

Justin⁹ and Plutarch place this dispute after Darius's decease. They both take notice of the prudent conduct of these two brothers in a point of so much delicacy. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was absent when the king died; and Xerxes immediately assumed all the marks, and exercised all the functions, of the sovereignty. But upon his brother's return, he quitted the diadem and the tiara, which he wore in such a manner as only suited the king, went out to meet him, and showed him all imaginable respect. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and without any farther appeal to acquiesce in his decision.¹⁰ All the while this dispute lasted, the

¹ Plut. in Arist. p. 322, 323.

² In his cognomine est, quanto antistaret eloquentia innocentie. Quanquam enim ad eum excelleret Aristides abstinentie, et unus ipse hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Justus sit appellatus; tamen à Themistocle collabefactus testula illa exilio decem annorum multatus est. Cor. Nep. in Arist.

³ In exilium abiit, precatus ab diis immortalibus, si innoxio ibi: ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratis facerent. Liv. l. v. n. 32.

⁴ Val. Max. l. v. c. 3

⁵ Herod. . vii. c. 1

⁶ Lib. l. p. 54. 83

⁷ Liv. vi. c. 2.

⁸ Herod. . vi. c. 2. 3.

⁹ Justin l. ii. c. 10. Plut. de frat. amore, p. 488.

¹⁰ Ad eum fratrem contentio fuit, ut nec victor insulteraret, nec victus dederit; inique liti tempore invicem munera miserunt. Secunda quoque inter se non animi, sed convivia luctuerunt; iudicium quoque ipsum sine arbitrio, sine convito fuerit. Tanto moderatius tunc fratres inter se regna maxima dividebant, quam nunc exigua patrimonii partitione Justin

Two brothers showed one another all the demonstrations of a truly fraternal friendship, by keeping up a continual intercourse of presents and entertainments, from whence their mutual esteem and confidence for each other banished all fears and suspicions on both sides, and introduced an unconstrained cheerfulness and a perfect security. This is a spectacle, says Justin, highly worthy of our admiration; to see, whilst most brothers are at daggers-drawing with one another about a small patrimony, with what moderation and temper both waited for a decision, which was to dispose of the greatest empire then in the universe. When Artabanus gave judgment in favour of Xerxes, Artabazanes in the same instant prostrated himself before him, acknowledged him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which proceeding he showed a greatness of soul truly royal, and infinitely superior to all human dignities. This ready acquiescence in a sentence so contrary to his interests, was not the effect of an artful policy, that knows how to dissemble upon occasion, and to derive honour to itself from what it could not prevent; no; it proceeded from a real respect for the laws, a sincere affection for his brother, and an indifference for that which so warmly inflames the ambition of mankind, and so frequently arms the nearest relations against each other. For his part, during his whole life, he continued firmly attached to the interests of Xerxes, and prosecuted them with so much ardour and zeal, that he lost his life in his service at the battle of Salamis.

To whatever time this dispute is to be placed,¹ it is certain that Darius could not carry into execution the double expedition he was meditating against Egypt and Greece, and that he was prevented by death from pursuing that project. He had reigned thirty-six years. The epitaph² of this prince, which contains a boast that he could drink much without disordering his reason, proves that the Persians actually thought that circumstance for their glory. We shall see in the sequel, that Cyrus the Younger ascribes this quality to himself, as a perfection that rendered him more worthy of the throne than his elder brother. Who in these times would think of annexing this merit to the qualifications of a good prince?

Darius had many excellent qualities, but they were attended with great failings: and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. For such is the condition of princes,³ that they never act nor live for themselves alone. Whatever they do, either as to good or evil, they do it for their people; and the interests of the one and the other are inseparable. Darius had a great fund of gentleness, equity, clemency, and kindness for his people: he loved justice, and respected the laws: he esteemed merit, and was careful to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, so as to exact a forced homage, or to render himself inaccessible; and notwithstanding his own great experience and abilities in public affairs, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counsels. It is of him the Holy Scripture⁴ speaks, where it says, that he did nothing without consulting the wise men of his court. He was not afraid of exposing his person in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: he said of himself,⁵ that the most imminent and urgent danger served only to increase his courage and his prudence. In a word, there have been few princes more expert than he in the art of governing, or more experienced in the business of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if indeed it be glory, wanting to his character. For he not only restored and entirely confirmed the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much shaken by the ill conduct of Cambyses and the Magian impostor; but he likewise added many great and rich provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace,

Macedonia, and the isles contiguous to the coasts of Ionia.

But sometimes these good qualities of his gave way to the failings of a quite opposite nature. Do we see any thing like Darius's usual gentleness and good nature in his treatment of that unfortunate father, who desired the favour of him to leave him one of his three sons at home, while the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occasion wherein he had more need of counsel, than when he formed the design of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice than what his brother gave him upon that occasion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wisdom or prudence? What do we see in all that affair, but a prince intoxicated with his greatness, who fancied there is nothing in the world that can resist him; and whose weak ambition to signalize himself by an extraordinary conquest, had stifled all the good sense, judgment, and even military knowledge, he formerly displayed?

What constitutes the solid glory of Darius's reign is, his being chosen by God himself, as Cyrus had been before, to be the instrument of his mercies towards his people, the declared protector of the Israelites, and the restorer of the temple at Jerusalem. The reader may see this part of history in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF XERXES, CONNECTED WITH THAT OF THE GREEKS.

XERXES's reign lasted but twelve years, but it abounds with great events.

SECTION I.—XERXES, AFTER HAVING REDUCED EGYPT, MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR CARRYING THE WAR INTO GREECE. HE HOLDS A COUNCIL. THE PRUDENT SPEECH OF ARTABANES. WAR IS RESOLVED UPON.

XERXES having ascended the throne,⁶ employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations begun by his father, for the reduction of Egypt. He also confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, and particularly that which assigned to them the tribute of Samaria, for the supplying them with victims for the service of the temple of God.

In the second year of his reign⁷ he marched against the Egyptians, and having defeated and subdued those rebels, he made the yoke of their subjection more heavy; then giving the government of that province to his brother Achæmenes, he returned about the latter end of the year to Susa.

Herodotus,⁸ the famous historian, was born this same year at Halicarnassus in Caria. For he was fifty-three years old when the Peloponnesian war first began.

Xerxes,⁹ puffed up with his success against the Egyptians, determined to make war against the Grecians. (He did not intend,¹⁰ he said, to have the fogs of Attica, which were very excellent, bought for him any longer, because he would eat no more of them till he was master of the country.) But before he engaged in an enterprise of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and take the advice of all the greatest and most illustrious persons of his court. He laid before them the design he had of making war against Greece, and acquainted them with his motives; which were, the desire of imitating the example of his predecessors, who had all of them distinguished their names and reigns: y

¹ Herod. l. vi. c. 4.

² Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁνομασθέντων πολλῶν, καὶ ταύτων ἐπίγειον καὶ ἄλλων. Athen. l. x. p. 424.

³ Ita nati erant, ut bona malaque vestra ad romp. pertinerent Tacit. l. iv. c. 8.

⁴ Eccl. i. 13.

⁵ Plut. in Apoph. p. 173

⁶ Herod. l. vii. c. 5. Joseph Antiq. l. xi. c. 5.

⁷ Herod. l. vii. c. 7.

⁸ Aul. Gel. l. xv. c. 23.

⁹ Herod. l. vii. c. 18.—¹⁰ Plut. in Apoph. p. 173.

noble enterprises; the obligation he was under to revenge the insolence of the Athenians, who had presumed to fall upon Sardis, and reduce it to ashes; the necessity he was under to avenge the disgrace his country had received at the battle of Marathon; and the prospect of the great advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conquest of Europe, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added farther, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, and consequently that he only followed and executed his intentions; he concluded with promising ample rewards to those who should distinguish themselves by their valour in the expedition.

Mardonius, the same person who had been so unsuccessful in Darius's reign, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his ill success, and extremely anxious to obtain the command of the army, was the first who gave his opinion. He began by extolling Xerxes above all the kings that had gone before or should succeed him. He endeavoured to show the indispensable necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name: he disparaged the Grecians, and represented them as a cowardly, timorous people, without courage, without forces, or experience in war. For a proof of what he said, he mentioned his own conquest of Macedonia, which he exaggerated in a very vain and ostentatious manner, as if that people had submitted to him without any resistance. He presumed even to affirm, that not any of the Grecian nations would venture to come out against Xerxes, who would march with all the forces of Asia; and that if they had the temerity to present themselves before him, they would learn to their cost, that the Persians were the bravest and most warlike nation in the world.

The rest of the council, perceiving that this flattering discourse was extremely agreeable to the king, were afraid to contradict it, and all kept silence. This was almost an unavoidable consequence of Xerxes's manner of proceeding. A wise prince, when he proposes an affair in council, and really desires that every one should speak his true sentiments, is extremely careful to conceal his own opinion, that he may put no constraint upon that of others, but leave them entirely at liberty. Xerxes, on the contrary, had openly discovered his own inclination, or rather resolution, to undertake the war. When a prince acts in this manner, he will always find artful flatterers, who, being eager to insinuate themselves into favour and to please, and ever ready to comply with his inclinations, will not fail to second his opinion with specious and plausible reasons; whilst those that would be capable of giving good counsel are restrained by fear; there being very few courtiers who love their prince well enough, and have sufficient courage to venture to displease him by disputing what they know to be his taste or opinion.

The excessive praises given by Mardonius to Xerxes, which is the usual language of flatterers, ought to have made the king distrust him, and apprehend, that under an appearance of zeal for his glory, that nobleman endeavoured to cloak his own ambition, and the violent desire he had to command the army. But these sweet and flattering words, which glide like a serpent under flowers, are so far from displeasing princes, that they captivate and charm them. They do not consider that men flatter and praise them, because they believe them weak and vain enough to suffer themselves to be deceived by commendations that bear no proportion to their merit and actions.

This behaviour of the king made the whole council mute. In the general silence, Artabanus, the king's uncle, a prince very venerable for his age and prudence, had the courage to make the following speech: "Permit me, great prince," says he, addressing himself to Xerxes, "to deliver my sentiments to you on this occasion with a liberty suitable to my age and to your interest. When Darius your father, and my brother, first thought of making war against the Scythians, I used all my endeavours to divert him from it. I need not tell you what that enterprise cost, or

what was the success of it. The people you are going to attack are infinitely more formidable than the Scythians. The Grecians are esteemed the very best troops in the world, either by land or sea. If the Athenians alone were able to defeat the numerous army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what ought we to expect from all the states of Greece united together? You design to pass from Asia into Europe, by laying a bridge over the sea. And what will become of us, if the Athenians, proving victorious, should advance to this bridge with their fleet, and break it down? I still tremble when I consider, that in the Scythian expedition, the life of the king, your father, and the safety of all his army, were reduced to depend upon the fidelity of one single man; and that if Hystieus the Milesian had, in compliance with the urgent suggestions made to him, consented to break down the bridge which had been laid over the Danube, the Persian empire had been entirely ruined. Do not expose yourself, sir, to the like danger, especially since you are not obliged to do it. Take time at least to reflect upon it. When we have maturely deliberated upon an affair, whatever happens to be the success of it, we have no blame to impute to ourselves. Precipitation besides its being imprudent, is almost always unfortunate, and attended with fatal consequences. Above all, do not suffer yourself, great prince, to be dazzled with the vain splendour of imaginary glory, or with the pompous appearance of your troops. The highest and most lofty trees have the most reason to dread the thunder. As God alone is truly great, he is an enemy to pride,¹ and takes pleasure in humbling every thing that exalteth itself; and very often the most numerous armies fly before a handful of men, because he inspires the one with courage, and scatters terror among the others."

Artabanus, after having spoken thus to the king, turned himself towards Mardonius, and reproached him with his want of sincerity or judgment, in giving the king a notion of the Grecians so directly contrary to truth; and showed how extremely he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own views of interest and ambition could tempt him to advise. "If a war be resolved upon," added he, "let the king, whose life is dear to us all, remain in Persia; and do you, since you so ardently desire it, march at the head of the most numerous army that can be assembled. In the mean time, let your children and mine be given up as a pledge, to answer for the success of the war. If the issue of it be favourable, I consent that mine be put to death;² but if it prove otherwise, as I well foresee it will, then I desire that your children, and you yourself, on your return, may be treated in such a manner as you deserve, for the rash counsel you have given your master."

Xerxes, who was not accustomed to have his sentiments contradicted in this manner, fell into a rage. "Thank the gods," says he to Artabanus, "that you are my father's brother: were it not for that, you should this moment suffer the just reward of your audacious behaviour. But I will punish you for it in another manner, by leaving you here among the women, whom you too much resemble in your cowardice and fear, whilst I march at the head of my troops, where my duty and glory call me."

Artabanus had expressed his sentiments in very respectful and moderate terms: Xerxes nevertheless was extremely offended. It is the misfortune of princes,³ spoiled by flattery, to look upon every thing as dry and austere, that is sincere and ingenuous, and to regard all counsel delivered with a generous and disinterested freedom, as a seditious presumption. They do not consider that even a good man never dares to tell them all he thinks, nor discover the

¹ Φίλος ὁ Θεός τὰ ὑπερήφανα πάντα κόλπει.—
 γὰρ ἐν ἀρετῇ αὐτοῦ πάντα ὁ Θεὸς ἐκτρέφει.

² Why should the children be punished for their father's faults?

³ Ita formatis principum auribus, ut aspera que nitida, nec quicquam nisi jucundum et letum accipiant.— Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 36

whole truth, especially in things that may be disagreeable to them; and that what they stand most in need of, is a sincere and faithful friend that will conceal nothing from them. A prince ought to think himself very happy, if in his whole reign he finds but one man born with that degree of generosity who certainly ought to be considered as the most valuable treasure of the state, as he is, if the expression may be admitted, both the most necessary, and at the same time the most rare instrument of government.¹

Xerxes himself acknowledged this upon the occasion we are speaking of. When the first emotions of his anger were over, and he had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counsels that had been given him, he confessed he had been to blame to give his uncle such harsh language, and was not ashamed to confess his fault the next day in open council; ingenuously owning, that the heat of youth, and his want of experience, had made him negligent in paying the regard due to a prince so worthy of respect as Artabanes, both for his age and wisdom; and declaring at the same time, that he was come over to his opinion, notwithstanding a dream he had in the night, wherein a phantom had appeared to him, and warmly exhorted him to undertake that war. All who composed the council were delighted to hear the king speak in this manner; and to testify their joy, they fell prostrate before him, striving who should most extol the glory of such a proceeding; nor could their praises on such an occasion be at all suspected. For it is no hard matter to discern,² whether the praises given to princes proceed from the heart, and are founded upon truth, or whether they drop from the lips only as an effect of mere flattery and deceit. That sincere and humiliating acknowledgment made by the king, far from appearing a weakness in him, was looked upon by them as the effort of a great soul, which rises above its faults, in bravely confessing them, by way of reparation and atonement. They admired the nobleness of this procedure the more, as they knew that princes educated like Xerxes, in a vain haughtiness and false glory, are never disposed to own themselves in the wrong, and generally make use of their authority to justify, with pride and obstinacy, whatever faults they have committed through ignorance or imprudence. We may venture, I think, to say, that it is more glorious to rise in this manner, than it would be never to have fallen. Certainly there is nothing greater, and at the same time more rare and uncommon, than to see a mighty and powerful prince, and that in the time of his greatest prosperity, acknowledge his faults, when he happens to commit any, without seeking pretexts or excuses to cover them; pay homage to truth, even when it is against him and condemns him; and leave other princes, who have a false delicacy concerning their grandeur, the shame of always abounding with errors and defects, and of never owning that they have any.

The night following, the same phantom, if we may believe Herodotus, appeared again to the king, and repeated the same solicitations, with new menaces and threatenings. Xerxes communicated what passed to his uncle; and, in order to find out whether this vision proceeded from the gods or not, entreated him earnestly to put on the royal robes, to ascend the throne, and afterwards to take his place in his bed for that night. Artabanes hereupon discoursed very sensibly and rationally with the king upon the vanity of dreams; and then coming to what personally regarded him, "I look upon it,"³ says he, "almost equally commendable to think well one's self, and to hearken with docility to the good counsels of others. You have both these qualities, great prince; and if you

follow the natural bent of your own temper, it would lead you solely to sentiments of wisdom and moderation. You never take any violent measures or resolutions, but when the arts of evil counsellors urge you into them, or the poison of flattery misleads you in the same manner as the ocean, of itself calm and serene, is never disturbed but by the extraneous impulse of other bodies. What afflicted me in the answer you made me the other day, when I delivered my sentiments freely in council, was not the personal affront to me, but the injury you did yourself, by making so wrong a choice between the different counsels that were offered; rejecting that which led you to sentiments of moderation and equity; and embracing the other, which, on the contrary, tended only to nourish pride, and to inflame ambition."

Artabanes, through complaisance, passed the night in the king's bed, and had the same vision which Xerxes had before; that is, in his sleep he saw a man, who severely reproached him, and threatened him with the greatest misfortunes, if he continued to oppose the king's intentions. This so much affected him, that he came over to the king's first opinion, believing that there was something divine in these repeated visions; and the war against the Grecians was resolved upon. These circumstances I relate here as I find them in Herodotus.

Xerxes in the sequel did but ill support this character of moderation. We shall find in him only transient rays of wisdom and reason, which shine forth but for a moment, and then give way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses. We may judge, however, even from thence, that he had very good natural parts and inclinations. But the most excellent qualities are soon spoiled and corrupted by the poison of flattery, and the possession of absolute and unlimited power: *Vi dominationis convulsus*.⁴

It is a fine sentiment in a minister of state, to be less affected with an affront to himself, than with the wrong done his master by giving him evil and pernicious counsel.

Mardonius's counsel was pernicious; because, as Artabanes observes, it tended only to nourish and increase that spirit of haughtiness and violence in the prince, which was but too prevalent in him already, *ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ*; and⁵ because it disposed and accustomed his mind still to carry his views and desires beyond his present fortune, still to be aiming at something farther, and to set no bounds to his ambition. This⁶ is the predominant passion of those men whom we usually call conquerors, and whom, according to the language of the Holy Scripture, we might call with great propriety *robbers of nations*.⁷ If you consider and examine the whole race of Persian kings, says Seneca, will you find any one of them that ever stopped his career of his own accord; that was ever satisfied with his past conquests; or that was not forming some new project or enterprise, when death surprised him? Nor ought we to be astonished at such a disposition, adds the same author: for ambition is a gulf and a bottomless abyss, wherein every thing is lost that is thrown in, and where, though you were to heap province upon province, and kingdom upon kingdom, you would never be able to fill up the mighty void.

SECTION II.—XERXES BEGINS HIS MARCH, AND PASSES FROM ASIA INTO EUROPE, BY CROSSING THE STRAITS OF THE HELLESPONT UPON A BRIDGE OF BOATS.

THE war being resolved upon, A. M. 3523
Xerxes, that he might omit nothing Ant. J. C. 481.

¹ Tacit.

² Ὁ δὲ κῆρυξ ἰς δὴ μῆναις τὸν Διὸς καὶ αἰὼν τοῦ δὲ Κερταίου τῶν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν.

³ Nec hoc Alexandri tantum vitium fuit, quem per Liberti Horculique vestigia felix temeritas egit; sed omnium, quos fortuna irritavit impendo. Totum regni Persici aeternum perenne: quem invenies, cui modum imperii persicis fecerit? qui non vitam in aliqua ulterius procedendi cogitatione finierit? Nec id mirum est. Quicquid cupiditas contigit, penitus hauritur et conditur: nec interest quantum eo quod inexplabile est, congeras. Senec. l. vii. de beneficiis. c. 3.

⁴ Jer. iv.

⁵ Nullum majus boni imperii instrumentum quam bonus amicus. Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 7.

⁶ Nec occultum est quando ex veritate, quando ad miranda lustrata, facta imperatorum celebrantur. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 31.

⁷ This thought is in Hesiod. Opera et Dies, v. 293. Cic. pro Cluentio, n. 84, et Tit. Liv. l. xvii. a. Super ego audire, nihil est, cum primum esse mirum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit; secundum eum, qui bene momenti obediunt; qui nec in se consulere, nec alteri parere sciunt, cum extremi ingenii essent.

which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the most potent people of the West, and made an agreement with them, that whilst the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should fall upon the Grecian colonies that were settled in Sicily and Italy, in order to hinder them from coming to the aid of the other Grecians. The Carthaginians made Amilcar their general, who did not content himself with raising as many troops as he could in Africa, but with the money that Xerxes had sent them, engaged a great number of soldiers out of Spain, Gaul, and Italy, in his service; so that he collected an army of 300,000 men, and a proportionate number of ships, in order to execute the projects and stipulations of the league.

Thus Xerxes, agreeably to the prophet Daniel's¹ prediction, *having through his great power and his great riches stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of Greece*, that is to say, of all the west under the command of Amilcar, and of all the east under his own banner, set out from Susa,² in order to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of Marathon, and marched towards Sardis, the place of rendezvous for the whole army, whilst the fleet advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

Xerxes³ had given orders to have a passage cut through mount Athos. This is a mountain in Macedonia, a province of Turkey in Europe, which extends a great way into the Archipelago, in the form of a peninsula. It is joined to the land only by an isthmus of about half a league over. We have already taken notice, that the sea in this place was very tempestuous, and occasioned frequent shipwrecks. Xerxes made this his pretext for the orders he gave for cutting through the mountain: but the true reason was the vanity of signalizing himself by an extraordinary enterprise, and by doing a thing that was extremely difficult; as Tacitus says of Nero, *erat incredibilium capitor*. Accordingly Herodotus observes, that this undertaking was more vain-glorious than useful, since he might with less trouble and expense have had his vessels carried over the isthmus, as was the practice in those days. The passage he caused to be cut through the mountain was broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars each pass through it abreast. This prince,⁴ who was extravagant enough to believe, that all nature and the very elements were under his command, in consequence of that opinion, wrote a letter to mount Athos in the following terms: "Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head unto the heavens, I advise thee not to be so audacious as to put rocks and stones, which cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou givest them that opposition, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea." At the same time⁵ he ordered his labourers to be scourged, in order to make them carry on the work the faster.

A traveller⁶ who lived in the time of Francis the First, and who wrote a book in Latin concerning the singular and remarkable things he had seen in his travels, doubts the truth of this fact; and takes notice, that as he passed near mount Athos, he could perceive no traces of the work we have been speaking of.

Xerxes,⁷ as we have already related, advanced towards Sardis. Having left Cappadocia, and passed the river Halys, he came to Celæne,⁸ a city of Phry-

gia, near which is the source of the Mæander. Pythius, a Lydian, had his residence in this city, and next to Xerxes was the most opulent prince of those times. He entertained Xerxes and his whole army with an incredible magnificence, and made him an offer of all his wealth towards defraying the expenses of his expedition. Xerxes surprised and charmed at so generous an offer, had the curiosity to inquire to what sum his riches amounted. Pythius made answer, that with the design of offering them to his service, he had taken an exact account of them, and that the silver he had by him amounted to 2000 talents⁹ (which make 6,000,000 French money;) and the gold to 4,000,000 of daricks,¹⁰ wanting 7000 (that is to say to 40,000,000 of livres, wanting 70,000, reckoning ten livres French money to the darick.) All this money he offered him, telling him, that his revenues were sufficient for the support of his household. Xerxes made him very hearty acknowledgments, entered into a particular friendship with him, and that he might not be outdone in generosity, instead of accepting his offers, obliged him to accept as a present the 7000 daricks, which were wanting to make up his gold a round sum of 4,000,000.

After such a conduct as this, who would not think that Pythius's¹¹ peculiar characteristic and particular virtue had been generosity, and a noble contempt of riches? And yet he was one of the most penurious princes in the world; and who, besides his sordid avarice with regard to himself, was extremely cruel and inhuman to his subjects, whom he kept continually employed in hard and fruitless labour, always digging in the gold and silver mines, which he had in his territories. When he was absent from home, his subjects went with tears in their eyes to the princess his wife, laid their complaints before her, and implored her assistance. Commiserating their condition, she made use of a very extraordinary method to work upon her husband, and to give him a clear notion and a palpable demonstration of the folly and injustice of his conduct. On his return home she ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, very magnificent in appearance, but what in reality was no entertainment. All the courses and services were of gold and silver; and the prince, in the midst of all these rich dishes and splendid rarities, could not satisfy his hunger. He easily divined the meaning of this enigma, and began to consider, that the end of gold and silver was not merely to be looked upon, but to be employed and made use of, and that to neglect as he had done, the business of husbandry and the tilling of land, by employing all his people in digging and working of mines, was the direct way to bring a famine both upon himself and his country. For the future, therefore, he only reserved a fifth part of his people for the business of mining. Plutarch has preserved this fact in a treatise, wherein he has collected a great many others to prove the ability and industry of ladies. We have the same disposition of mind noticed in fabulous story, in the example of a prince,¹² who reigned in this very country, for whom every thing that he touched was immediately turned into gold, according to the request which he himself had made to the gods, and who by that means was in danger of perishing with hunger.

The same prince,¹³ who had made such obliging offers to Xerxes, having desired as a favour of him some time afterwards, that out of his five sons who served in his army, he would be pleased to leave him the eldest, in order to be a support and comfort to him in his old age; the king was so enraged at the proposal, though so reasonable in itself, that he caused

¹ Dan. xi. 2.

² Herod. i. vii. c. 26.

³ Plut. de ira colub. p. 455.

⁴ Plut. de anim. tranqu. p. 470.

⁵ Bellum singul. rer. observ. p. 78.

⁶ Herod. i. vii. c. 26. 29.

⁷ This city, agreeably to the text, was situated in Phrygia Major on the road from Susa to Sardis. It is now in ruins, and modern geographers are much divided in opinion respecting its ancient site. It was a city of great note in the days of the Lydian and Phrygian kings, and during the time of the Persian empire; it is also noted in the march

⁸ Ibid. c. 21, 24.

of the younger Cyrus, and a description of its site has been given by Xenophon in the Anabasis. Here was the grand rendezvous of the army of the prince, who staved here no less than 70 days, and was joined here by Clearchus and 3700 Greeks.

⁹ About 255,000 sterling.

¹⁰ About 1,700,000 sterling.

¹¹ Plutarch calls him Pythius. Plut. de virt. mulier. p. 362.

¹² Midas, king of Phrygia.

¹³ Herod. i. vii. c. 38, 39. Sen. de ira. l. ii. c. 17.

the eldest son to be killed before the eyes of his father, giving him to understand, that it was a favour that he spared the lives of him and the rest of his children; and then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army pass between them, as if he meant to purge and purify it by such a sacrifice. What a monster in nature is a prince of this kind! How is it possible to have any dependence upon the friendship of the great, or to rely upon their warmest professions and protestations of gratitude and service?

From Phrygia,¹ Xerxes marched to Sardis, where he spent the winter. From hence he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to require them to give him earth and water, which as we have taken notice of before, was the way of exacting and acknowledging submission.

As soon as the spring of the year came on, he left Sardis, and directed his march towards the Hellespont. Being arrived there,² he wished to have the pleasure of seeing a naval engagement. A throne was erected for him upon an eminence; and in that situation, seeing all the sea crowded with his vessels, and the land covered with his troops, he at first felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his soul, in surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and considering himself as the most happy of mortals; but reflecting soon afterwards, that of so many thousands in a hundred years' time there would not be one living soul remaining, his joy was turned into grief, and he could not forbear weeping at the uncertainty and instability of human things. He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of making himself useful to the young prince, and of instilling into him sentiments of goodness for his people, took advantage of this moment in which he found him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, and led him into farther reflections upon the miseries with which the lives of most men are attended, and which render them so painful and unhappy; endeavouring at the same time to make him sensible of the duty and obligation of princes, who, not being able to prolong the natural life of their subjects, ought at least to do all that lies in their power to alleviate the troubles and allay the bitterness of it.

In the same conversation Xerxes asked his uncle if he still persisted in his first opinion, and if he would still advise him not to make war against Greece, supposing he had not seen the vision, which occasioned him to change his sentiments. Artabanes owned he still had his fears; and that he was very uneasy concerning two things. What are those two things? replied Xerxes. The land and the sea, says Artabanes: the land, because there is no country that can feed and maintain so numerous an army; the sea, because there are no ports capable of receiving such a multitude of vessels. The king was very sensible of the strength of this reasoning; but as it was now too late to go back, he made answer, that in great undertakings, men ought not so narrowly to examine all the inconveniences that may attend them; that if they did, no signal enterprises would ever be attempted: and that if his predecessors had observed so scrupulous and timorous a rule of policy, the Persian empire would never have attained its present height of greatness and glory.

Artabanes gave the king another piece of very prudent advice, which he no more thought fit to follow than he had the former; this was, not to employ the Ionians in his service against the Grecians, from whom they were originally descended, and on which account he ought to suspect their fidelity. Xerxes, however, after these conversations with his uncle,

treated him with great friendship, paid him the highest marks of honour and respect, sent him back to Susa, to take the care and administration of the empire upon him during his own absence, and to that end invested him with his whole authority.

Xerxes,³ at a vast expense, had caused a bridge of boats to be built upon the sea, for the passage of his forces from Asia into Europe. The space that separates the two continents, formerly called the Hellespont, and now called the straits of the Dardanelles, or of Gallipoli, is seven stadia in breadth, which is near an English mile. A violent storm arose on a sudden and broke down the bridge. Xerxes hearing this news on his arrival, fell into a transport of rage; and in order to avenge himself for so cruel an affront, commanded two pair of chains to be thrown into the sea, as if he meant to shackle and confine it, and his men to give it 300 strokes of a whip, addressing it in this manner: "Thou troublesome and unhappy element, thus does thy master chastise thee for having affronted him without reason. Know, that Xerxes will easily find means to pass over thy waters, in spite of all thy billows and resistance." The extravagance of this prince did not stop here: but, making the undertakers of the work answerable for events which do not in the least depend upon the power of man, he ordered all those persons to have their heads struck off, that had been charged with the direction and management of that undertaking.

Xerxes⁴ commanded two other bridges to be built, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. He appointed workmen more able and expert than the former, who went about it in this manner:—they placed 360 vessels across, some of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars apiece, with their sides turned towards the Euxine sea; and on the side that faced the Ægean sea, they put 314. They then cast large anchors into the water on both sides, in order to fix and secure all these vessels against the violence of the winds, and against the current of the water.⁵ On the east side they left three passages or vacant spaces between the vessels, that there might be room for small boats to go and come easily, as there was occasion, to and from the Euxine sea. After this, upon the land on both sides, they drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast cables, which went over each of the two bridges; two of which cables were made of hemp, and four of a sort of reeds called *Biblos*, which were made use of in those times for the making of cordage. Those that were made of hemp must have been of an extraordinary strength and thickness, since every cubit of those cables weighed a talent.⁶ The cables laid over the whole extent of the vessels lengthwise, reached from one side to the other of the sea. When this part of the work was finished, quite over the vessels from side to side, and over the cables we have been speaking of, they laid the trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and planks again over them, fastened and joined together, to serve as a kind of floor or solid bottom; all which they covered over with earth, and added rails or battlements on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at seeing the sea in their passage. This was the mode of constructing those famous bridges built by Xerxes.

When the whole work was completed, a day was appointed for their passing over. And as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly spread over both of the bridges, and the way was strewn with myrtle. At the same time Xerxes poured out libations into the sea, and turning his face towards the sun, the principal object of the Persian worship, he implored the

¹ Herod. vii. 33.—36.

⁴ Herod. i. vii. c. 36.

² Polybius remarks, that there is a current of water from the lake Mæotis and the Euxine sea into the Ægean sea, occasioned by the rivers which empty themselves into those two seas. *Pol. l. iv. p. 307, 308.*

³ A talent in weight consisted of 60 minæ; that is to say of 42 pounds of our weight; and the mina consisted of 100 drachms.

assistance of that god in the enterprise he had undertaken, and desired the continuance of his protection till he had made the entire conquest of Europe, and had brought it into subjection to his power; this done, he threw the vessel which he had used in making his libations, together with a golden cup and a Persian scimitar, into the sea. The army was seven days and seven nights in passing over these straits; those who were appointed to conduct the march, lashing the poor soldiers all the while with whips, in order to quicken their speed, according to the custom of that nation, which, properly speaking, was only a huge assembly of slaves.

SECTION III.—ENUMERATION OF XERXES'S FORCES. DEMARATUS DELIVERS HIS SENTIMENTS FREELY UPON THAT PRINCE'S ENTERPRISE.

XERXES,¹ directing his march across the Thracian Chersonesus, arrived at Doriscus, a city standing at the mouth of the Hebrus, in Thrace; where, having encamped his army, and given orders for his fleet to follow him along the shore, he reviewed them both.

He found the land army which he had brought out of Asia, consisted of 1,700,000 foot and 80,000 horse, which, with 20,000 men that were absolutely necessary at least for conducting and taking care of the carriages and the camels, made in all 1,800,000 men. When he had passed the Hellespont, the nations that submitted to him made an addition to his army of 300,000 men, which made all his land forces together amount to 2,100,000 men.

His fleet, when it set out from Asia, consisted of 1207 vessels of war, all of three banks of oars. Each vessel carried 200 men, natives of the country, that fitted them out, besides thirty more, that were either Persians or Medes, or of the Sages; which made in all, 277,610 men. The European nations augmented his fleet with 120 vessels, each of which carried 200 men; in all, 24,000; these, added to the others, amounted together to 301,610 men.

Besides this fleet, which consisted all of large vessels, the small galleys of thirty and fifty oars, the transport ships, the vessels that carried the provisions, and that were employed in other uses, amounted to 3000. If we reckon but eighty men in each of these vessels, one with another, that made in the whole 240,000 men.

Thus, when Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ, his land and sea forces together made up the number of 2,641,610 men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, soldiers, and other people of that sort, which usually follow an army, and whose number at this time was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of those that followed Xerxes in this expedition, amounted to 5,283,220. This is the computation which Herodotus makes of them, and in which Plutarch and Isocrates agree with him. Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Ælian,² and others, fall very short of this number in their calculation; but their accounts of this matter appear to be less authentic than that of Herodotus, who lived in the same age in which this expedition was made, and who repeats the inscription engraved, by the order of the Amphictyons, upon the monument of those Grecians who were killed at Thermopylæ, which expressed that they fought against 3,000,000 of men.

For the sustenance of all these persons,³ there must be every day consumed, according to Herodotus's computation, above 110,340 medimni of flour (the medimnus was a measure which, according to Budæus, was equivalent to six of our bushels,) allowing for every head the quantity of a chœnix, which was the daily allowance that masters gave their slaves among the Grecians. We have no account in history of any other army so numerous as this. And amongst all these millions of men, there is not one that could vie with Xerxes in point of beauty, either for the comeli-

ness of his face, or the tallness of his person. But this is a poor merit or pre-eminence for a prince, when attended with no other. Accordingly, Justin, after he has mentioned the number of these troops, adds that this vast body of forces wanted a chief: *Huic tanto agmini dux defuit.*

We should hardly be able to conceive how it was possible to find a sufficient quantity of provisions for such an immense number of persons, if the historian⁴ had not informed us, that Xerxes had employed four whole years in making preparations for this expedition. We have seen already how many vessels of burden there were, that coasted along continually to attend upon, and supply, the land army; and doubtless there were fresh ones arriving every day, that furnished the camp with a sufficient plenty of all things necessary.

Herodotus⁵ acquaints us with the method of which they made use to calculate these forces, which were almost innumerable. They assembled 10,000 men in a particular place, and ranked them as close together as was possible; after which they described a circle quite round them, and erected a little wall upon that circle, about half the height of a man's body: when this was done, they made the whole army successively pass through this space, and thereby knew to what number it amounted.

Herodotus gives us also a particular account of the different armour of all the nations that constituted this army. Besides the generals of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their respective country, the land army was under the command of six Persian generals; viz. Mardonius, the son of Gobryas; Tirintatechmes, the son of Artabanus, and Smerdonas, son to Otanes both near relations to the king; Masistes, son of Darius and Atosas; Gergis, son of Arizates; and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus. The 10,000 Persians who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes. The cavalry had its particular commanders.

There were likewise four Persian generals who commanded the fleet. In Herodotus⁶ we have a particular account of all the nations by which it was fitted out. Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who since the death of her husband governed the kingdom for her son, that was still a minor, brought but five vessels along with her; but they were the best equipped, and the lightest ships in the whole fleet, next to those of the Sidonians. This princess distinguished herself in this war by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct. Herodotus observes, that among all the commanders in the army, there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice and such wise counsel as this queen; but he was not prudent enough to profit by it.

When Xerxes had numbered his whole forces by land and sea, he asked Demaratus if he thought the Grecians would dare to wait for him. I have already taken notice, that this Demaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who being exiled by the faction of his enemies, had taken refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and beneficence. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise,⁷ that a king should suffer himself to be banished, and desired him to acquaint them with the reason of it, "It is," says he "because at Sparta the law is more powerful than the kings." This prince was very much esteemed in Persia; but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king, could make him forget his country.⁸ As soon as he knew that Xerxes was making preparations for the war, he found means to give the Grecians secret intelligence of it. And now, being obliged on this occasion to speak his sentiments, he did it with such a noble freedom and dignity, as became a Spartan, and a king of Sparta.

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 56—99, 184—187.

² Diod. l. xl. p. 3. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 3.

³ Herod. . vii. c. 187.

⁴ Herod. l. vii. c. 20.

⁵ Ibid. c. 60.

⁶ Ibid. c. 89, 99.

⁷ Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 230.

⁸ *Amicior patriæ post fugam quam regi post beneficia Justin.*

Demaratus,¹ before he answered the king's question, desired to know whether it was his pleasure that he should flatter him, or that he should speak his thoughts to him freely and sincerely. Xerxes having declared, that he desired him to act with the utmost sincerity, "Great prince," says Demaratus, "since it is agreeable to your pleasure and commands, I shall deliver my sentiments to you with the utmost truth and sincerity. It must be confessed, that from the beginning of time Greece has been trained up and accustomed to poverty; but then she has introduced and established virtue within her territories, which wisdom cultivates, and the vigour of her laws maintains. And it is by the use which Greece knows how to make of this virtue, that she defends herself equally against the inconveniences of poverty and the yoke of servitude. But to speak only of the Lacedæmonians, my particular countrymen, you may assure yourself, that as they are born and bred up in liberty, they will never hearken to any proposals that tend to slavery. Though they were deserted and abandoned by all the other Grecians, and reduced to a band of a thousand men, or even to a more inconsiderable number, they will still come out to meet you, and not refuse to give you battle." Xerxes, upon hearing this discourse, fell a laughing; and as he could not comprehend how men in such a state of liberty and independence as the Lacedæmonians were described to enjoy, who had no master to force and compel them to it, could be capable of exposing themselves in such a manner to danger and death; Demaratus replied, "The Spartans² indeed are free, and under no subjection to the will of any man; but at the same time they have laws, to which they are subject, and of which they stand in greater awe than your subjects do of your majesty. Now by these laws they are forbidden ever to fly in battle, let the number of their enemies be never so superior; and are commanded, by abiding firm in their post, either to conquer or to die."

Xerxes was not offended at the liberty wherewith Demaratus spoke to him, and continued his march.

SECTION IV.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS SEND TO THEIR ALLIES TO REQUIRE SUC-COURS FROM THEM, BUT TO NO PURPOSE. THE COMMAND OF THE FLEET GIVEN TO THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

LACEDÆMON Athens,³ which were the two most powerful cities of Greece, and those against which Xerxes was most exasperated, were not indolent or asleep whilst so formidable an enemy was approaching. Having received intelligence long before of the designs of this prince, they had sent spies to Sardis, in order to gain more exact information as to the number and quality of his forces. These spies were seized, and as they were just going to be put to death, Xerxes countermanded it, and gave orders that they should be conducted through his army, and then he sent back without any harm being done them. At their return, the Grecians understood what they had to apprehend from so potent an enemy.

They sent deputies at the same time to Argos, into Sicily to Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, to the isles of Corcyra and Crete, to desire succours from them, and to form a league against the common enemy.

The people of Argos offered a very considerable succour,⁴ on condition that they should have an equal share of the authority and command with the Lacedæmonians. The latter consented, that the king of Argos should have the same authority as either of the two kings of Sparta. This was granting them a great deal: but into what errors and mischiefs are not men led by a mistaken point of honour, and a foolish jealousy of command! The Argives were not contented with this offer, and refused to assist the allied Grecians, without considering, that if they suffered them to be destroyed, their own ruin must inevitably follow that of Greece.

The deputies proceeded from Argos to Sicily,⁵ and

addressed themselves to Gelon, who was the most potent prince at that time among the Greeks. He promised to assist them with 200 vessels of three benches of oars, with an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, 2000 light-armed soldiers, and the same number of bowmen and slingers, and to supply the Grecian army with provisions during the whole war, on condition they would make him generalissimo of all the forces both by land and sea. The Lacedæmonians were highly offended at such a proposal. Gelon then abated somewhat in his demands, and promised the same, provided he had at least the command either of the fleet or of the army. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the Athenians, who made answer, that they alone had a right to command the fleet, in case the Lacedæmonians were willing to give it up. Gelon had a more substantial reason for not leaving Sicily unprovided with troops, which was the approach of the formidable army of the Carthaginians, commanded by Amilcar, that consisted of 300,000 men.

The inhabitants of Corcyra,⁶ now called Corfu, gave the envoys a favourable answer, and immediately put to sea with a fleet of sixty vessels. But they advanced no farther than the coasts of Laconia, pretending they were hindered by contrary winds, but in reality waiting to see the success of an engagement that they might afterwards range themselves on the side of the conqueror.

The people of Crete,⁷ having consulted the Delphic oracle, to know what resolution they were to take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league.

Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians left almost to themselves,⁸ all the rest of the cities and nations having submitted to the heralds that Xerxes had sent to require earth and water of them, excepting the people of Thespia and of Platæe. In so pressing a danger,⁹ their first care was to put an end to all discord and division among themselves; for which reason the Athenians made peace with the people of Egina, with whom they were actually at war.

Their next care was to appoint a general,¹⁰ for there never was any occasion wherein it was more necessary to choose one, who was capable of so important a trust, than in the present conjuncture, when Greece was upon the point of being attacked by the forces of all Asia. The most able and experienced captains, terrified at the greatness of the danger, had taken the resolution of not presenting themselves as candidates. There was a certain citizen at Athens, whose name was Epicydes, that had some eloquence, but in other respects was a person of no merit, was in disreputation for his want of courage, and notorious for his avarice. Notwithstanding all which it was apprehended that in the assembly of the people the votes would run in his favour. Themistocles, who was sensible, that¹¹ in calm weather almost any mariner may be capable of conducting a vessel, but that in storms and tempests the most able pilots are at a loss, was convinced, that the commonwealth was ruined, if Epicydes was chosen general, whose venal and mercenary soul gave them the justest reason to fear that he was not proof against the Persian gold. There are occasions, when, in order to act wisely (I had almost said regularly,) it is necessary to dispense with and rise above all rule. Themistocles, who knew very well that in the present state of affairs he was the only person capable of commanding, did for that reason make no scruple of employing bribes and presents to remove his competitor; and¹² having found means to make the ambition of Epicydes amends, by gratifying his avarice, he got himself elected general in his stead. We may here, I think, very justly apply to Themistocles, what Livy says of Fabius, on a like occasion. This great commander finding, when

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 108.

² Ibid. 161—171.

³ Ibid. c. 132.

⁴ Ibid. c. 145.

⁵ Plut. in Themist. p. 114.

⁶ Quilibet nautarum vectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest: ubi orta sæva tempestas est, ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et gubernatore opus est. *Liv.* l. xxiv. n. 8.

⁷ Ὁ ἄριστος τῶν φιλοστρατιῶν ἐκείνητος παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρακλίδου

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 101. 105.

² Ibid. c. 104.

³ Ibid. c. 145. 146.

⁴ Ibid. c. 148. 152

⁵ Ibid. c. 153—161

Hannibal was in the heart of Italy, that the people were going to make a man of no merit consul, employed all his own influence, as well as that of his friends, to be continued in the consulship, without being concerned at the clamour that might be raised against him; and he succeeded in the attempt. The historian adds,¹ "The conjuncture of affairs, and the extreme danger to which the commonwealth was exposed, were arguments of such weight, that they prevented any one from being offended at a conduct which might appear to be contrary to rule, and removed all suspicion of Fabius's having acted from any motive of interest or ambition. On the contrary, the public admired his generosity and greatness of soul in that, as he knew the commonwealth had occasion for an accomplished general, and could not be ignorant or doubtful of his own singular merit in that respect, he had chosen rather in some sort to hazard his own reputation, and perhaps expose his character to the reproaches of envious tongues, than to be wanting in any service he could render his country."

The Athenians also passed a decree to recall home all their people that were in banishment.² They were afraid lest Aristides should join their enemies, and lest his authority should carry over a great many others to the side of the barbarians. But they were very little acquainted with their citizen, who was infinitely remote from such sentiments. Be that as it may, they thought fit to recall him, and Themistocles was so far from opposing the decree for that purpose, that he promoted it with all his influence and authority. The hatred and division of these great men had nothing of that implacable, bitter, and outrageous spirit which prevailed among the Romans in the later times of the republic. The danger of the state was the cause of their reconciliation, and when their services were necessary to the preservation of the public, they laid aside all their jealousy and rancour: and we shall see by the sequel, that Aristides was so far from secretly thwarting his former rival, that he zealously contributed to the success of his enterprises, and to the advancement of his glory.

The alarm increased in Greece, in proportion as they received advice that the Persian army advanced. If the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had been able to make no other resistance than with their land forces, Greece had been utterly ruined and reduced to slavery. This exigence taught them how to set a right value upon the prudent foresight of Themistocles, who upon some other pretext had caused 100 galleys to be built. Instead of judging like the rest of the Athenians, who looked upon the victory of Marathon as the end of the war, he on the contrary considered it rather as the beginning, and as the signal of still greater battles, for which it was necessary to prepare the Athenian people; and from that very time he began to think of raising Athens to a superiority over Sparta, which for a long time had been the mistress of all Greece. With this view he judged it expedient to direct all the strength of Athens entirely towards naval affairs, perceiving very plainly that as she was so weak by land, she had no other way to render herself necessary to her allies or formidable to her enemies. His advice prevailed in spite of the opposition of Miltiades, whose difference of opinion undoubtedly arose from the little probability there was, that a people entirely unacquainted with fighting at sea, and who were capable of fitting out, and arming only very small vessels, should be able to withstand so formidable a power as that of the Persians, who had both a numerous land army and a fleet of above 1000 ships.

The Athenians had some silver mines in a part of Attica called Laurium,³ the whole revenues and pro-

duct of which used to be distributed amongst them. Themistocles had the courage to propose to the people that they should abolish these distributions, and employ that money in building vessels with three benches of oars, in order to make war upon the people of Ægina, against whom he endeavoured to rekindle their ancient jealousy. No people are ever willing to sacrifice their private interests to the general utility of the public; for they seldom have so much generosity or public spirit, as to purchase the welfare of the state at their own expense. The Athenian people, however, did it upon this occasion; moved by the earnest remonstrances of Themistocles, they consented, that the money which arose from the product of the mines, should be employed in the building of 100 galleys. Against the arrival of Xerxes they doubled the number, and to that fleet Greece owed its preservation.

When they came to the point of naming a general for the command of the navy,⁴ the Athenians who alone had furnished two-thirds of it, laid claim to that honour as appertaining to them, and their pretensions were certainly just and well grounded. It happened, however, that the suffrages of the allies all concurred in favour of Eurybiades, a Lacedæmonian. Themistocles, though very aspiring after glory, thought it incumbent upon him on this occasion to neglect his own interests for the common good of the nation: and giving the Athenians to understand, that, provided they behaved as valiant men, all the Grecians would quickly desire to confer the command upon them of their own accord, he persuaded them to consent, as he would do himself, to give up that point at present to the Spartans. It may justly be said, that this prudent moderation in Themistocles was another means of saving the state. For the allies threatened to separate themselves from them, if they refused to comply; and if that had happened, Greece must have been inevitably ruined.

SECTION V.—THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ THE DEATH OF LEONIDAS.

THE only thing that now remained to be discussed,⁵ was to know in what place they should resolve to meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented, that as they were the most exposed, and likely to be first attacked by the enemy, it was but reasonable, that their defence and security, on which the safety of all Greece so much depended, should first be provided for; without which they should be obliged to take other measures, that would be contrary to their inclination, but yet absolutely necessary, in case their country was left unprotected and defenceless. It was hereupon resolved, that 10,000 men should be sent to guard the passage which separates Macedonia from Thessaly near the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. But Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, having given them to understand, that if they waited for the Persians in that place they must inevitably be overpowered by their numbers, they retired to Thermopylæ. The Thessalians finding themselves thus abandoned without any farther deliberation submitted to the Persians.

Thermopylæ⁶ is a strait or narrow pass of mount

¹ Herod. l. viii. c. 213. ² Ibid. l. vii. c. 172, 173.

³ Tempus ac necessitas belli, ac discrimen summæ rerum, faciebant ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret, aut aspectum cupiditatis imperitii consulem haberet. Quin laudabant patris magnitudinem animi, quod cum summo imperatore esse opus reip. sciret, æque eum haud dubie esse, minoris laudum am, si qua ex re oriretur, quàm, utilitatem reip. societum. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 9.

⁴ Plut. in Arist. p. 332, 323.

⁵ Plut. in Themist. p. 113.

⁶ Pass of Thermopylæ.—The appellation, Thermopylæ means the pass of the Hot-springs. Beyond the fountain where the Spartans were combating their hair when seen by the spy despatched to observe their motions by Xerxes, to the north is an extensive bog or fen, through which a narrow paved causeway was the only approach to southern Greece. It is bordered on either side by a deep and impracticable morass; and it is further bounded by the sea towards the east, and the precipices of Mount Ossa to the west. Here is situated the Turkish *Dervaze*, or barrier, upon a small narrow stone bridge, marking the most important point of the whole passage, as it is still occupied by sentinels as in ancient times, and is therefore, even now, considered as the Pylæ of the southern provinces. The Tumulus, erected as a monument over the bodies of the Spartans who were slain with the brave Leonidas in defending this pass, still exists.

Εἶτα,¹ between Thessaly and Phocis, only twenty-five feet broad, which therefore might be defended by a small number of forces, and which was the only way through which the Persian land army could enter Achaia, and advance to besiege Athens. This was the place where the Grecian army thought fit to wait for the enemy: the person who commanded it was Leonidas, one of the two kings of Sparta.

Xerxes in the mean time was upon his march:² he had given orders for his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to those of the land army. Wherever he came he found provision and refreshment prepared beforehand, pursuant to the orders he had sent; and every city he arrived at gave him a magnificent entertainment, which cost immense sums of money. The vast expense of these treats gave occasion to a witty saying of a certain citizen of Abdera in Thrace, who, when the king was gone, said, they ought to thank the gods, that he ate but one meal a day.

In the same country of Thrace,³ there was a prince who showed an extraordinary greatness of soul on this occasion: it was the king of the Bisaltæ. Whilst all the other princes ran into servitude, and basely submitted to Xerxes, he proudly refused to receive his yoke or to obey him. Not being in a condition to resist him with open force, he retired to the top of the mountain Rhodope, into an inaccessible place, and forbade all his sons, who were six in number, to carry arms against Greece. But they, either through fear of Xerxes, or through a curiosity to see so important a war, followed the Persians, in contradiction to their father's injunction. On their return home, their father, to punish so direct a disobedience, condemned all his sons to have their eyes put out. Xerxes continued his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every thing giving way before him till he came to the strait of Thermopylæ.

One cannot see, without the utmost astonishment,⁴ what a handful of troops the Grecians opposed to the innumerable army of Xerxes. We find a particular account of their numbers in Pausanias. All their forces joined together, amounted only to 11,200 men; of which number 4000 only were employed at Thermopylæ to defend the pass. But these soldiers, adds the historian, were all determined to a man either to conquer or die. And what is it that such an army cannot effect?

When Xerxes advanced near the straits of Thermopylæ,⁵ he was strangely surprised to find that they were determined to dispute his passage. He had always flattered himself, that on the first hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight; nor could he ever be persuaded to believe, what Demaratus had told him from the beginning of his project, that at the first pass he came to, he would find his whole army stopped by a handful of men. He sent out a spy before him to view the enemy. The spy brought him word, that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their intrenchments, and that they were diverting themselves with military exercises, and combing their hair: this was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle.

Xerxes, still entertaining some hopes, waited four days on purpose to give them time to retreat. And in this interval of time he used his utmost endeavours to gain Leonidas,⁶ by making him magnificent promises, and assuring him that he would make him master of all Greece, if he would come over to his

party. Leonidas rejected his proposal with scorn and indignation. Xerxes having afterwards written to him to deliver up his arms, Leonidas, in a style and spirit, truly laconical, answered him in two words; *Come and take them.*⁷ Nothing remained, but to prepare to engage the Lacedæmonians. Xerxes first commanded his Median forces to march against them, with orders to take them all alive and bring them to him. The Medes were not able to stand the charge of the Grecians; and being shamefully put to flight, they showed, says Herodotus,⁸ that Xerxes had a great many men, but few soldiers. The next that were sent to face the Spartans, were those Persians called the Immortal Band, which consisted of 10,000 men, and were the best troops in the whole army. But these had no better success than the former.

Xerxes, despairing of being able to force his way through troops so determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed, and could not tell what resolution to take; when an inhabitant of the country came to him, and discovered a secret path,⁹ leading to an eminence which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. He quickly despatched a detachment thither, which, marching all night, arrived there at the break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post.

The Greeks were soon apprized of this misfortune; and Leonidas, seeing that it was now impossible to withstand the enemy, obliged the rest of the allies to retire, but stayed himself with his 300 Lacedæmonians, all resolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either Lacedæmon or her king must necessarily perish, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The Spartans lost all hopes either of conquering or escaping, and looked upon Thermopylæ as their burying place. The king, exhorting his men to take some nourishment, and telling them at the same time, that they should sup together with Pluto, they set up a shout of joy as if they had been invited to a banquet, and full of ardour advanced with their king to battle. The shock was exceedingly violent and bloody. Leonidas was one of the first that fell. The endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. At length, not vanquished, but oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man, who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country, and nobody would keep company or converse with him; but soon afterwards he made glorious amends for his fault at the battle of Platææ, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Xerxes,¹⁰ enraged to the last degree against Leonidas for daring to make head against him, caused his dead body to be hung on a gallows; and while he intended dishonour to his enemy covered himself with disgrace.

Some time after these transactions, by order of the Amphictyons, a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ in honour of these brave defenders of Greece; and upon the monument were two inscriptions: one of which was general, and related to all those that died at Thermopylæ, importing that the Greeks of Peloponnesus, to the number only of 4000, had made head against the Persian army, which consisted of 3,000,000 of men: the other related to the Spartans in particular. It was composed by the poet Simonides, and is very remarkable for its simplicity. It is as follows:

Ὁ ξείν', ἀνέστηλον Ἀλκεδονίαντες, ὅτι τῶδε
Καίμεθα, τοῖς κείνων περὶθήμενοι νομήκοις.¹¹

¹ Ἀντιγρᾶψῃ, Μελων λαβῇ.

² Ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνδρες οἶον, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀνδρεῖς.

Quid multi homines essent, pauci autem viri.

³ When the Gauls 200 years after this, came to invade Greece, they possessed themselves of the straits of Thermopylæ by means of the same by-path, which the Grecians had still neglected to secure. *Pausan.* l. i. p. 7, 8.

⁴ Herod. l. vii. c. 238.

⁵ Παρίσμιμο Λακεδemoniῖν Thermopyliæ occiderunt ἢ quæ Simonides;

Dir. hospes, Spartæ nos te hic vidisse iacentes.

Dum sanctis patris legibus œquimur.

Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* l. i. n. 101.

placed on the very top of the eminence to which the Greeks retired: "and there," says Herodotus, "is the Tumulus, at the entrance of the defile, where now stands the stone lion, sacred to Leonidas." This eminence overlooks the narrowest and steepest part of the defile. This Tumulus is a conical mound of earth, covered with the broken remains of a massive square pedestal, which served as a foundation for some monument, perhaps the stone lion mentioned above.]

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 175, 177.

² Ibid. c. 108, 129.

³ Ibid. l. viii. c. 116.

⁴ Paus. l. x. p. 645.

⁵ Herod. l. vii. c. 207—231. *Diod.* l. xi. p. 5, 10.

⁶ Put. in Lacon. *Apoph.* p. 235.

That is to say: *Go, passenger, and tell at Lacedæmon, that we died here in obedience to her sacred laws.* Forty years afterwards, Pausanias, who obtained the victory of Platææ, caused the bones of Leonidas to be carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory near which was likewise another erected for Pausanias. Every year at these tombs was a funeral oration pronounced in honour of these heroes, and public games celebrated, at which none but Lacedæmonians had a right to be present; in order to show, that they alone were concerned in the glory obtained at Thermopylæ.

Xerxes in that affair lost above 20,000 men,¹ among whom were two of the king's brothers. He was very sensible that so great a loss, which was a manifest proof of the courage of their enemies, was capable of alarming and discouraging his soldiers. In order therefore to conceal the knowledge of it from them, he caused all his men that were killed in that action, except 1000, whose bodies he ordered to be left upon the field, to be thrown together into large holes, which were secretly made, and covered over afterwards with earth and herbs. This stratagem succeeded very ill: for when the soldiers in his fleet, being curious to see the field of battle, obtained leave to come thither for that purpose, it served rather to discover his own littleness of soul, than to conceal the number of the slain.

Dismayed with a victory that had cost him so dear,² he asked Demaratus, if the Lacedæmonians had yet many such soldiers. That prince told him, that the Spartan republic had a great many cities belonging to it, of which all the inhabitants were exceedingly brave; but that those of Lacedæmon, who were properly called Spartans, and who were 8000 in number, surpassed all the rest in valour, and were all of them such as those who had fought under Leonidas.

I return for an instant to the battle of Thermopylæ, the issue of which, fatal in appearance, might make an impression upon the minds of the readers to the disadvantage of the Lacedæmonians, and occasion their courage to be looked upon as the effect of a presumptuous temerity, or a desperate resolution.

That action of Leonidas, with his 300 Spartans, was not the effect of rashness or despair, but was a wise and noble conduct, as Diodorus Siculus³ has taken care to observe, in his magnificent encomium upon that famous engagement, to which he ascribes the success of all the ensuing campaigns. Leonidas knowing that Xerxes was marching at the head of all the forces of the East, in order to overwhelm and crush a little country by the dint of numbers, rightly conceived, from the superiority of his genius and understanding, that if they pretended to make the success of that war consist in opposing force to force, and numbers to numbers, all the Grecian nations together would never be able to equal the Persians, or to dispute the victory with them; that it was therefore necessary to point out to Greece another means of safety and preservation, whilst she was under these alarms; and that they ought to show the whole universe, who had all their eyes upon them, what may be done, when greatness of mind is opposed to force of body, true courage and bravery against blind impetuosity, the love of liberty against tyrannical oppression, and a few disciplined veteran troops against a confused multitude, though never so numerous. These brave Lacedæmonians thought it became them, who were the choicest soldiers of the chief people of Greece, to devote themselves to certain death, in order to make the Persians sensible how difficult it is to reduce free men to slavery, and to teach the rest of Greece by their example, either to conquer or to perish.

These sentiments do not originate from my own invention, nor do I ascribe them to Leonidas without foundation: they are plainly comprised in that short answer, which that worthy king of Sparta made to a certain Lacedæmonian; who, being astonished at the

generous resolution the king had taken, spoke to him in this manner: "Is it possible then, sir,⁴ that you can think of marching with a handful of men against such a mighty and innumerable army?"—"If we are to reckon upon numbers," replied Leonidas, "all the people of Greece together would not be sufficient since a small part of the Persian army is equal to all her inhabitants: but if we are to reckon upon valour, my little troop is more than sufficient."

The event showed the justness of this prince's sentiments. That illustrious example of courage astonished the Persians, and gave new spirit and vigour to the Greeks. The lives then of this heroic leader and his brave troop were not thrown away, but usefully employed; and their death was attended with a double effect, more great and lasting than they themselves had imagined. On one hand, it was in a manner the seed of their ensuing victories, which made the Persians for ever after lay aside all thoughts of attacking Greece; so that during the seven or eight succeeding reigns, there was neither any prince who durst entertain such a design, nor any flatterer in his court who durst propose the plan to him. On the other hand, such a signal and exemplary instance of intrepidity made an indelible impression upon all the rest of the Grecians, and left a persuasion deeply rooted in their hearts, that they were able to subdue the Persians, and subvert their vast empire. Cimón was the man who made the first attempt of that kind with success. Agesilaus afterwards pushed that design so far, that he made the great king tremble in his palace at Susa. Alexander at last accomplished it with incredible facility. He never had the least doubt, any more than the Macedonians who followed him, or the whole country of Greece that chose him general in that expedition, but that with 30,000 men he could overturn the Persian empire, since 300 Spartans had been sufficient to check the united forces of the whole East.

SECTION VI.—NAVAL BATTLE NEAR ARTEMISIUM.

THE very same day on which the glorious action at Thermopylæ took place,⁵ there was also an engagement at sea between the two fleets. That of the Grecians, exclusive of the little galleys and small boats, consisted of 271 vessels. This fleet had lain by near Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa upon the northern coast towards the straits. That of the enemy, which was much more numerous, was near the same place, but had lately suffered in a violent tempest, that had destroyed above 400 of their vessels. Notwithstanding this loss, as it was still vastly superior in number to that of the Grecians, which they were preparing to attack, they detached 200 of their vessels, with orders to wait about Eubœa, to the end that none of the enemy's vessels might be able to escape them. The Grecians having got intelligence of this immediately set sail in the night, in order to attack that detachment at day-break the next morning. But not meeting with it, they went towards the evening and fell upon the bulk of the enemy's fleet, which they treated very roughly. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate, and both parties retired to their post. But the very night that parted them, proved more pernicious to the Persians than the engagement which preceded, from a violent storm of wind, accompanied with rain and thunder, which distressed and harassed their vessels till break of day: and the 200 ships also that had been detached from their fleet, were almost all cast away upon the coasts of Eubœa; it being the will of the gods, says Herodotus, that the two fleets should become very near equal.

The Athenians having the same day received a reinforcement of fifty-three vessels, the Grecians, who were apprised of the wreck that had befallen part of the enemy's fleet, fell upon the ships of the Cilicians at the same hour they had attacked the fleet the day before, and sunk a great number of them. The Per

¹ Herod. l. viii. c. 24, 25.

² Ibid. l. vii. c. 134, 137.

³ Lib. xi. p. 9.

⁴ Plat. in Laron. Apoph. p. 225.

⁵ Herod. l. viii. c. 1—12. Diod. l. xi. p. 10, 11

man being ashamed to see themselves thus insulted by an enemy, that was so much inferior in number, thought fit the next day to appear first in a disposition to engage. The battle was very obstinate, and the success pretty near equal on both sides, excepting that the Persians, who were incommoded by the largeness and number of their vessels, sustained much the greater loss. Both parties however retired in good order.

All these actions,¹ which passed near Artemisium, were not absolutely decisive, but contributed very much to animate the Athenians, as they were convinced, by their own experience, that there was nothing really formidable, either in the number and magnificent ornaments of the vessels, or in the barbarians' insolent shouts and songs of victory, to men that know how to come to close engagement, and that have the courage to fight with steadiness and resolution; and that the best way of dealing with such an enemy, is to despise all that vain appearance, to advance boldly up to them, and to charge them briskly and vigorously without ever giving ground.

The Grecian fleet having at this time had intelligence of what had passed at Thermopylae, resolved upon the course they were to take without any farther deliberation. They immediately sailed away from Artemisium, and advancing towards the heart of Greece, they stopped at Salamis, a little isle very near and over-against Athens. Whilst the fleet was retreating, Themistocles passed through all the places where the enemy must necessarily land, in order to take in fresh water or other provisions, and in large characters engraved upon the rocks and the stones the following words, which he addressed to the Ionians: "Be of our side, ye people of Ionia: come over to the party of your fathers, who expose their own lives for no other end than to maintain your liberty; or, if you cannot possibly do that, at least do the Persians all the mischief you can, when we are engaged with them, and put their army into disorder and confusion." By this means Themistocles hoped either to bring the Ionians really over to their party,² or at least to render them suspected to the barbarians. We see this general had his thoughts always intent upon his business, and neglected nothing that could contribute to the success of his designs.

SECTION VII.—THE ATHENIANS ABANDON THEIR CITY, WHICH IS TAKEN AND BURNT BY XERES.

XERES in the mean time had entered into the country of Phocis by the upper part of Doria, and was burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus having no thoughts but to save their own country, had resolved to abandon all the rest, and to bring all the Grecian forces together within the isthmus, the entrance of which they intended to secure by a strong wall from one sea to the other, a space of near five miles English. The Athenians were highly provoked at so base a desertion, as they saw themselves ready to fall into the hands of the Persians, and likely to bear the whole weight of their fury and vengeance. Some time before they had consulted the oracle of Delphi, which had given them for answer, that *there would be no way of saving the city but by wooden walls*. The sentiments of the people were much divided about this ambiguous expression: some thought it was to be understood to mean the citadel, because heretofore it had been surrounded with wooden palisades. But Themistocles gave another sense to the words which was much more natural, understanding it to mean shipping; and demonstrated that the only plan they had to adopt was to leave the city empty, and to embark all the inhabitants. But this was a resolution the people would not at all give ear to, as thinking they thereby relinquished every hope of victory, and seeing no method of saving themselves, when once they had abandoned the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors. Here Themistocles had

occasion for all his address and all his eloquence to work upon the people. After he had represented to them that Athens did not consist either of its walls, or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the preservation of the city he endeavoured to persuade them by the argument most capable of making an impression upon them in the unhappy, afflicted, and dangerous condition they were then in, I mean that of the divine authority; giving them to understand, by the very words of the oracle, and by the prodigies which had happened, that their removing for a time from Athens was manifestly the will of the gods.

A decree was therefore passed,⁴ by which, in order to soften what appeared so hard in the resolution of deserting the city, it was ordained, "that Athens should be given up in trust into the hands, and committed to the keeping and protection, of Minerva, patroness of the Athenian people; that all such inhabitants as were able to bear arms, should go on ship-board; and that every citizen should provide, as well as he could, for the safety and security of his wife, children, and slaves."

The extraordinary behaviour of Cimon,⁵ who was at this time very young, was of great weight on this singular occasion. Followed by his companions, with a gay and cheerful countenance, he went publicly along the street of the Ceramicus to the citadel, in order to consecrate a bit of bridle, which he carried in his hand in the temple of Minerva, designing to make the people understand by this religious and affecting ceremony, that they had no farther business with land forces, and that it behoved them now to betake themselves entirely to the sea. After he had made an offering of this bit, he took one of the shields that hung upon the wall of the temple, paid his devotions to the goddess, went down to the water side, and was the first, who by his example inspired the generality of the people with confidence and resolution, and encouraged them to embark.

The greater part of them sent their fathers and mothers, that were old, together with their wives and children, to the city of Trozene,⁶ the inhabitants of which received them with great humanity and generosity. For they made an ordinance that they should be maintained at the expense of the public, and assigned for each person's subsistence two oboli a day, which were worth about two-pence English money. Besides this, they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, or wherever they came, and settled a fund for the payment of the masters, who had the care of their education. How beautiful is it to see a city, exposed as this was to the greatest dangers and calamities, extend her care and generosity, in the very midst of such alarms, even to the education of other people's children!

When the whole city came to embark, so moving and melancholy a spectacle drew tears from the eyes of all that were present, and at the same time occasioned great admiration of the steadiness and courage of those men, who sent their fathers and mothers another way and to other places, and who, without being moved either at their grief or lamentations, or at the tender embraces of their wives and children, passed over with so much firmness and resolution to Salamis. But that which extremely raised and augmented the general compassion, was the great number of old men whom they were forced to leave in the city on account of their age and infirmities, and of whom many voluntarily remained there, through religious motives, believing the citadel to be the thing meant by the oracle in the forementioned ambiguous expression of wooden walls. There was no creature (for history has judged the circumstance worthy of being remembered,) there was no creature, I say even to the very domestic animals, but what took a part in this public mourning; nor was it possible for a man to see these poor creatures run howling and

⁴ Herod. l. viii. c. 51—54. Plut. in Themist. p. 117.

⁵ Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

⁶ This was a small city situate upon the sea side in that part of the Peloponnesus called Argolis.

¹ Plut. in Themist. p. 115 117 Herod. l. viii. c. 21, 22.

² Herod. l. viii. c. 40, 41.

³ Ibid. l. vii. c. 139—143

crying after their masters, who were going on board ship, without being touched and affected. Among all the rest of these animals, particular notice is taken of a dog belonging to Xanthippos, the father of Pericles, which, not being able to endure to see himself abandoned by his master, jumped into the sea after him, and continued swimming as near as he could to the vessel his master was on board of, till he landed quite spent at Salamis, and died the moment after upon the shore. In the same place, even in Plutarch's time, they used to show the spot wherein this faithful animal was said to be buried, which was called the dog's burying-ground.

Whilst Xerxes was continuing his march,¹ some deserters from Arcadia came and joined his army. The king having asked them what the Grecians were then doing, was extremely surprised when he was told, that they were employed in seeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia; and his surprise was still increased, when he understood that the victor's reward in those engagements was only a crown of olive. What men must they be, cried one of the Persian nobles with great wonder and astonishment, who are influenced only by honour, and not by money!

Xerxes had sent off a considerable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphi,² in which he knew there were immense treasures, being resolved to treat Apollo with no more favour than the other gods, whose temples he had pillaged. If we may believe Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as soon as ever this detachment advanced near the temple of Minerva, surnamed the Provident, the atmosphere grew dark on a sudden, and a violent tempest arose, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder and lightning; and two huge rocks having severed themselves from the mountain, fell upon the Persian troops and crushed the greatest part of them.

The other part of the army marched towards the city of Athens,³ which had been deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens who had retired into the citadel, where they defended themselves with incredible bravery, till they were killed, and would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever. Xerxes having stormed the citadel, reduced it to ashes. He immediately despatched a courier to Susa, to carry the agreeable news of his success to Artabanus his uncle; and at the same time sent him a great number of pictures and statues. Those of Harmodius and Aristogiton,⁴ the ancient deliverers of Athens, were sent with the rest. One of the Antiochuses, king of Syria (I do not know which of them, nor at what time it was,) returned them to the Athenians, being persuaded he could not possibly make them a more acceptable present.

SECTION VIII.—THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS. PRECIPITATE RETURN OF XERXES INTO ASIA. PANEGYRIC OF THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES. THE DEFEAT OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SICILY.

AT this time a division arose among the commanders of the Grecian fleet;⁵ and the confederates, in a council of war which was held for that purpose, were of very different sentiments concerning the place for engaging the enemy. Some of them, and indeed the greater part, at the head of whom was Eurybiades, the generalissimo of the fleet, were for having them advance near the isthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the land army, which was posted there to guard that pass under the command of Cleombrotus, Leonidas's brother, and more ready for the defence of Peloponnesus. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles, alleged, that it would be betraying their country to abandon so advantageous a post as that of Salamis. And as he supported his opinion with abundance of warmth, Eurybiades lifted up his cane in a menacing manner: *Strike, says the Athenian, unmoved at the insult, but hear me; and con-*

tinuing his discourse, he proceeded to shew of what importance it was to the fleet of the Grecians, whose vessels were lighter and much fewer in number than those of the Persians, to engage in such a strait as that of Salamis, which would render the enemy incapable of using a great part of their forces. Eurybiades, who could not help being surprised at the moderation of Themistocles, acquiesced in his reasons, or at least complied with his opinion, for fear the Athenians, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, should separate themselves from the allies, as their generals had taken occasion to insinuate.

A council of war was also held on the side of the Persians,⁶ in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement; Xerxes himself was come to the fleet, to take the advice of his captains and officers, who were all unanimous for the battle, because they knew it was agreeable to the king's inclination. Queen Artemisia was the only person who opposed that resolution. She represented the dangerous consequences of coming to blows with people much more conversant and more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians; alleging that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their land army; whereas, by protracting the war, and approaching Peloponnesus, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, or rather augment the division which already was very prevalent amongst them; that the confederates in that case would not fail to separate from one another, in order to return and defend their respective countries; and that then the king, without difficulty, and almost without striking a stroke, might make himself master of all Greece. This wise advice was not followed, and a battle was resolved upon.

Xerxes, imputing the ill success of all his former engagements at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be witness of this from the top of an eminence, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. This might have contributed in some measure to animate the forces; but there is another much more sure and effectual mode of doing it, I mean the prince's actual presence and example, when he himself shares in the danger, and thereby shows himself worthy of being the soul and head of a brave and numerous body of men ready to die for his service. A prince who has not this sort of fortitude, which no thing can shake, and which even takes new vigour from danger, may nevertheless be endued with other excellent qualities, but is by no means proper to command an army. No qualification whatsoever can supply the want of courage in a general; and the more he labours to show the appearance of it, when he has not the reality, the more he discovers his cowardice and fear. There is, it must be owned, a vast difference between a general officer, and a common soldier. Xerxes ought not to have exposed his person otherwise than became a prince; that is to say, as the head, not as the hand; as he whose business it is to direct and give orders, not as those who are to put them in execution. But to keep himself entirely at a distance from danger, and to act no other part than that of a spectator, was really renouncing the quality and office of a general.

Themistocles,⁷ knowing that some of the commanders in the Grecian fleet still entertained thoughts of sailing towards the isthmus, contrived to have notice given covertly to Xerxes, that as the Grecian allies were now assembled together in one place, it would be an easy matter for him to subvert and destroy them altogether; whereas, if they once separated from one another, as they were going to do, he might never meet with another opportunity so favourable. The king gave into this opinion: and immediately commanded a great number of his vessels to surround Salamis by night, in order to make it impracticable for the Greeks to escape from that post.

Nobody among the Grecians perceived that their

¹ Herod. l. viii. c. 26.

² Ibid. c. 35—37. Diod. xi. p. 12.

³ Herod. l. viii. c. 50—54.

⁴ Pausan. l. i. p. 14.

⁵ Herod. l. viii. c. 56—65. Plut. in Themist. p. 117.

⁶ Herod. l. viii. c. 67—70.

⁷ Quamvis magis occultare ac abdere pavorem ciebantur manifestis pavidi. Tacit. Hist.

⁸ Herod. l. viii. c. 74—78.

army was surrounded in this manner.¹ Aristides came that night to Egina, where he had some forces under his command, and with very great danger passed through the whole fleet of the enemy. When he came up to Themistocles's tent, he took him aside, and spoke to him in the following manner: "If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall from henceforward lay aside that vain and childish dissension that has hitherto divided us, and strive, with a more noble and useful emulation, which of us shall render the best service to his country, you by commanding and doing the duty of a wise and able captain, and I by obeying your orders, and by assisting you with my person and advice." He then informed him of the army's being surrounded with the ships of the Persians, and warmly exhorted him to give them battle without delay. Themistocles, extremely astonished at such a greatness of soul, and such a noble and generous frankness, was somewhat ashamed that he had suffered himself to be so much excelled by his rival; but, without being ashamed to own it, he promised Aristides, that he would henceforward imitate his generosity, and even exceed it, if it were possible, in the whole of his future conduct. Then, after having imparted to him the stratagem he had contrived to deceive the barbarian, he desired him to go in person to Eurybiades, in order to convince him that there was no other means of safety for them, than to engage the enemy by sea at Salamis; which commission Aristides executed with pleasure and success, for he possessed much influence over that general.

Both sides, therefore, prepared themselves for the battle.² The Grecian fleet consisted of 380 sail of ships, which in every thing followed the direction and orders of Themistocles. As nothing escaped his vigilance, and as, like an able commander, he knew how to improve every circumstance and incident to advantage, before he would begin the engagement, he waited till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at a certain hour, and which was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as this wind rose, the signal was given for battle. The Persians, who knew that their king had his eyes upon them, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as were capable of striking an enemy with terror. But the heat of the first attack quickly abated when they came to be engaged. Every thing was against them; the wind, which blew directly in their faces; the height and the heaviness of their vessels, which could not move nor turn without great difficulty; and even the number of their ships, which was so far from being of use to them, that it only served to embarrass them in a place so strait and narrow as that in which they fought; whereas, on the side of the Grecians, every thing was done with good order, and without hurry or confusion; because every thing was directed by one commander. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had warned, by characters engraven upon stones along the coasts of Eubœa, to remember from whom they derived their original, were the first that betook themselves to flight, and were quickly followed by the rest of the fleet. Artemisia distinguished herself by incredible efforts of resolution and courage: so that Xerxes, who saw in what manner she had behaved herself, cried out, that the men had behaved like women in this engagement, and that the women had shown the courage of men.³ The Athenians being enraged that a woman had dared to appear in arms against them, had promised a reward of 10,000 drachmas to any one that should be able to take her alive; but she had the good fortune to escape their pursuit. If they had taken her, she could have deserved nothing from them but the highest commendations, and no more honourable and generous treatment.

The manner⁴ in which that queen escaped ought

not to be omitted.⁵ Seeing herself warmly pursued by an Athenian ship, from which it seemed impossible for her to escape, she hung out Grecian colours, and attacked one of the Persian vessels, on board of which was Damasthymus, king of Calynda,⁶ with whom she had some quarrel, and sunk it. This made her pursuers believe, that she was one of the Grecian fleet, and they gave over the chase.

Such was the success of the battle of Salamis, one of the most memorable actions related in ancient history, and which has rendered the name and courage of the Grecians famous for ever. A great number of the Persian ships were taken, and a much greater sunk upon this occasion. Many of their allies, who dreaded the king's cruelty no less than the enemy, made the best of their way into their own country.

Themistocles, in a secret conversation with Aristides, proposed to his consideration, in order to sound him and to learn his real sentiments, whether it would not be proper for them to send some vessels to break down the bridge which Xerxes had caused to be built, to the end, says he, that we may take Asia in Europe; but though he made this proposal, he was far from approving it. Aristides, believing him to be in earnest, argued very warmly and strenuously against any such project, and represented to him how dangerous it was to reduce so powerful an enemy to despair, from whom it was their business to deliver themselves as soon as possible. Themistocles seemed to acquiesce in his reasons; and in order to hasten the king's departure, contrived to have him secretly informed, that the Grecians designed to break down the bridge. The point Themistocles seems to have had in view by this false confidence, was to strengthen himself with Aristides's opinion, which was of great weight, against that of the other generals, in case they inclined to go and break down the bridge. Perhaps too he might aim at guarding himself by this means against the ill will of his enemies, who might one day accuse him of treason before the people, if ever they came to know that he had been the author of that secret advice to Xerxes.

This prince,⁷ being frightened at such news, made the best use he could of his time, and set out by night, leaving Mardonius behind him, with an army of 300,000 men, in order to reduce Greece, if he was able. The Grecians, who expected that Xerxes would have come to another engagement the next day, having learnt that he was fled, pursued him as fast as they could, but to no purpose. They had destroyed 200 of the enemy's ships, besides those which they had taken.⁸ The remainder of the Persian fleet, after having suffered extremely by the winds in their passage, retired towards the coast of Asia, and entered into the port of Cumæ, a city of Ætolia, where they passed the winter, without daring afterwards to return into Greece.

Xerxes took the rest of his army along with him, and marched towards the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared for them beforehand, they underwent great hardships during their whole march, which lasted five-and-forty days. After having consumed all the fruits they could find, the soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occasioned a great sickness in the army; and great numbers died of fluxes and the plague.

The king, through eagerness and impatience to make his escape, had left his army behind him, and

¹ It appears that Artemisia valued herself no less upon stratagem than courage, and at the same time was not very delicate in the choice of the measures she used. It is said that being desirous of seizing Latmus, a small city of Caria, that lay very commodiously for her, she laid her troops in ambush, and under pretence of celebrating the feast of the mother of the gods, in a wood consecrated to her near this city, she repaired thither with a great train of eunuchs, wo men, drums, and trumpets. The inhabitants ran in throngs to see that religious ceremony; and in the mean time Artemisia's troops took possession of the place. *Polyæn. Strateg. l. viii. c. 53.*

² A city of Lycia.

³ Herod. l. viii. c. 115-120. ⁴ Ibid. c. 130.

¹ Plut. in Arist. p. 322. Herod. l. viii. c. 78-79.

² Herod. l. viii. c. 84-86.

³ Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γυναικῶσι μοι γυναικῶσι, ὡς δὲ γυναικῶσι, ἀνέστη.

⁴ Artemisia inter primos duces bellum acerrime ciebat. Quippe, ut in viro muliebrem timorem, ita in muliere virilem audaciam cernebat. *Justin. l. ii. c. 12.*

⁵ Herod. l. viii. c. 87-88. *Polyæn. l. viii. c. 53.*

travelled on before with a small retinue, in order to reach the bridge with the greater expedition: but when he arrived at the place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, during a great tempest that had happened, and was reduced to the necessity of passing the strait in a fishing boat. This was a spectacle¹ well calculated to show mankind the mutability of all earthly things, and the instability of human greatness; a prince, whose armies and fleets the land and sea were scarce able to contain a little while before, now stealing away in a small boat almost without any servants or attendants! Such was the event and success of Xerxes's expedition against Greece.

If we compare Xerxes with himself at different times, and on different occasions, we shall hardly know him for the same man. When affairs were under consideration and debate, no person could show more courage and intrepidity than this prince: he is surprised and even offended if any one foresees the least difficulty in the execution of his projects, or shows any apprehension concerning the issue of them. But when he comes to the point of execution, and to the hour of danger, he flies like a coward, and thinks of nothing but saving his own life and person. Here we have a sensible and evident proof of the difference between true courage, which is never destitute of prudence, and temerity, which is always blind and presumptuous. A wise and prudent prince weighs every thing, and examines all circumstances, before he enters into a war,² of which he is not afraid, but at the same time does not desire; and when the time of action is come, the sight of danger serves only to animate his courage. Presumption inverts this order. When she has introduced assurance and boldness,³ where wisdom and circumspection ought to preside, she admits fear and despair, where courage and intrepidity ought to be exerted.

The first care of the Grecians,⁴ after the battle of Salamis, was to send the first fruits of the rich spoil they had taken to Delphi. Cimon, who was then very young, signalized himself in a particular manner in that engagement, and performed actions of such distinguished valour, as acquired him a great reputation, and made him be considered from henceforth as a citizen that would be capable of rendering the most important services to his country on future occasions.

But Themistocles carried off almost all the honour of this victory,⁵ which was the most signal that ever the Grecians obtained over the Persians. The force of truth obliged even those who were the most envious of his glory to render him this testimony. It was a custom in Greece, that after a battle, the officers should declare who had distinguished themselves most, by writing in a paper the names of the man who had merited the first prize, and of him who had merited the second. On this occasion, by a decision which shows the good opinion it is natural for every man to have of himself, each officer adjudged the first rank to himself, and allowed the second to Themistocles; which was indeed giving him the preference to them all.

The Lacedæmonians having carried him to Sparta, in order to pay him the honours due to his merit, decreed to their general Eurybiades the prize of valour, and to Themistocles that of wisdom, which was a crown of olive for both of them. They also made a present to Themistocles of the finest chariot in the city; and on his departure sent 300 young men of the most considerable families to wait upon him to the frontiers: an honour they had never shown to any person whatsoever before.

But that which gave him a still more sensible pleasure, were the public acclamations he received at the first Olympic games that were celebrated after the battle of Salamis, where all the people of Greece were met together. As soon as he appeared, the whole assembly rose up to do him honour: nobody regarded either the games or the combats; Themistocles was the only spectacle. The eyes of all the company were fixed upon him, and every body was eager to show him and point him out with the hand to the stranger that did not know him. He acknowledged afterwards to his friends, that he looked upon that day as the happiest of his life; that he had never tasted any joy so sweet and so transporting; and that this reward, the genuine fruit of his labours, exceeded all his desires.

The reader has undoubtedly observed in Themistocles two or three principal strokes of his character, which entitle him to be ranked amongst the greatest men. The design which he formed and executed, of making the whole force of Athens maritime, showed him to have a superior genius, capable of the highest views, penetrating into futurity, and judicious in seizing the decisive point in great affairs. As the territory belonging to Athens was barren and of small extent, he rightly conceived, that the only way that city had to enrich and aggrandize herself was by sea. And indeed that scheme may justly be looked upon as the source and cause of all those great events, which raised the republic of Athens, in the sequel, to so flourishing a condition.

But, in my opinion, this wisdom and foresight is infinitely less meritorious than that uncommon temper and moderation which Themistocles showed on two critical occasions, when Greece had been utterly undone if he had listened to the dictates of an ill-judged ambition, and had piqued himself upon a false point of honour, as is usual among persons of his age and profession. The first of these occasions was when, notwithstanding the flagrant injustice that was committed, both in reference to the republic of which he was a member, and to his own person, in appointing a Lacedæmonian generalissimo of the fleet, he exhorted and prevailed with the Athenians to desist from their pretensions, though never so justly founded, in order to prevent the fatal effects with which a division among the confederates must have been necessarily attended. And how worthy of admiration was that presence of mind and coolness of temper which he displayed, when the same Eurybiades not only affronted him with harsh and offensive language, but lifted up his cane at him with a menacing gesture! Let it be remembered, at the same time, that Themistocles was then but young; that he was full of an ardent ambition for glory; that he was commander of a numerous fleet; and that he had right and reason on his side. How would our young officers behave on a similar occasion? Themistocles took all patiently, and the victory of Salamis was the fruit of his patience.

As to Arctides, I shall have occasion in the sequel to speak more extensively upon his character and merit. He was, properly speaking, the man of the commonwealth: provided that was well and faithfully served, he was very little concerned by whom it was done. The merit of others, so far from offending him became his own, by the approbation and encouragement which he gave to it. We have seen him make his way through the enemy's fleet, at the peril of his life, in order to give Themistocles some intelligence and good advice; and Plutarch⁶ takes notice, that during all the time the latter had the command, Aristides assisted him on all occasions with his counsel and credit, notwithstanding he had reason to look upon him not only as his rival, but his enemy. Let us compare this nobleness and greatness of soul with the little-spiritedness and meanness of those men, who are so nice, punctilious, and jealous in whatever respects the subject of command; who are incapable of acting in concert with their colleagues, and so on.

¹ Erat res spectaculo digna et estimatione mortis humane, rerum varietate miranda, in exiguo latente videre navigio, quem paulo ante vix equor omne capiebat; carentem etiam omni servorum ministerio, cujus exercitus, proper multitudinem, terribis graves erant. *Justin. l. ii. c. 13.*

² Non times bella, non provocas. *Plin. de Troj.*

³ Porisimus in ipso discrimine, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. *Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 14.*

⁴ Ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi. *Ibid. c. 68.*

⁵ Herod. l. viii. c. 122, 125.

⁶ Plut. in Themist. p. 120

⁶ Πάντα συνέπειτα καὶ συνβούλιον, ὑπερίστατον ἐν οὐσίᾳ καὶ ψυχῇ τῷ ἄλλῳ. *In vit. Arist. p. 32.*

stent upon engrossing the glory of every thing to themselves; always ready to sacrifice the welfare of the public to their own private interests, or to suffer their rivals to commit blunders, that they themselves may reap advantage from them.

On the very same day that the action of Thermopylae¹ happened, the formidable army of Carthaginians, which consisted of 300,000 men, was entirely defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. Herodotus places this battle on the same day with that of Salamis. The circumstances of that victory in Sicily I have related in the history of the Carthaginians.

After the battle of Salamis,² the Grecians being returned from pursuing the Persians, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had declared for them, to levy contributions and exact money from them. The first he began with was that of Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a considerable sum, speaking to them in this manner: "I come to you accompanied with two powerful divinities, Persuasion and Force." The answer they made him was: "We also have two other divinities on our side, no less powerful than yours, and which do not permit us to give the money you demand of us, Poverty and Despair." Upon this refusal he made a feint of besieging them, and threatened that he would entirely ruin their city. He dealt in the same manner with several other islands which durst not resist him as Andros had done, and drew great sums of money from them without the privy of the other commanders; for he was esteemed a lover of money, and desirous of enriching himself.

SECTION IX.—THE BATTLE OF PLATEÆ.

MARDONIUS,³ who had stayed in A. M. 3525. Greece with a body of 300,000 men, Ant. J. C. 479. let his troops pass the winter in Thessaly, and in the spring following led them into Boeotia. There was a very famous oracle in this country, the oracle of Lebadaia, which he thought proper to consult, in order to know what would be the success of the war. The priest, in his enthusiastic fit, answered in a language which nobody that was present understood, as much as to insinuate that the oracle would not deign to speak intelligibly to a barbarian. At the same time Mardonius sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, with several Persian noblemen, to Athens, and by them, in the name of his master, made very advantageous proposals to the Athenian people, to detach them from the rest of their allies. The offers he made them were, to rebuild their city, which had been burnt down, to supply them with a considerable sum of money, to suffer them to live according to their own laws and customs, and to give them the government and command of all Greece. Alexander exhorted them in his own name, as their ancient friend, to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity for re-establishing their affairs, alleging that they were not in a condition to withstand a power so formidable as that of the Persians, and so much superior to Greece. On the first intelligence of this embassy, the Spartans also, on their side, sent deputies to Athens, in order to hinder it from taking effect. These were present when the others had their audience; where, as soon as Alexander had finished his speech, they began, in their turn, to address themselves to the Athenians, and strongly exhorted them not to separate themselves from their allies, nor to desert the common interest of their country; representing to them, at the same time, that union in the present situation of their affairs formed their whole strength, and would render Greece invincible. They added farther that the Spartan commonwealth was very sensibly moved with the melancholy state which the Athenians were in, who were destitute both of houses and retreat, and who for two years together had lost all their harvests: that in consideration of that calamity, she would engage herself, during the contin-

uance of the war, to maintain and support their wives, their children, and their old men, and to furnish a plentiful supply for all their wants. They concluded by animadverting on the conduct of Alexander, whose discourse, they said, was such as might be expected from one tyrant who spoke in favour of another; but that he seemed to have forgotten, that the people to whom he addressed himself had showed themselves, on all occasions, the most zealous defenders of the common liberty of their country.

Aristides was at this time in office, that is to say, the principal of the Archons. As it was therefore his business to answer, he said, that as to the barbarians, who made silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, he forgave them for thinking they could corrupt the fidelity of a nation by large promises; but that he could not help being surprised and affected with some sort of indignation, to see that the Lacedæmonians, regarding only the present distress and necessity of the Athenians, and forgetting their courage and magnanimity, should come to persuade them to persist in fighting nobly for the common safety of Greece, from motives of gain, and by proposing to give them virtuals and provision; he desired them to acquaint their republic, that all the gold in the world was not capable of tempting the Athenians, or of making them desert the defence of their common liberty; that they were duly sensible of the kind offers which Lacedæmon had made them; but that they would endeavour to manage their affairs so as not to be a burden to any of their allies. Then, turning himself towards the ambassadors of Mardonius, and pointing with his hand to the sun, "Be assured," says he to them, "that as long as that luminary shall continue his course, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the Persians, and will not cease to take vengeance of them for ravaging their lands and burning their houses and temples." After which he desired the king of Macedonia, if he was inclined to be truly their friend, not to make himself any more the bearer of such proposals to them, which would only serve to reflect dishonour upon him, without ever producing any other effect.

Aristides was not satisfied with having made this plain and peremptory declaration. But that he might excite a still greater horror for such proposals, and forever prohibit all manner of intercourse with the barbarians through a principle of religion, he ordained, that the priests should denounce curses and execrations upon any person whatsoever, that should presume to propose the making of an alliance with the Persians, or the breaking of their alliance with the rest of the Grecians.

When Mardonius had learned,⁴ by the answer which the Athenians had sent him,⁵ that they were not to be prevailed upon by any proposals or advantages whatsoever to sell their liberty, he marched with his whole army towards Attica, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent had retired to Salamis, and a second time abandoned their city. Mardonius, still entertaining hopes of bringing them to some terms of accommodation, sent another deputy to them to make the same proposals as before. A certain Athenian, called Lycidas, being of opinion that they should hearken to what he had to offer, was immediately stoned, and the Athenian women running at the same time to his house, did the same execution upon his wife and children; so detestable a crime did it appear to them to propose a peace with the Persians. But notwithstanding this, they paid respect to the character wherewith the deputy was invested, and sent him back without offering him any indignity or ill treatment. Mardonius now found that there was no peace to be expected with them. He therefore entered Athens, burned and demolished every thing that had escaped their fury the preceding year.

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 165, 167.

² Id. l. viii. s. 111, 112. Plut. in Themist. p. 192.

³ Herod. l. viii. c. 133—131, 136—140, 144. Plut. in Arist. p. 391. Diod. l. xi. p. 32, 23. Plut. de Orac. Defec. p. 412.

⁴ Herod. l. ix. c. 1—11. Plut. in Arist. p. 394. Diod. l. xi. p. 23.

⁵ Postquam nullo pretio libertatem his videt vacillare, &c. Justin. l. ii. c. 14.

The Spartans, instead of conducting their troops into Attica, according to their engagement, thought only of keeping themselves shut up within the Peloponnesus for their own security, and with that view had begun to build a wall over the isthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering that way, by which means they reckoned they should be safe themselves, and should have no farther occasion for the assistance of the Athenians. The latter hereupon sent deputies to Sparta, in order to complain of the slowness and neglect of their allies. But the Ephori did not seem to be much moved at their remonstrances; and as that day was the festival of Hyacinthus,¹ they spent it in feasts and rejoicing, and deferred giving the deputies their answer till the next day. And still procrastinating the affair as much as they could, on various pretexts, they gained ten days' time, during which the building of the wall was completed. They were on the point of dismissing the Athenian envoys in a scandalous manner, when a private citizen expostulated with them, and represented to them, how base it would be to treat the Athenians in such a manner, after all the calamities and voluntary losses they had so generously suffered for the common defence of liberty, and all the important services they had rendered Greece in general. This opened their eyes and made them ashamed of their perfidious design. The very next night following they sent off, unknown to the Athenian deputies, 5000 Spartans, who had each of them seven helots or slaves to attend him. On the following morning the deputies renewed their complaints with great warmth and earnestness, and were extremely surprised when they were told that the Spartan succours were on their march, and by this time were not far from Attica.

Mardonius had left Attica at this time,² and was on his return into Boeotia. As the latter was an open and flat country, he thought it would be more convenient for him to fight there than in Attica, which was uneven and rugged, full of hills and narrow passes, and which for that reason would not allow him space enough for drawing up his numerous army in battle array, nor leave room for his cavalry to act. When he came back into Boeotia, he encamped by the river Asopus. The Grecians followed him thither under the command of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and of Aristides, general of the Athenians. The Persian army, according to Herodotus, consisted of 300,000, or, according to Diodorus, of 500,000 men. That of the Grecians did not amount to 70,000; of which there were but 5000 Spartans; but, as these were accompanied by 35,000 helots, viz. seven for each Spartan, they made up together 40,000; the latter of these were light-armed troops. The Athenian forces consisted but of 8000, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. The right wing of the army was commanded by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians, an honour which the people of Tegeæ pretended to, and disputed with them, but in vain.

Whilst all Greece was in suspense,³ expecting a battle that should determine their fate, a secret conspiracy, formed in the midst of the Athenian camp by some discontented citizens, who intended either to subvert their popular government, or to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians, gave Aristides a great deal of perplexity and trouble. On this emergency he had occasion for all his prudence: not knowing exactly how many might be concerned in this conspiracy, he contented himself with having eight of them taken up; and of those eight, the only two whom he caused to be accused, because they had the most laid to their charge, made their escape out of the camp, while their trial was preparing. There is no

doubt but Aristides favoured their escape, lest he should be obliged to punish them, and their punishment might occasion some tumult and disorder. The others that were in custody he released, leaving them room to believe that he had found nothing against them, and telling them, that the battle with the enemy should be the tribunal where they might fully justify their characters, and show the world how unlikely it was that they had ever entertained a thought of betraying their country. This well-timed and wise dissimulation, which opened a door for repentance, and avoided driving the offenders to despair, appeased all the commotion, and quashed the whole affair.

Mardonius, in order to try the Grecians, sent out his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Megarians, who were encamped in the open country, suffered extremely by them; and in spite of all the vigour and resolution with which they defended themselves, they were upon the point of giving way, when a detachment of 300 Athenians, with some troops armed with missile weapons, advanced to their succour. Masistius, the general of the Persian horse, and one of the most considerable noblemen of his country, seeing them advance towards him in good order, made his cavalry face about and attack them. The Athenians stood their ground, and waited to receive them. The shock was very fierce and violent, both sides equally endeavouring to show, by the issue of this encounter, what would be the success of the general engagement. The victory was a long time disputed; but at last, Masistius's horse, being wounded, threw his master, who was instantly killed; upon which the Persians immediately fled. As soon as the news of his death reached the barbarians, their grief was excessive. They cut off their hair, as also the manes of their horses and mules, filling the camp with their cries and lamentations, having lost, in their opinion, the bravest man of their army.

After this encounter with the Persian cavalry the two armies were a long time without coming to action; because the soothsayers, upon inspecting the entrails of the victims, foretold equally to both parties, that they should be victorions, provided they acted only upon the defensive; whereas, on the other hand, they threatened them equally with a total overthrow, if they acted offensively, or made the first attack.

They passed ten days in this manner in view of each other. But Mardonius, who was of a fiery, impatient temper, grew very uneasy at so long a delay. Besides, he had only a few days' provisions left for his army; and the Grecians grew stronger every day by the addition of new troops, that were continually coming to join them. He therefore called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle. Artabazus, a nobleman of singular merit and great experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but that they should retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be in a condition to supply the army with provisions and forage. He alleged, that delays alone would be capable of diminishing the ardour of the allies; that they would thereby have time to tamper with them, and might be able to draw some of them off by gold and silver, which they would take care to distribute among the leaders and among such as had the greatest sway and authority in their several cities; and that, in short, this would be both the easiest and surest method of subjecting Greece. This opinion was very wise, but was overruled by Mardonius, whom the rest had not courage to contradict. The result therefore, of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was on the side of the Grecians in his heart, came secretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed.

Pausanias forthwith gave orders to the officers to prepare themselves for battle, and imparted to Aristides the design he had formed of changing his order of battle, by placing the Athenians in the right wing instead of the left, in order to oppose them to the

¹ Amongst the Lacedæmonians the feast of Hyacinthus continued three days; the first and the last of which were days of sorrow and mourning for the death of Hyacinthus; but the second was a day of rejoicing, which was spent in feasting, sports, and spectacles, and all kinds of diversions. This festival was celebrated every year in the month of August, in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus.

² Herod. l. ix. c. 12-76. Plut. in Arist. p. 325-330 Diod. l. ix. p. 24, 25

³ Plut. in Arist. p. 326

Persians, with whom they had been accustomed to engage. Whether it was fear or prudence, that induced Pausanias to propose this new disposition, the Athenians accepted it with pleasure. Nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to acquit themselves bravely, bidding each other remember, that neither they nor their enemies were changed since the battle of Marathon, unless it was that victory had increased the courage of the Athenians, and had dispirited the Persians. We do not fight, said they, as they do, for a country only, or a city, but for the trophies erected at Marathon and at Salamis, that they may not appear to be the work only of Miltiades and of fortune, but the work of the Athenians. Encouraging one another in this manner, they went with all the alacrity imaginable to change their post. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he received of this movement, having made the like change in his order of battle, both sides ranged their troops again according to their former disposition. The whole day passed in this manner, without their coming to action.

In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they should decamp from the place they were in, and march to another, more conveniently situated for water. Night being come, and the officers endeavouring at the head of their companies to push forward to the camp marked out for them, great confusion arose among the troops, some going one way, and some another, without observing any order or regularity in their march. At last they halted near the little city of Plataeæ.

On the first news of the Grecians having decamped, Mardonius drew his whole army into order of battle, and pursued them with the hideous shouting and howling of his barbarian forces, who thought they were marching, not so much to fight, as to strip and plunder a flying enemy: and their generals, likewise, making himself sure of victory, proudly insulted Artabazus, reproaching him with his fearful and cowardly prudence, and with the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before an enemy; whereas here was an instance of the contrary. But the general quickly found this was no false or ill-grounded notion. He happened to fall in with the Lacedæmonians, who were alone and separated from the body of the Grecian army, to the number of 50,000 men, together with 3000 of the Tegeans. The encounter was exceeding fierce: on both sides the men fought with the courage of lions; and the barbarians perceived that they had to do with soldiers, who were determined to conquer or die in the field. The Athenian troops, to whom Pausanias had sent an officer, were already upon their march to aid them: but the Greeks who were on the side of the Persians, to the number of 50,000 men, went out to meet them, and hindered them from proceeding any farther. Aristides with his little body of men bore up firmly against them and withstood their attack, letting them see, how insignificant a superiority of numbers is against true courage and bravery.

The battle being thus divided into two, and fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke in upon the Persian forces, and put them into disorder. Mardonius, their general, falling dead of a wound he had received in the engagement, all his army betook themselves to flight; and those Greeks who were engaged against Aristides, did the same, as soon as they understood the barbarians were defeated. The latter had taken shelter in their former camp, where they had fortified themselves with an inclosure of wood. The Lacedæmonians pursued them thither, and attacked them in their intrenchment; but this they did weakly and irresolutely, like people that were not much accustomed to sieges, and to storm walls. The Athenian troops, having advice of this, left off pursuing their Grecian adversaries, and marched to the camp of the Persians, which after several assaults they carried, and made a horrible slaughter of the enemy.

Artabazus, who from Mardonius's imprudent management had but too well foreseen the misfortune that

befel them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, and given all possible proofs of his courage and intrepidity, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded; and preventing his flight from being known by the expedition of his march, arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence returned into Asia. Of all the rest of the Persian army, not 4000 men escaped that day's slaughter; all were killed and cut to pieces by the Grecians, who by that means delivered themselves at once from all farther invasions from that nation, no Persian army having ever appeared after that time on this side the Hellespont.

This battle was fought on the fourth day of the month Boedromion,¹ according to the Athenian manner of reckoning. Soon after, the allies, as a testimony of their gratitude to Heaven, caused a statue of Jupiter to be made at their joint and common expense, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. The names of the several nations of Greece,² that were present in the engagement, were engraven on the right side of the pedestal of the statue; the Lacedæmonians first, the Athenians next, and all the rest in order.

One of the principal citizens of Ægina came and addressed himself to Pausanias,³ exhorting him to avenge the indignity that Mardonius and Xerxes had shown to Leonidas, whose dead body had been hung upon a gallows by their order, and urging him to use Mardonius's body in the same manner. As a farther motive for doing so, he added, that by thus satisfying the manes of those that were killed at Thermopylae, he would be sure to immortalize his own name throughout all Greece, and make his memory precious to the latest posterity. "Carry thy base counsel elsewhere," replied Pausanias. "Thou must have a very wrong notion of true glory, to imagine that the way for me to acquire it is by resembling the barbarians. If the esteem of the people of Ægina is not to be purchased but by such a proceeding, I shall be content with preserving that of the Lacedæmonians alone, amongst whom the base and ungenerous pleasure of revenge is never put in competition with that of showing clemency and moderation to their enemies and especially after their death. As for the manes of my departed countrymen, they are sufficiently avenged by the death of the many thousand Persians slain upon the spot in the last engagement."

A dispute,⁴ which arose between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, to ascertain which of the two nations should have the prize of valour adjudged to them, as also which of them should have the privilege of erecting a trophy, had like to have sullied all the glory, and imbibited the joy, of their late victory. They were just on the point of carrying things to the last extremity, and would certainly have decided the dispute with their swords, had not Aristides prevailed upon them by the strength of his arguments, to refer the determination of the matter to the judgment of the Grecians in general. This proposition being accepted by both parties, and the Greeks being assembled upon the spot to decide the contest, Theogiton of Megara, speaking upon the question, gave it as his opinion, that the prize of valour ought to be adjudged neither to Athens nor to Sparta, but to some other city; unless they desired to kindle a civil war, of more fatal consequences than that to which they had just put an end. After he had finished his speech, Cleocritus of Corinth rising up, nobody doubted but he was going to claim that honour for the city of which he was a member and a native; for Corinth was the chief city of Greece in power and dignity after those of Athens and Sparta. But every body was agreeably deceived when they found, that all his discourse tended to the praise of the Plataeans, and that the conclusion he made from the whole was, that in order to extinguish so dangerous a contention, they ought to adjudge the prize to them only, against whom neither

¹ This day answers to the nineteenth of our September.

² Pausan. l. v. p. 532.

³ Herod. l. ix. c. 77, 78.

⁴ Plut. in Arist. p. 331.

of the contending parties could have any grounds of anger or jealousy. This discourse and proposal were received with a general applause by the whole assembly. Aristides immediately assented to it on the part of the Athenians, and Pausanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.

All parties being thus agreed,¹ before they began to divide the spoil of the enemy, they put fourscore talents² aside for the Plateans, who laid them out in building a temple to Minerva, in erecting a statue to her honour, and in adorning the temple with curious and valuable paintings, which were still in being in Plutarch's time, that is to say, above 600 years afterwards, and which were then as fresh as if they had lately come out of the hands of the painters. As for the trophy, which had been another article of the dispute, the Lacedæmonians erected one for themselves in particular, and the Athenians another.

The spoil was immense: in Mardonius's camp they found prodigious sums of gold and silver, besides cups, vessels, beds, tables, necklaces, and bracelets of gold and silver, not to be valued or numbered. It is observed by a certain historian,³ that these spoils proved fatal to Greece, by becoming the instruments of introducing the love of riches and luxury among her inhabitants. According to the religious custom of the Grecians, before they divided the treasure, they appointed the tenth part of the whole to the use of the gods. The rest was distributed equally among the cities and nations that had furnished troops; and the chief officers who had distinguished themselves in the field of battle were likewise distinguished in this distribution. They sent a present of a golden tripod to Delphi, in the inscription upon which Pausanias caused these words to be inserted: *That he had defeated the barbarians at Plataeæ, and that in acknowledgment of that victory he had made this present to Apollo.*

This arrogant inscription, wherein he ascribed the honour both of the victory and the offering to himself alone, offended the Lacedæmonian people, who, in order to punish his pride in the very point in which he thought to exalt himself, and at the same time to do justice to their confederates, caused his name to be razed out, and that of the cities which had contributed to the victory to be put in the stead of it. Too ardent a thirst after glory on this occasion did not give him leave to consider, that a man loses nothing by a discreet modesty, which forbears the setting too high a value upon one's own services, and which, by screening a man from envy, serves really to enhance his reputation.⁴

Pausanias gave a more advantageous specimen of the Spartan temper and disposition, at an entertainment which he gave a few days after the engagement; where one of the tables was costly and magnificent, and displayed all the variety of delicacies and dainties that used to be served at Mardonius's table; and the other was plain and frugal after the manner of the Spartans. Then comparing the two together, and causing his officers, whom he had invited on purpose, to observe the difference of them; "What madness," says he, "was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such a luxurious diet, to come and attack a people like us, that know how to live without any such superfluities?"

All the Grecians sent to Delphi⁵ to consult the oracle, concerning the sacrifice it was proper to offer. The answer they received from the god was, that they should erect an altar to *Jupiter the Deliverer*; but that they should take care not to offer any sacrifice upon it, before they had extinguished all the fire in the country, because it had been polluted and profaned by the barbarians; and that they should come

as far as Delphi to fetch pure fire, *whence they were to take from the altar, called the common altar.*

This answer being brought to the Grecians from the oracle, the generals immediately dispersed themselves throughout the whole country, and caused all the fires to be extinguished: and Eucidas, a citizen of Plataeæ, having taken upon himself to go and fetch the sacred fire with all possible expedition, made the best of his way to Delphi. On his arrival he purified himself, sprinkled his body with consecrated water, put on a crown of laurel, and then approached the altar, from whence, with great reverence, he took the holy fire, and carried it with him to Plataeæ, where he arrived before the setting of the sun, having travelled 1000 stadia (which make 125 miles English) in one day. As soon as he came back, he saluted his fellow-citizens, delivered the fire to them, fell down at their feet, and died in a moment afterwards. His countrymen carried away his body, and buried it in the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, which signifies, *of good renown*, and put the following Epitaph upon his tomb, in the compass of one verse: *Here lies Eucidas, who went from hence to Delphi, and returned back the same day.*

In the next general assembly of Greece, which was held not long after this occurrence, Aristides proposed the following decree; that all the cities of Greece should every year send their respective deputies to Plataeæ, to offer sacrifices to *Jupiter the Deliverer*, and to the gods of the city (this assembly was still regularly held in the time of Plutarch:); that every five years there should be games celebrated there, which should be called the games of liberty; that the several states of Greece together should raise a body of troops, consisting of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse and should equip a fleet of 100 ships, which should be constantly maintained for making war against the barbarians; and that the inhabitants of Plataeæ, solely devoted to the service of the gods, should be looked upon as sacred and inviolable, and be concerned in no other function than that of offering prayers and sacrifices for the general preservation and prosperity of Greece.

All these articles being approved of and passed into a law, the citizens of Plataeæ took upon them to solemnize, every year, the anniversary festival in honour of those persons that were slain in the battle. The order and manner of performing this sacrifice was as follows: The sixteenth day of the month Mainacterion,⁶ which answers to our month of December, at day-break, they walked in a solemn procession, which was preceded by a trumpet that sounded to battle. Next to the trumpet marched several chariots, filled with crowns and branches of myrtle. After these chariots was led a black bull, behind which marched a company of young persons, carrying pitchers in their hands, full of wine and milk, the ordinary libations offered to the dead, and phials of oil and perfumes. All these young persons were freemen; for no slave was allowed to have any part in this ceremony, which was instituted for men who had lost their lives for liberty. In the rear of this procession followed the archon, or chief magistrate of the Plateans, for whom it was unlawful at any other time even so much as to touch iron, or to wear any other garment than a white one. But upon this occasion, being clad in purple raiment, having a sword by his side, and holding an urn in his hands, which he took from the place where they kept their public records, he marched through the city to the place where the tombs of his countrymen were erected. As soon as he came there, he drew water with his urn from the fountain, washed with his own hands the little columns that belonged to the tombs, rubbed them afterwards with essence, and then killed the bull upon a pile of wood prepared for that purpose. After having offered up prayers to the terrestrial Jupiter⁷ and Mercury, he invited those

¹ Herod. l. ix. c. 79. 80.

² Eighty thousand crowns French, about 18,000*l.* ster.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Victor Mardonio, castra referta regalis opulentia: capta, unde primum Graecis, divisio inter se auro Persico, divitiarum luxuria cepit. *Justin.* l. ii. c. 14.

⁵ Cor. Nep. in Pausan. c. 1.

⁶ Ipsa dissimulatione fume famam auxit. *Tacit.*

⁷ Plut. in Arist. p. 331, 332.

⁷ Three months after that in which the battle of Plataeæ was fought. Probably these funeral rites were not at first performed till the enemy were entirely gone, and the country was free.

⁸ The terrestrial Jupiter is no other than Pluto; and the

valiant souls deceased to come to their feast, and to partake of their funeral libations; then taking a cup in his hand, and having filled it with wine, he poured it out on the ground, and said with a loud voice:—*I present this cup to those valiant men, who died for the liberty of the Grecians.* These ceremonies were annually performed even in the time of Plutarch.

Diodorus adds,¹ that the Athenians in particular embellished the monuments of their citizens, who died in the war with the Persians, with magnificent ornaments, instituted funeral games to their honour, and appointed a solemn panegyric to be pronounced over them, which in all probability was repeated every year.

The reader will be sensible, without my observing it, how much these solemn testimonies and perpetual demonstrations of honour, esteem, and gratitude for soldiers, who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of liberty, conduced to enhance the merit of valour, and of the services they rendered their country, and to inspire the spectators with emulation and courage; and how exceedingly well calculated all this was to cultivate and perpetuate a spirit of bravery in the people, and to make their troops victorious and invincible.

The reader, no doubt, will be as much struck at seeing how wonderfully careful and exact these people were to acquit themselves on every occasion of the duties of religion. The great event which I have just been relating, viz. the battle of Plateæ, affords us very remarkable proofs of this, in the annual and perpetual sacrifice they instituted to *Jupiter the Deliverer*, which was still continued in the time of Plutarch; in the care they took to consecrate the tenth part of all their spoil to the gods; and in the decree proposed by Aristides to establish a solemn festival for ever, as an anniversary commemoration of that success. It is a delightful thing, methinks, to see pagan and idolatrous nations thus publicly confessing and declaring, that all their expectations centre in the Supreme Being; that they think themselves obliged to ascribe the success of all their undertakings to him; that they look upon him as the Author of all their victories and prosperities, as the sovereign ruler and disposer of states and empires, as the source from whence all salutary counsels, wisdom, and courage, are derived; and as entitled, on all these accounts, to the first and best part of their spoils, and to their perpetual acknowledgments and thanksgivings for such distinguished favours and benefits.

SECTION X.—THE BATTLE NEAR MYCALE. THE DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS.

On the same day that the Greeks fought the battle of Plateæ,² their naval forces obtained a memorable victory in Asia over the remainder of the Persian fleet. For whilst that of the Greeks lay at Egina, under the command of Leotychides, one of the kings of Sparta, and of Xanthippus the Athenian, ambassadors came to those generals from the Ionians to invite them into Asia to deliver the Grecian cities from their subjection to the barbarians. On this invitation they immediately set sail for Asia, and steered their course by Delos. While they continued there, other ambassadors arrived from Samos, and brought them intelligence, that the Persian fleet, which had passed the winter at Cumæ, was then at Samos, where it would be an easy matter to defeat and destroy it, earnestly pressing them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The Greeks hereupon sailed away directly for Samos. But the Persians, receiving intelligence of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory of the continent of Asia, where their land army, consisting of 190,000 men, who were the remainder of those that Xerxes had carried back from Greece the year before, was encamped. Here they drew their vessels ashore, which was a common practice among the ancients, and surrounded them with a

strong rampart. The Grecians followed them to the very place, and with the help of the Ionians defeated their land army, forced their rampart, and burnt all their vessels.

The battle of Plateæ was fought in the morning and that of Mycale in the afternoon on the same day and yet all the Greek writers pretend that the victory of Plateæ was known at Mycale, before the latter engagement was begun, though the whole Ægean sea, which requires several days' sailing to cross it, was between those two places. But Diodorus Siculus explains to us this mystery. He tells us, that Leotychides, observing his soldiers to be much dejected for fear their countrymen at Plateæ should sink under the numbers of Mardonius's army, contrived a stratagem to reanimate them; and that, therefore, when he was just upon the point of making the first attack, he caused a rumour to be spread among his troops,³ that the Persians were defeated at Plateæ, though at that time he had no manner of knowledge of the matter.

Xerxes,⁴ hearing the news of these two great overthrows, left Sardis with as much haste as he had formerly quitted Athens, after the battle of Salamis, and retired with great precipitation into Persia, in order to put himself, as far as he possibly could, out of the reach of his victorious enemies. But before he set out,⁵ he gave orders to burn and demolish all the temples belonging to the Grecian cities in Asia: which order was so far executed, that not one escaped, except the temple of Diana at Ephesus. He acted in this manner at the instigation of the Magi,⁶ who were professed enemies to temples and images. The second Zoroaster had thoroughly instructed him in their religion, and made him a zealous defender of it. Pliny informs us,⁷ that Ostanes, the head of the Magi, and the patriarch of that sect, who maintained its maxims and interests with the greatest violence, attended Xerxes upon this expedition into Greece. This prince,⁸ as he passed through Babylon on his return to Susa, destroyed also all the temples in that city, as he had done those of Greece and Asia Minor; doubtless, through the same principle, and out of hatred to the sect of the Sabæans, who made use of images in their divine worship, which was a thing utterly detested by the Magi. Perhaps, also, the desire of making himself amends for the expenses incurred in his Grecian expedition by the spoil and plunder of those temples, might be another motive that induced him to destroy them: for it is certain, he found immense riches and treasure in them, which had been amassed through the superstition of princes and people during a long series of ages.

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, set sail towards the Hellespont, in order to possess themselves of the bridges which Xerxes had caused to be laid over that narrow passage, and which they supposed were still entire: but finding them broken down by tempestuous weather, Leotychides and his Peloponnesian forces returned towards their own country. As for Xanthippus, he stayed with the Athenians and their Ionian confederates, and they made themselves masters of Sestos and the Thracian Chersonesus, in which places they found great booty, and took a vast number of prisoners. After which, on the approach of winter, they returned to their own cities.

From this time all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Persians, and having entered into a confederacy with the Grecians, most of them preserved their liberty during the time that empire subsisted.

SECTION XI.—THE BARBAROUS AND INHUMAN REVENGE OF AMESTRIS, THE WIFE OF XERXES.

DURING the time that Xerxes resided at Sardis,⁹ he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his Ant. J. C. 479.

¹ What we are told also of Paulus Æmilius's victory over the Macedonians, which was known at Rome the very day it was obtained, without doubt happened in the same manner.

² Diod. l. xi. p. 28. ³ Strab. l. xiv. p. 634.
⁴ Cic. l. ii. de Leg. n. 29. ⁵ Plin. l. xxx. c. i.
⁶ Arrian. l. vii. ⁷ Herod. l. ix. c. 107—119.

same epithet of terrestrial was also given to Mercury; because it was believed to be his office to conduct departed souls to the infernal regions.

¹ Lib. xi. p. 26.
² Herod. l. ix. c. 89—103. Diod. l. xi. p. 26—28.

brother Masistes, who was a prince of extraordinary merit, had always served the king with great zeal and fidelity, and had never done any thing to disoblige him. The virtue of this lady, her great affection and fidelity to her husband, made her inexorable to all the king's solicitations. However, he still flattered himself, that by a profusion of favours and liberalities he might possibly gain upon her; and among other favours which he conferred upon her, he married his eldest son Darius, whom he intended for his successor, to Artainta, this princess's daughter, and ordered that the marriage should be consummated as soon as he arrived at Susa. But Xerxes finding the lady still no less impregnable, in spite of all his temptations and attacks, immediately changed his object, and fell passionately in love with her daughter, who did not imitate the glorious example of her mother's constancy and virtue. Whilst this intrigue was carrying on, Amestris, wife to Xerxes, presented him with a rich and magnificent robe of her own making. Xerxes, being extremely pleased with this robe, thought fit to put it on upon the first visit he afterwards made to Artainta; and in conversation pressed her to let him know what she desired he should do for her, assuring her, at the same time, with an oath, that he would grant her whatever she asked of him. Artainta, upon this, desired him to give her the robe he had on. Xerxes, foreseeing the ill consequences that would necessarily ensue upon his making her this present, did all that he could to dissuade her from insisting upon it, and offered her any thing in the world in lieu of it. But not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by the imprudent promise and oath he had made to her, he gave her the robe. The lady no sooner received it, than she put it on, and wore it publicly by way of trophy.

Amestris being confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained by this action, was enraged to the last degree. But instead of letting her vengeance fall upon the daughter, who was the only offender, she resolved to wreak it upon the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was entirely innocent of the matter. For the better executing of her purpose, she waited until the grand feast, which was every year celebrated on the king's birth-day, and which was not far off; on which occasion the king, according to the established custom of the country, granted her whatever she demanded. This day then being come, the thing which she desired of his majesty was, that the wife of Masistes should be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's design, and who was struck with horror at the thoughts of it, as well as out of regard to his brother, as on account of the innocence of the lady, against whom he perceived his wife was violently exasperated, at first refused her request, and endeavoured all he could to dissuade her from it. But not being able either to prevail upon her, or to act with steadiness and resolution himself, he at last yielded, and was guilty of complaisance equally weak and cruel; making the inviolable obligations of justice and humanity give way to the arbitrary laws of a custom, that had been established solely to give occasion for the doing of good, and for acts of beneficence and generosity. In consequence then of this complaisance, the lady was apprehended by the king's guards, and delivered to Amestris, who caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips, to be cut off, ordered them to be cast to the dogs in her own presence, and then sent her home to her husband's house in that mutilated and miserable condition. In the mean time Xerxes had sent for his brother, in order to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first gave him to understand, that he should be glad he would put away his wife; and, to induce him thereto, offered to give him one of his daughters in marriage in her stead. But Masistes, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not prevail upon himself to divorce her: whereupon Xerxes in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter he should neither have her nor his wife, and that he would teach him not to reject the offers his

master had made him; and with this inhuman reply dismissed him.

This strange proceeding threw Masistes into the greatest anxiety, thinking he had reason to apprehend the worst; he made all the haste he could home to see what had passed there during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have just been describing. Being enraged thereat to the degree we may naturally imagine, he assembled all his family, his servants and dependants, and set out with all possible expedition for Bactriana, whereof he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to raise an army and make war against the king, in order to avenge himself for this barbarous treatment. But Xerxes being informed of his hasty departure, and from thence suspecting his design, sent a party of horse to pursue him; which, having overtaken him, cut him in pieces, together with his children and all his retinue. I do not know whether a more tragical example of revenge than that which I have now related, is to be found in history.

There is still another action,¹ no less cruel nor impious than the former, related of Amestris. She caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be burnt alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods, out of compliance with a superstitious custom practised by the Persians.

Masistes being dead,² Xerxes gave the government of Bactriana to his second son Hystaspes, who being by that means obliged to live at a distance from the court, gave his younger brother Artaxerxes the opportunity of ascending the throne to his disadvantage, after the death of their father, as will be seen in the sequel.

Here ends Herodotus's history, viz. at the battle of Mycale and the siege of the city of Sestos by the Athenians.

SECTION XII.—THE ATHENIANS REBUILD THE WALLS OF THEIR CITY, NOTWITHSTANDING THE OPPOSITION OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

THE war, commonly called the war of Media,³ which had lasted A. M. 3526. but two years, being terminated in Ant. J. C. 478. the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians, on their return to their own country, sent for their wives and children, whom they had committed to the care of their friends during the war, and began to think of rebuilding the city, which had been almost entirely destroyed by the Persians, and of surrounding it with strong walls, in order to secure it from future violence. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence of this, conceived a jealousy, and began to apprehend, that if Athens, which was already very powerful by sea, should go on to increase her strength by land also, she might take upon her in time to give laws to Sparta, and to deprive the latter of that authority and pre-eminence, which she had hitherto exercised over the rest of Greece. They therefore sent an embassy to the Athenians, the purport of which was to represent to them, that the common interest of Greece required, that there should be no fortified city out of the Peloponnesus, lest, in case of a second irruption, it should serve for a place of arms for the Persians, who would be sure to settle themselves in it, as they had done before at Thebes, and who from thence would be able to infest the whole country, and to make themselves masters of it very speedily. Themistocles, who since the battle of Salamis was greatly considered and respected at Athens, easily penetrated into the real design of the Lacedæmonians, though it was gilded over with the specious pretext of the public good: but, as the latter were able, with the assistance of their allies, to hinder the Athenians, by force, from carrying on the work, in case they should positively and absolutely refuse to comply with their demands, he advised the senate to make use of cunning and dissimulation as well as the Lacedæmonians.

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 114.

² Diod. l. xi. p. 53.

³ Thucyd. l. i. p. 59—68. Diod. l. xi. p. 30, 31. Just. l. ii. c. 3. 15.

The answer therefore they made the envoys was, that they would send an embassy to Sparta, to satisfy the commonwealth with respect to their apprehensions and suspicions. Themistocles caused himself to be nominated one of the ambassadors, and warned the senate not to let his colleagues set out along with him, but to send them one after another, in order to gain time for carrying on the work. The matter was executed pursuant to his advice; and he accordingly went alone to Lacedæmon, where he let a great many days pass without waiting upon the magistrates, or applying to the senate. And, upon their pressing him to do it, and asking him the reason why he deferred it so long, he made answer, that he waited for the arrival of his colleagues, that they might all have their audience of the senate together, and seemed to be very much surprised that they were so long in coming. At length they arrived; but all came singly, and at a good distance of time from one another. During all this interval, the work was carried on at Athens with the utmost industry and vigour. The women, children, strangers, and slaves, were all employed in it; nor was it interrupted night or day. The Spartans were not ignorant of the matter, and made great complaints of it to Themistocles, who positively denied the fact, and pressed them to send other deputies to Athens, in order to inform themselves better on the subject, desiring them not to give credit to vague and flying reports without foundation. At the same time he secretly advised the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys as so many hostages, until he and his colleagues were returned from their embassy, fearing, not without good reason, that they themselves might be served in the same manner at Sparta. At last, when all his colleagues were arrived, he desired an audience, and declared, in full senate, that it was really true that the Athenians had resolved to fortify their city with strong walls; that the work was almost completed; that they had judged it to be absolutely necessary for their own security, and for the public good of the allies; telling them at the same time, that after the great experience they had had of the Athenian people's behaviour, they could not well suspect them of being wanting in zeal for the common interest of their country; that, as the condition and privileges of all the allies ought to be equal, it was just the Athenians should provide for their own safety by all the methods they judged necessary, as well as the other confederates; that they had thought of this expedient, and were in a condition to defend their city against whosoever should presume to attack it; and that as for the Lacedæmonians,¹ it was not much for their honour that they should desire to establish their power and superiority rather upon the weak and defenceless condition of their allies, than upon their own strength and valour. The Lacedæmonians were extremely displeased with this discourse: but either out of a sense of gratitude and esteem for the Athenians, who had rendered such important services to the country, or out of a conviction of their inability to oppose their enterprise, they dissembled their resentment; and the ambassadors on both sides, having all suitable honours paid them, returned to their respective cities.

Themistocles,² who had always his thoughts fixed upon raising and augmenting the power and glory of the Athenian commonwealth, did not confine his views to the walls of the city. He went on with the same vigorous application to finish the building and fortifications of the Piræus: for, from the time that he had entered into office, he had begun that great work. Before his time they had no other port at Athens than that of Phalerus, which was neither very large nor commodious, and consequently not capable of answering the great designs of Themistocles. For this reason he had cast his eye upon the Piræus, which seemed to invite him by its advantageous situation, and by the convenience of its three spacious havens,

that were capable of containing above 400 vessels. This undertaking was prosecuted with so much diligence and vivacity, that the work was considerably advanced in a very little time. Themistocles likewise obtained a decree, that every year they should build twenty vessels for the augmentation of their fleet; and in order to engage a greater number of workmen and sailors to resort to Athens, he caused particular privileges and immunities to be granted in their favour. His design was, as I have already observed, to make the whole force of Athens maritime; in which he followed a very different scheme from what had been pursued by their ancient kings, who, endeavouring all they could to alienate the minds of the citizens from seafaring business and from war, and to make them apply themselves wholly to agriculture and to peaceable employments, published this fable: that Minerva disputing with Neptune to know which of them should be declared patron of Attica, and give their name to the city newly built, she gained her cause by showing her judges the branch of an olive-tree, the happy symbol of peace and plenty, which she had planted: whereas Neptune had made a fiery horse, the symbol of war and confusion, rise out of the earth before them.

SECTION XIII.—THE BLACK DESIGN OF THEMISTOCLES REJECTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS. ARISTIDES'S CONDESCENSION TO THE PEOPLE.

THEMISTOCLES,³ who had conceived in his breast the design of supplanting the Lacedæmonians, and of taking the government of Greece out of their hands, in order to put it into those of the Athenians, kept his eye and his thoughts continually fixed upon that great project. And as he was not very nice or scrupulous in the choice of his measures, whatever tended towards the accomplishing of the end he had in view, he looked upon as just and lawful. On a certain day, then, he declared in a full assembly of the people, that he had planned a very important design, but that he could not communicate it to the people; because, in order to ensure success, it was necessary that it should be carried on with the greatest secrecy: he therefore desired they would appoint a person to whom he might explain himself upon the matter in question. Aristides was unanimously pitched upon by the whole assembly, and they referred themselves entirely to his opinion of the affair; so great a confidence had they both in his probity and prudence. Themistocles, therefore, having taken him aside, told him, that the design he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the Grecian states, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and that by this means Athens would certainly become mistress of all Greece. Aristides hereupon returned to the assembly, and only declared to them, that indeed nothing could be more advantageous to the commonwealth than Themistocles's project; but that, at the same time, nothing could be more unjust. All the people unanimously ordained, that Themistocles should entirely desist from his project. We see in this instance, that it was not without some foundation that the title of *Just* was given to Aristides, even in his lifetime; a title, says Plutarch, infinitely superior to all those which conquerors pursue with so much ardour, and which in some measure approximates a man to the Divinity.

I know not whether all history can afford us a fact more worthy of admiration than this. It is not a company of philosophers (to whom it costs nothing to establish fine maxims and sublime notions of morality in the schools,) who determine on this occasion, that the consideration of profit and advantage ought never to prevail in preference to what is honest and just. It is an entire people, who are highly interested in the proposal made to them, who are convinced that it is of the greatest importance for the welfare of the state, and who notwithstanding reject it with unanimous consent and without a moment's hesitation, and

¹ Graviter cantant eos, quid non virtute, sed imbecillitate aciorum potentiam superent. *Justin.* l. ii. c. 15.

² Thucyd. p. 63, 63. *Diod.* l. xi. p. 32, 33.

³ Plut. in Themist. p. 121, 122. In Arist. p. 333.

that for this only reason, that it is contrary to justice. How black and perfidious, on the other hand, was the design which Themistocles proposed, of burning the fleet of their Grecian confederates, at a time of entire peace, solely to aggrandize the power of the Athenians! Had he a hundred times the merit that is ascribed to him, this single action would be sufficient to sully all the brilliancy of his glory. For it is the heart, that is to say, integrity and probity, that constitute true merit.

I am sorry that Plutarch, who generally judges of things with great justness, does not seem, on this occasion, to condemn Themistocles. After having spoken of the works he had constructed in the Piræus, he goes on to the fact in question, of which he says, "Themistocles projected something *still greater*, for the augmentation of their maritime power."¹

The Lacedæmonians having proposed, in the council of the Amphictyons, that all the cities which had not taken arms against Xerxes should be excluded from that assembly, Themistocles, who was apprehensive that, if the Thessalians, the Argives, and the Thebans were excluded that council, the Spartans would by that means become masters of the suffrages, and consequently determine all affairs according to their pleasure, made a speech in behalf of the cities whose exclusion was proposed, and brought the deputies that composed the assembly over to his sentiments. He represented to them, that the greatest part of the cities that had entered into the confederacy, which were but one-and-thirty in the whole, were very small and inconsiderable; that it would therefore be a very strange, as well as a very dangerous proceeding, to deprive all the other cities of Greece of their votes and places in the grand assembly of the nation, and by that means suffer the august council of the Amphictyons to fall under the direction and influence of two or three of the most powerful cities, which for the future would give law to all the rest, and would subvert and abolish that equality of power, which was justly regarded as the basis and soul of all republics. Themistocles, by this plain and open declaration of his opinion, drew upon himself the hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who from that time became his professed enemies. He had also incurred the displeasure of the rest of the allies, by the rigorous and rapacious manner in which he had exacted contributions from them.

When the city of Athens was entirely rebuilt,² the people, finding themselves in a state of peace and tranquillity, endeavoured by every method to get the government into their own hands, and to make the Athenian state an absolute democracy. This design of theirs, though planned with the utmost secrecy, did not escape the vigilance and penetration of Aristides, who saw all the consequences with which such an innovation would be attended. But, as he considered on one hand, that the people were entitled to some regard, on account of the valour they had shown in all the battles which had been lately gained; and, on the other, that it would be no easy matter to curb and restrain a people, who still in a manner had their arms in their hands, and who were grown more insolent than ever, from their victories; on these considerations, he thought it proper to observe measures with them, and to find out some medium to satisfy and appease them. He therefore passed a decree, by which it was ordained, that the offices of government should be open to all the citizens, and that the archons, who were the chief magistrates of the commonwealth, and who used to be chosen only out of the richest of its members; viz. from amongst those only who received at least 500 medimni of grain as the produce of their lands, should for the future be elected indifferently from the general body of the Athenians, without distinction. By thus giving up something to the people, he prevented all dissensions and commotions, which might have proved fatal, not only to the Athenian state, but to all Greece.

SECTION XIV.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS LOSE THE CHIEF COMMAND, THROUGH THE PRIDE AND ARROGANCE OF PAUSANIAS.

The Grecians,³ encouraged by the happy success which had every where attended their victorious arms, determined to send a fleet to sea, in order to deliver such of their allies, as were still under the yoke of the Persians, out of their hands. Pausanias was the commander of the fleet for the Lacedæmonians; and Aristides, and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, commanded for the Athenians. They first directed their course to the isle of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty; then, steering towards the Hellespont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themselves masters, and took a vast number of prisoners, a great part of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia.

Pausanias, who from this time conceived thoughts of betraying his country, judged it proper to make use of this opportunity to gain the favour of Xerxes. To this end he caused a report to be spread among his troops, that the Persian noblemen, whom he had committed to the guard and care of one of his officers, had made their escape by night, and were fled, whereas he had set them at liberty himself, and sent a letter by them to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver the city of Sparta, and all Greece, into his hands, on condition he would give him his daughter in marriage. The king did not fail to give him a favourable answer, and to send him very large sums of money also, in order to win over as many of the Grecians as he should find disposed to enter into his designs. The person he appointed to manage this intrigue with him was Artabazus; and in order to enable him to transact the matter with the greater ease and security, he made him governor of all the sea-coasts of Asia Minor.

Pausanias,⁴ who was already dazzled with the prospect of his future greatness, began from this moment to change his whole conduct and behaviour. The poor, modest, and frugal way of living at Sparta; the subjection to rigid and austere laws, which neither spared nor respected any man, but were altogether as inexorable and inflexible to the greatest as to those of the meanest condition; all this became insupportable to Pausanias. He could not bear the thoughts of going back to Sparta, after having possessed such high commands and employments, to return to a state of equality, that would confound him with the meanest of the citizens; and this was his inducement to enter into a treaty with the barbarians. He entirely laid aside the manners and behaviour of his country; assumed both the dress and haughtiness of the Persians, and imitated them in all their expensive luxury and magnificence. He treated the allies with insufferable rudeness and insolence; never spoke to the officers but with menaces and arrogance; required extraordinary honours to be paid to him, and by his whole behaviour rendered the Spartan dominion odious to all the confederates. On the other hand, the courteous, affable, and engaging deportment of Aristides and Cimon; an infinite remoteness from all impetuous and haughty airs, which tend only to alienate the affections; a gentle, kind, and beneficent disposition, which showed itself in all their actions, and which served to temper the authority of their commands, and to render it both easy and amiable; the justice and humanity, conspicuous in every thing they did; the great care they took to offend no person whatsoever, and to do kind offices to all about them; all this hurt Pausanias exceedingly, by the contrast of their opposite characters, and increased the general discontent. At last this dissatisfaction publicly broke out; and all the allies deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the Athenians. Thus did Aristides, says Plutarch, by the prevalence of that humanity and gentleness, which

¹ Μεγίστη δὲ δαπάνη. Plut. in Themist. p. 192.
Plut. in Arist. p. 332.

³ Thucyd. l. i. p. 63. 84. 86.

⁴ Plut. in Arist. p. 332, 333.

he opposed to the arrogance and roughness of Pausanias, and by inspiring Cimón his colleague with the same sentiments, insensibly draw off the minds of the allies from the Lacedæmonians without their perceiving it, and at length deprived them of the command; not by open force, or by sending out armies and fleets against them, and still less by making use of any artifice or perfidious practices; but by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct, and by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable.

It must be confessed at the same time, that the Spartan people on this occasion showed a greatness of soul, and a spirit of moderation, that can never be sufficiently admired: for when they were convinced, that their commanders grew haughty and insolent from their too great authority, they willingly renounced the superiority which they had hitherto exercised over the rest of the Grecians, and forbore sending any more of their generals to command the Grecian armies, choosing rather, adds the historian, to have their citizens wise, modest, and submissive to the discipline and laws of the commonwealth, than to maintain their pre-eminence and superiority over all the other Grecian states.

SECTION XV.—PAUSANIAS'S SECRET CONSPIRACY WITH THE PERSIANS. HIS DEATH.

UPON the repeated complaints A. M. 3529. which the Spartan commonwealth Ant. J. C. 475. received on all hands against Pausanias,¹ they recalled him home to give an account of his conduct. But not having sufficient evidence to convict him of having carried on a correspondence with Xerxes, they were obliged to acquit him on his first trial; after which he returned of his own private authority, and without the consent and approbation of the republic, to the city of Byzantium, from whence he continued to carry on his secret practices with Artabazus. But, as he was still guilty of many violent and unjust proceedings whilst he resided there, the Athenians obliged him to leave the place; from whence he retired to Colone, a small city of the Troad. There he received an order from the Ephori to return to Sparta, on pain of being declared, in case of disobedience, a public enemy and traitor to his country. He complied with the summons, and went home, hoping he should still be able to bring himself off by dint of money. On his arrival he was committed to prison, and was soon afterwards brought again upon his trial before the judges. The charge brought against him was supported by many suspicious circumstances and strong presumptions. Several of his own slaves confessed that he had promised to give them their liberty, in case they would enter into his designs, and serve him with fidelity and zeal in the execution of his projects. But as it was the custom of the Ephori never to pronounce sentence of death against a Spartan, without a full and direct proof of the crime laid to his charge, they looked upon the evidence against him as insufficient; and the more so, as he was of the royal family, and was actually invested with the administration of the regal office: for Pausanias exercised the function of king, as being the guardian and nearest relation to Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, who was then in his minority. He was therefore acquitted a second time, and set at liberty.

Whilst the Ephori were thus perplexed for want of clear and plain evidence against the offender, a certain slave, who was called the Argilian, came to them, and brought them a letter, written by Pausanias himself to the king of Persia, which the slave was to have carried to Artabazus. It must be observed, by the way, that this Persian governor and Pausanias had agreed together, immediately to put to death all the couriers they mutually sent to one another, as soon as their packets or messages were delivered, that there might be no possibility left of tracing out or discovering their correspondence. The Argilian, who saw none of his fellow-servants, that had been sent, return

back again, had some suspicion; and when it came to his turn to go, he opened the letter he was entrusted with, in which Artabazus was positively desired to kill him as soon as he delivered it. This was the letter the slave put into the hands of the Ephori; who still thought even this proof insufficient in the eye of the law, and therefore endeavoured to corroborate it by the testimony of Pausanias himself. The slave, in concert with them, withdrew to the temple of Neptune at Tenarus, as a secure asylum. Two small closets had been purposely made there, in which the Ephori and some Spartans hid themselves. The instant Pausanias was informed that the Argilian had fled to this temple, he hastened thither to inquire the reason. The slave confessed that he had opened the letter; and that finding by the contents of it he was to be put to death, he had fled to that temple to save his life. As Pausanias could not deny the fact, he made the best excuse he could; promised the slave a great reward, and obliged him to engage not to mention what had passed between them to any person whatsoever.

Pausanias's guilt was now but too evident. The moment he was returned to the city, the Ephori were resolved to seize him. From the aspect of one of those magistrates, and from a signal which he made him, he plainly perceived that some evil design was meditated against him, and therefore he ran with the utmost speed to the temple of Pallas, called Chalciæcos, near that place, and got into it before the pursuers could overtake him. The entrance was immediately stopped up with great stones; and history informs us, that the criminal's mother was the first who brought one. They also took off the roof of the chapel, and, as the Ephori did not dare to take him out of it by force, because this would have been a violation of that sacred asylum, they resolved to leave him exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and accordingly he was starved to death. However, a few minutes before he died, they drew him out of the temple. His corpse was buried not far from that place: but the oracle of Delphi, which they consulted soon after, declared, that to appease the anger of the goddess, who was justly offended on account of the violation of her temple, two statues must be set up there in honour of Pausanias, which was done accordingly.

Such was the end of Pausanias, whose wild ambition had stifled in him all sentiments of probity, honour, love of his country, zeal for liberty, and of hatred and aversion for the barbarians; sentiments which, in some measure, were innate in all the Greeks, and particularly in the Lacedæmonians.

SECTION XVI.—THEMISTOCLES, BEING PROSECUTED BY THE ATHENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS, AS AN ACCOMPLICE IN PAUSANIAS'S CONSPIRACY, FLIES FOR SHELTER TO KING ADMETUS.

THEMISTOCLES was also implicated in the charge brought against A. M. 3531. Pausanias.² He was then in exile. Ant. J. C. 473. A passionate thirst of glory, and a strong desire of arbitrary power, had made him odious to his fellow-citizens. He had built, very near his house, a temple dedicated to Diana, under the title of *Diana Aristobola*, that is to say, the *giver of good counsel*; as hinting to the Athenians, that he had given good counsel to their city, and to all Greece; and he also had placed his statue in it, which was standing in Plutarch's time. It appeared, says he, from this statue, that his physiognomy was as heroic as his valour. Finding that men listened with pleasure to all the calumnies which his enemies spread against him, in order to silence them, he was forever expatiating, in all public assemblies, on the services he had done his country. As they were at last tired with hearing him repeat the same thing so often, "How!" says he to them, "are you weary of having good offices frequently done you by the same persons?" He did not consider, that putting them so

¹ Thucyd. l. i. p. 86—89, Diod. l. xi. p. 34—46. Corn. Nep. in Pausan.

² Thucyd. l. i. p. 89, 90. Plut. in Themist. p. 127, 124. Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. viii.

often in mind of his services,¹ was in a manner reproaching them with their having forgotten them, which was not very civil; and he seemed not to know, that the surest way to acquire applause, is to leave the bestowing of it to others, and to resolve to do such things only as are praiseworthy; and that a frequent mention of one's own virtue and exalted actions, is so far from appeasing envy, that it only inflames it.

Themistocles,² after having been banished from Athens, by the ostracism, withdrew to Argos. He was there when Pausanias was prosecuted as a traitor who had conspired against his country. He had at first concealed his machinations from Themistocles, though he was one of his best friends; but as soon as he saw that he was expelled his country, and highly resented that injury, he disclosed his projects to him, and pressed him to join in them. To induce him to comply, he showed him the letters which the king of Persia wrote to him; and endeavoured to animate him against the Athenians, by painting their injustice and ingratitude in the strongest colours. However, Themistocles rejected with indignation the proposals of Pausanias, and refused peremptorily to take any part in his schemes: but then he concealed what had passed between them, and did not discover the enterprise he had formed; whether it was that he imagined Pausanias would renounce it of himself, or was persuaded that it would be discovered some other way; it not being possible for so dangerous and ill-concerted an enterprise to be successful.

After Pausanias's death, several letters and other things were found among his papers, which excited violent suspicions of Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians sent deputies to Athens to accuse and have sentence of death passed upon him; and such of the citizens who envied him joined these accusers. Aristides had now a fair opportunity of revenging himself on his rival, for the injurious treatment he had received from him, had his soul been capable of so cruel a satisfaction; but he refused absolutely to join in so horrid a combination; being as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adversary, as he had before been to regret his successes. Themistocles answered by letters all the calumnies with which he was charged; and represented to the Athenians, that as he had ever been fond of ruling, and his temper was such as would not suffer him to be lorded over by others, it was highly improbable that he should have a design to deliver himself up, and all Greece, to enemies and barbarians.

In the mean time, the people, wrought upon by his accusers, sent some persons to seize him and bring him home, that he might be tried by the council of Greece. Themistocles, having timely notice of it, went into the island of Corcyra, to whose inhabitants he formerly had done some service: however, not thinking himself safe there, he fled to Epirus; and finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, in despair he adopted a very dangerous plan, which was, to fly to Admetus, king of the Molossians, for refuge. This prince having formerly desired the aid of the Athenians, and being refused with ignominy by Themistocles, who at that time presided in the government, had retained the deepest resentment on that account, and declared that he would revenge himself, should a favourable opportunity ever occur. But Themistocles, imagining that in the unhappy situation of his affairs, the recent envy of his fellow-citizens was more to be feared than the ancient grudge of that king, was resolved to run the hazard of it. When he came into the palace of that monarch, upon being informed that he was absent, he addressed himself to the queen, who received him very graciously, and instructed him in the manner in which it was proper for him to make his request. Admetus, being returned, Themistocles takes the king's son in his arms, seats himself on his hearth amidst his household gods, and there, telling

him who he was, and the cause why he fled to him for refuge, he implores his clemency, owns that his life is in his hand, entreats him to forget the past, and represents to him, that no action can be more worthy of a great king than to exercise clemency. Admetus, surprised and moved with compassion in seeing at his feet, in so humble a posture, the greatest man of all Greece, and the conqueror of all Asia, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised to protect him against all his enemies. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refused absolutely to deliver up a person who had taken refuge in his palace, in the firm persuasion that it would be a sacred and inviolable asylum.

Whilst he was at the court of this prince, one of his friends found an opportunity to carry off his wife and children from Athens, and to send them to him; for which that person was some time after seized and condemned to die. With regard to Themistocles's effects, his friends secured the greatest part of them for him, which they afterwards found an opportunity to remit to him in his retirement; but all that could be discovered, which amounted to 100 talents,³ was carried to the public treasury. When he entered upon the administration of the republic, he was not worth three talents. I shall leave this illustrious exile for some time in the court of king Admetus, to resume the sequel of this history.

SECTION XVII.—ARISTIDES'S DISINTERESTED ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUBLIC TREASURE. HIS DEATH AND EULOGIUM.

I HAVE before observed, that the command of Greece had passed from Sparta to the Athenians.⁴ Hitherto the cities and nations of Greece had indeed contributed some sums of money towards carrying on the expense of the war against the barbarians; but this assessment had always occasioned great feuds, because it was not made in a just or equal proportion. It was thought proper, under this new government, to lodge in the island of Delos the common treasure of Greece; to enact new regulations with regard to the public moneys; and to lay such a tax as might be regulated according to the revenue of each city and state; in order that the expenses being equally borne by the several members who composed the body of the allies, no one might have reason to murmur. The great point was, to find a person capable of discharging faithfully an employment of such delicacy, and attended with such danger and difficulty, the due administration of which so nearly concerned the public welfare. All the allies cast their eyes on Aristides; accordingly they invested him with full powers, and appointed him to levy a tax on each of them, relying entirely on his wisdom and justice.

They had no cause to repent of their choice. He presided over the treasury with the fidelity and disinterestedness of a man,⁵ who looks upon it as a capital crime to embezzle the smallest portion of another's property; with the care and activity of a father of a family, who manages his own estate; and with the caution and integrity of a person, who considers the public money as sacred. In fine, he succeeded in what is equally difficult and extraordinary, viz. in acquiring the love of all, in an office in which he that escapes the public odium gains a great point. Such is the glorious character which Seneca gives of a person charged with an employment of almost the same kind, and the noblest eulogium that can be given of such an administrator the public revenues. It is the exact picture of Aristides. He discovered so much probity and wisdom in the exercise of this office, that no man complained; and those times were considered ever after as the golden age, that is, the period in which Greece had attained its highest pitch of virtue

¹ A hundred thousand crowns French, about 22,500*l*. sterling.

² Plat. in Arist. p. 333, 334. Diod. l. xi. p. 36.

³ Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras; tam abstinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religiose quam publicas. In officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est. Senec. lib. de Brevit. Vit. cap. xviii.

⁴ Hoc molestum est. Nam isthuc commemoratio quasi approbatio est immemoribus beneficii. Trevel in Andr.

⁵ Plat. in Themist. p. 112.

and happiness. And, indeed, the tax which he had fixed, in the whole, at 460 talents,¹ was raised by Pericles to 600, and soon after to 1300 talents: not that the expenses of the war were increased, but because the treasure was employed to very useless purposes, in manual distributions to the Athenians, in solemnizing of games and festivals, in building of temples and public edifices; not to mention, that the hands of those who superintended the treasury were not always so clean and uncorrupt as those of Aristides. This wise and equitable conduct secured him to the latest posterity, the glorious surname of the *Just*.

Nevertheless, Plutarch relates an action of Aristides, which shows that the Greeks (and the same may be said of the Romans) had a very narrow and imperfect idea of justice. They confined the exercise of it to the interior, as it were, of civil society; and acknowledged that individuals were bound to observe strictly its several maxims in their intercourse with each other: but with regard to their country, to the republic (their great idol, to which they referred every thing,) they thought in a quite different manner, and imagined themselves obliged to sacrifice to it, through principle, not only their lives and possessions, but even their religion and the most sacred engagements, in contempt of the most solemn oaths. This will appear evidently in what I am now going to relate.

After the assessment of the contributions, of which I have just spoken,² Aristides, having settled the several articles of the alliance, made the confederates take an oath to observe them punctually, and he himself swore in the name of the Athenians; and when denouncing the curses which always accompanied the oaths, he threw into the sea, pursuant to the usual custom, large bars of red hot iron. But the ill state of the Athenian affairs forcing them afterwards to infringe some of those articles, and to govern a little more arbitrarily, he entreated them to transfer those curses on him, and exonerate themselves thereby of the punishment due to such as had forsworn themselves, and who had been reduced to it by the unhappy situation of their affairs. Theophrastus tells us, that in general (these words are borrowed from Plutarch) Aristides, who, in all matters relating to himself or the public, prided himself upon displaying the most impartial and rigorous justice, used to act, during his administration, in several instances, according as the exigency of affairs and the welfare of his country might require; it being his opinion, that a government, in order to support itself, is, on some occasions, obliged to have recourse to injustice, of which he gives the following example. One day, as the Athenians were debating in their council, about bringing to their city, in opposition to the articles of the treaty, the common treasures of Greece which were deposited in Delos: the Samians having opened the debate: when it was Aristides's turn to speak, he said, that the removal of the treasure was an unjust action, but useful, and made this opinion take place. This incident shows, with how great obscurity and error the pretended wisdom of the heathens was over-spread.

It was scarce possible to have a greater contempt for riches than Aristides had. Themistocles, who was not plesed with the enormous sums bestowed on other men, hearing Aristides applauded for the noble disinterestedness with which he managed the public treasures, did but laugh at it: and said, that the praises bestowed upon him, showed that he possessed no greater merit than that of a strong box, which faithfully preserves all the moneys that are shut up in it, without retaining any. This low sneer was by way of revenge for a stroke of railery that had stung him to the quick. Themistocles one day saying, that, in his opinion, the greatest qualification a general could possess, was to be able to foresee the designs of an enemy: "This qualification," replied Aristides, "is

necessary; but there is another no less noble and worthy of a general,—that is, to have clean hands, and a soul superior to venality and views of interest." Aristides might very justly answer Themistocles in this manner, since he was really very poor, though he had possessed the highest employments in the state. He seemed to have an innate love for poverty; and so far from being ashamed of it, he thought it reflected as much glory on him, as all the trophies and victories he had won. History gives us a shining instance of this.

Callias, who was a near relation of Aristides, and the most wealthy citizen in Athens, was cited to appear before the judges. The accuser, laying very little stress on the cause itself, reproached him especially with permitting Aristides, and his wife and children, to live in poverty, at a time when he himself rolled in riches. Callias, perceiving that these reproaches made a strong impression on the judges, summoned Aristides to declare before them, whether he had not often pressed him to accept of large sums of money, and whether he had not obstinately refused to accept of his offer, giving for answer that he had more reason to boast of his poverty than Callias of his riches; that many persons were to be found who made a good use of their wealth, but that there were few who bore their poverty with magnanimity and even with joy; and that none had cause to blush at their condition, but such as had reduced themselves to it by their idleness, their intemperance, their profusion or dissolute conduct. Aristides declared that his kinsman had told nothing but the truth;³ and added, that a man whose frame of mind is such, as to suppress every wish for superfluities, and who confines the wants of life within the narrowest limits; besides its freeing him from a thousand importunate cares, and leaving him so much master of his time, as to devote it entirely to the public; it approximates him, in some measure to the Deity, who is wholly void of cares or wants. There was no man in the assembly, but, at his leaving it, would have chosen to be Aristides, though so poor, rather than Callias with all his riches.

Plutarch gives us, in a few words, Plato's glorious testimony to Aristides's virtue, for which he looks upon him as infinitely superior to all the illustrious men who were his contemporaries. Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, (says he,) filled indeed their city with splendid edifices, with porticoes, statues, rich ornaments, and other vain superfluities of that kind; but Aristides did all that lay in his power to enrich every part of it with virtue: now to raise a city to true happiness it must be made virtuous, not rich.

Plutarch takes notice of another circumstance in Aristides's life, which, though of the simplest kind, reflects the greatest honour on him, and may serve as an excellent lesson. It is in that beautiful treatise,⁴ in which he inquires, whether it is proper for old men to concern themselves with affairs of government; and where he points out admirably well, the various services they may do the state, even in an advanced age. We are not to fancy, says he, that in order to render services to one's fellow-citizens, it is necessary to make great exertions, to harangue the people, to preside in the government, or to head armies: an old man, whose mind is informed with wisdom, may, without going from his house, exercise a kind of magistracy in it, which, though secret and obscure, is not therefore the less important; and that is, in training up youth by good counsel, teaching them the various springs of policy, and the path they ought to pursue in the management of public affairs. Aristides, adds Plutarch, was not always in office, but was always of service to his country. His house was a public school of virtue, wisdom, and politics. It was open to all young Athenians who were lovers of virtue, and these used to consult him as an oracle. He gave them the kindest reception, heard them with patience, instructed them with familiarity: and endeavoured above all things, to animate their courage, and in-

¹ A talent is worth a thousand French crowns; or about 255*l.* sterling.

² Plut. in Arist. p. 333, 234.

³ Plut. in compar. Arist. & Caton. p. 365.

⁴ Pag. 795, 797.

spire them with confidence. It is observed particularly, that Cimón, afterwards so famous, was obliged to him for this important service.

Plutarch divided the life of statesmen into three ages.¹ In the first, he would have them learn the principles of government; in the second reduce them to practice; and in the third, instruct others.

History does not mention the exact time when,² nor place where, Aristides died; but then it pays a glorious testimony to his memory, when it assures us, that this great man, who had possessed the highest employments in the republic, and had the absolute disposal of its treasures, died poor, and did not leave money enough to defray the expenses of his funeral; so that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married, and Lysimachus his son was subsisted at the expense of the Prytaneum; which also gave the daughter of the latter, after his death, the pension with which those were honoured who had been victorious at the Olympic games. Plutarch relates, on this occasion, the liberality of the Athenians in favour of the posterity of Aristogiton their deliverer, who had fallen to decay; and he adds, that even in his time (almost 600 years after) the same goodness and liberality still subsisted. It is glorious for a city to have preserved for so many centuries its generosity and gratitude; and a strong motive to animate individuals, who were assured that their children would enjoy the rewards which death prevents themselves from receiving. It was delightful to see the remote posterity of the defenders and deliverers of the commonwealth, who had inherited nothing from their ancestors but the glory of their actions maintained for so many ages at the expense of the public, in consideration of the services which their families had rendered the state. They lived in this manner with much more honour, and called up the remembrance of their ancestors with much greater splendour, than a multitude of citizens, whose fathers had been anxious only to leave them great estates, which generally do not long survive those who raised them, and often leave to their posterity nothing but the odious remembrance of the injustice and oppression by which they were acquired.

The greatest honour which the ancients have done to Aristides, is the having bestowed on him the glorious title of the *Just*. He gained it, not by one particular occurrence of his life, but by the whole tenor of his conduct and actions. Plutarch makes a reflection on this occasion, which, being very remarkable, I think it incumbent on me not to omit.

Among the several virtues of Aristides, says this judicious author,³ that for which he was most renowned was his justice; because this virtue is of most general use; its benefits extend to a greater number of persons; and it is the foundation, and in a manner the soul, of every public office and employment. Hence it was that Aristides, though in low circumstances, and of mean extraction, merited the title of *Just*; a title, says Plutarch, truly royal, or rather truly divine; but one of which princes are seldom ambitious, because they are ignorant of its beauty and excellency. They choose rather to be called the takers of cities,⁴ the thunderbolts of war, victors and conquerors, and sometimes even eagles and lions; preferring the vain honour of pompous titles, which convey no other idea than violence and slaughter, to the solid glory of those expressive of goodness and virtue. They do not know, continues Plutarch, that of the three chief attributes of the Deity, of whom kings boast themselves the image, I mean, immortality, power, and justice; that of these three attributes, the first of which excites our admiration and desire, the second fills us with dread and terror, and the third in-

spires us with love and respect; this last is the only one truly and personally communicated to man, and the only one that can conduct him to the other two—it being impossible for man to become truly immortal, and powerful, but by being just.

Before I resume the sequel of this history, it may not be improper to observe, that it was about this period that the fame of the Greeks, who were still more renowned for the wisdom of their polity than the glory of their victories, induced the Romans to have recourse to their lights and knowledge. Rome, formed under kings, was in want of such laws as were necessary for the good government of a commonwealth. For this purpose the Romans sent deputies to copy the laws of the cities of Greece,⁵ and particularly those of Athens, which were still better adapted to the popular government that had been established after the expulsion of the kings. On this model, the ten magistrates, called *Decemviri*, who were invested with absolute authority, digested the laws of the Twelve Tables, which are the basis of the Roman law.

SECTION XVIII.—DEATH OF XERXES, WHO IS KILLED BY ARTABANUS. HIS CHARACTER.

THE ill success of Xerxes in his expedition against the Greeks, and which continued afterwards, at length discouraged him.⁶ Renouncing all thoughts of war and conquest, he abandoned himself entirely to luxury and ease, and was studious of nothing but his pleasures. Artabanus,⁷ a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, who had long been one of his chief favourites, found that his dissolute conduct had drawn upon him the contempt of his subjects. He therefore imagined that this would be a favourable opportunity to conspire against his sovereign, and he carried his ambitious views so far as to flatter himself with the hopes of succeeding him in the throne.⁸ It is very likely that he was excited to the commission of this crime from another motive. Xerxes had commanded him to murder Darius, his eldest son, but for what cause history is silent. As this order had been given at a banquet, and when the company was heated with wine, he did not doubt but that Xerxes would forget it, and therefore was not in haste to obey it; however he was mistaken, for the king complained of his disobedience, which made Artabanus dread his resentment, and therefore he resolved to prevent him. Accordingly he prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace, and high chamberlain, to engage in this conspiracy; and by his means entered the chamber where the king lay, and murdered him in his sleep. He then went immediately to Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes. He informed him of the murder, charging Darius his eldest brother with it; as if impatience to ascend the throne had prompted him to that execrable deed. He added, that to secure the crown to himself, he was resolved to murder him also, for which reason it would be absolutely necessary for him to keep upon his guard. These words having made the impression on Artaxerxes, who was still a youth, which Artabanus desired, he went immediately into his brother's apartment, where, being assisted by Artabanus and his guards, he murdered him. Hystaspes, Xerxes's second son, was next heir to the crown after Darius; but as he was then in Bactriana, of which he was governor, Artabanus sent Artaxerxes on the throne, with the design of suffering him to enjoy it no longer than till he had formed a faction strong enough to drive him from it, and ascend it himself. His great authority had gained him a multitude of dependants;

¹ He applies on this occasion the custom used in Rome, where the Vestals spent the first ten years in learning their office, and this was a kind of noviciate; the next ten years they employed in the exercise of their functions; and the last ten in instructing the young novices in them.

² Plut. in Arist. p. 334. 375.

³ Ib. p. 331, 332.

⁴ Poliorcetes, Ceraunus, Nicator.

⁵ Minsig. legati Athenas, jussumque inelatas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Græcæ civitatum instituta, moris jureque notare. Decem tabularum leges portate sunt (quibus adjectæ postea duri) qui nunc quoriam in hoc immense aliarum super alias privatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris. *Lip. l. iii. n. 2. c. 34.*

⁶ Ctes. c. li. Diod. l. xi. p. 32. Justin. . . iii. c. 1.

⁷ This was not Artabanus the uncle of Xerxes.

⁸ Arist. Polit. l. v. c. 10. p. 404.

besides this, he had seven sons, who were tall, handsome, strong, courageous, and raised to the highest employments in the empire. The aid he hoped to receive from them, was the chief motive of his raising his views so high. But whilst he was attempting to complete his design, Artaxerxes being informed of this plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, endeavoured to anticipate him, and killed him before he had an opportunity of putting his treason in execution. His death established this prince in the possession of the kingdom.

Thus we have seen the end of Xerxes, who was one of the most powerful princes that ever lived. It would be needless for me to anticipate the reader, with respect to the judgment he ought to form of him. We see him surrounded with whatever is greatest and most brilliant in the opinion of mankind; the most extensive empire at that time in the world; immense treasures, and forces both by land and sea, whose number appears incredible. All these things, however, are round him, not in him, and add no lustre to his natural qualities: but by a blindness too common to princes and great men, born in the midst of abundance, heir to boundless power, and a lustre that had cost him nothing, he had accustomed himself to judge of his own talents and personal merit from the exterior of his exalted station and rank. He disregards the wise counsels of Artabanus his uncle, and of Demaratus, who alone had courage enough to speak truth to him; and he abandons himself to courtiers, the sycophants of his fortune, whose whole study it was

to soothe his passions. He proportionless, and pretends to regulate, the success of his enterprises, by the extent of his power. The slavish submission of so many nations no longer soothes his ambition; and, disgusted with too easy an obedience, he takes pleasure in exercising his power over the elements, in cutting his way through mountains, and making them navigable; in chastising the sea for having broken down his bridge, and in foolishly attempting to shackle the waves, by throwing fetters into them. Puffed up with a childish vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himself as the arbiter of nature: he imagines, that not a nation in the world will dare to wait his arrival; and fondly and presumptuously relies on the millions of men and ships which he drags after him. But when, after the battle of Salamis, he beholds the sad ruins, the shameful remains, of his numberless troops scattered over all Greece; he then is sensible of the wide difference between an army and a crowd of men. In a word, to form a right judgment of Xerxes, we need but contrast him with a plain citizen of Athens, a Miltiades, Themistocles, or Aristides. In the latter we find all the good sense, prudence, ability in war, valour, and greatness of soul; in the former we see nothing but vanity, pride, obstinacy; the meanest and most grovelling sentiments, and sometimes the most horrid barbarity.

† Stratusque per totam passim Græciam Xerxes intellexit quantum ab exercitu turba distaret. *Senec. de Benef. l. vi c. 32.*

THE ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

BOOK VII.

The first and third chapters of this Book include the history of the Persians and Greeks, during forty-eight years and some months, which contain the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus; the last six years of which answer to the six first of the Peloponnesian war. This space of time begins at the year of the world 3531, and ends at 3579.

The second chapter comprehends the other transactions of the Greeks, which happened both in Sicily and Italy during the interval above mentioned.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter includes the history of the Persians and Greeks, from the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes to the Peloponnesian war, which began in the 42d year of that king's reign.

SECTION I.—ARTAXERXES RUINS THE FACTION OF ARTABANUS, AND THAT OF HYSTASPES HIS ELDER BROTHER.

THE Greek historians give this A. M. 3531. prince the surname of Longimanus. Ant. J. C. 473. Strabo says,¹ it was because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them: but according to Plutarch,² it was because his right hand was longer than his left. Had it not been for

this blemish, he would have been the most graceful man of his age. He was still more remarkable for his goodness and generosity. He reigned about forty-nine years.

Although Artaxerxes,³ by the death of Artabanus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor, there still were two obstacles in his way, before he could establish himself in the quiet possession of his throne; one of which was his brother Hystaspes, governor of Bactriana; and the other, the faction of Artabanus. He began by the latter.

Artabanus had left seven sons, and a great number of partisans, who soon assembled to revenge his death. These and the adherents of Artaxerxes, fought a bloody battle, in which a great number of Persian nobles lost their lives: Artaxerxes having at last entirely defeated his enemies, put to death all who had engaged in this conspiracy. He took an exemplary vengeance of those that were concerned in his father's murder, and particularly of Mithridates the eunuch, who had betrayed him: he made him suffer the punishment of the troughs, which was executed in the following manner. He was laid on his back in a kind of horse-trough, and strongly fastened to the four corners of it.⁴ Every part of him, except his head, his

hands, and feet, which came out at holes made for that purpose, was covered with another trough. In this horrid situation victuals were given him from time to time; and in case of his refusal to eat, they were forced down his throat; honey mixed with milk was given him to drink, and all his face was smeared with it, which by that means attracted a numberless multitude of flies, especially as he was perpetually exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. The worms which bred in his excrements preyed upon his bowels. The criminal lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpressible torments.

Artaxerxes having crushed the faction of Artabanus,¹ was powerful enough to send an army into Bactriana, which had declared in favour of his brother, but he was not equally successful on this occasion. The two armies engaging, Hystaspes stood his ground so well, that if he did not gain the victory, he at least sustained no loss; so that both armies separated with equal success, and each retired to prepare for a second battle. Artaxerxes having raised a greater army than his brother, and having besides the whole empire in his favour, defeated him in a second engagement, and entirely ruined his party. By this victory he secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire.

To maintain himself on the throne,² he removed from their employment all such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected of holding a correspondence with either of the factions he had overcome, and substituted others on whom he could rely. He afterwards applied himself to reform the abuses and disorders which had crept into the government. By this wise conduct and zeal for the public good, he soon acquired great reputation and authority, together with the love of his subjects, the strongest support of sovereign power.

SECTION II.—THEMISTOCLES TAKES REFUGE WITH ARTAXERXES.

ACCORDING TO Thucydides, Themistocles fled to this prince in the Ant. J. C. 473. beginning of his reign; but other authors, as Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus, fix this incident under Xerxes his predecessor. Dean Prideaux is of the latter opinion; he likewise thinks, that the Artaxerxes in question is the same who is called Ahasuerus in Scripture, and who married Esther; but we suppose, with the learned archbishop Usher, that it was Darius the son of Hystaspes who espoused this illustrious Jewess. I have already declared more than once, that I would not engage in controversies of this kind; and therefore, with regard to this flight of Themistocles into Persia, and the history of Esther, I shall follow the opinion of the learned Usher, my usual guide on these occasions.

We have seen that Themistocles had fled to Admetus,³ king of the Molossi, and had met with a gracious reception from him; but the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not suffer him to remain there in peace, and required that prince to deliver him up; threatening, in case of refusal, to carry their arms into his country. Admetus, who was unwilling to draw such formidable enemies upon himself, and much more to deliver up the man who had fled to him for refuge, informed him of the great danger to which he was exposed, and favoured his flight. Themistocles went as far by land as Pydna, a city of Macedonia, and there embarked on board a merchant ship which was bound to Ionia. None of the passengers knew him. A storm having carried this vessel near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians: the imminent danger to which Themistocles was exposed, obliged him to discover himself to the pilot and master of the ship; after which, by entreaties and menaces, he forced them to sail towards Asia.

Themistocles might on this occasion call to mind an expression which his father had made use of,⁴ when

he was very young, in order to warn him to lay very little stress on the favour of the common people. They were then walking together in the harbour. His father pointing to some rotten galleys that lay neglected on the strand, "Look there," says he, "son," pointing to them, "thus do the people treat their governors, when they can do them no further service."

He arrived at Cumæ, a city of Æolia in Asia Minor. The king of Persia had set a price upon his head, and promised 200 talents⁵ to any person who should deliver him up. The whole coast was covered with people, who were watching for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Æolia, where no one knew him except Nicogenes, at whose house he lodged. He was the most wealthy man in that country, and very intimate with all the lords of the Persian court. Themistocles was concealed some days in his house, till Nicogenes sent him under a strong guard to Susa, in one of those covered chariots in which the Persians, who were extremely jealous, used to carry their wives; those who conducted him telling every body, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to a courtier of great distinction.

Being come to the Persian court, he waited upon the captain of the guards, and told him that he was a Grecian by birth, and begged the king would admit him to audience, as he had matters of great importance to communicate to him. The officer informed him of a ceremony which he knew was offensive to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed to speak to the king; and this was, to fall prostrate before him. "Our laws," says he, "command us to honour the king in that manner and to worship him as the living image of the immortal God, who maintains and preserves all things." Themistocles promised to comply. Being admitted to audience, he fell on his face before the king, after the Persian manner; and afterwards rising up, "Great king,"⁶ says he by an interpreter, "I am Themistocles the Athenian who having been banished by the Greeks, am come to your court in hopes of finding an asylum. I have indeed brought many calamities on the Persians; but on the other side, I have done them no less services by the salutary advice I have given them more than once; and I am now able to do them more important services than ever. My life is in your hands. You may now exert your clemency, or display your vengeance; by the former you will preserve your suppliant; and by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy of Greece."

The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his great sense and boldness; but history informs us, that in company of his friends, he congratulated himself upon his good fortune, and considered Themistocles's arrival as a very great happiness; that he implored his god Arimanius always to inspire his enemies with such thoughts, and to prompt them to banish, and thus to deprive themselves of their most illustrious personages. It is added, that when this king was asleep, he started up three times through excess of joy, and cried, "I have got Themistocles the Athenian!"

The next morning, at day-break, he sent for the greatest lords of his court, and commanded Themistocles to be brought before him, who expected nothing but destruction; especially after what one of his guards, upon hearing his name, had said to him the night before, even in the presence-chamber, just as he had left the king, "Thou serpent of Greece, thou compound of fraud and malice, the good genius of our prince brings thee hither!" However, the serenity which appeared in the king's face seemed to promise him a favourable reception. Themistocles was not mistaken; for the king began by making him a present of 200 talents,⁷ which sum he had promised

¹ Ctes. c. xxxi.

² Diod. l. xi. p. 54.

³ Thucyd. l. i. p. 90. 91. Plat. in Themist. p. 125. 127.

⁴ Diod. l. xi. p. 42. 44. Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. viii. x.

⁵ Plat. in Themist. p. 112.

⁶ Two hundred thousand crowns, or about 45,000*l.* sterling.

⁷ Thucydides attributes to him very near the same words but as forming a letter which he wrote to the king before he was introduced to him.

⁸ Two hundred thousand French crowns; or about 45,000*l.* sterling.

as any one who should deliver him up, which consequently was his due, as Themistocles had brought him his head, by surrendering himself to him. He afterwards desired him to give an account of the affairs of Greece. But as Themistocles could not express his thoughts to the king without the assistance of an interpreter, he desired time might be allowed him to learn the Persian tongue; hoping he then should be able to explain those things which he was desirous of communicating to him, better than he could by the aid of a third person. It is the same, says he, with the speech of a man, as with a piece of tapestry, which must be spread out and unfolded, to show the figures and beauty of the work. His request being granted, Themistocles, in the space of twelve months, made so great a progress in the Persian language, that he spoke it with greater elegance than the Persians themselves, and consequently could converse with the king without the help of an interpreter. This prince treated him with uncommon marks of friendship and esteem; he made him marry a lady descended from one of the noblest families in Persia; gave him a palace and an equipage suitable to it, and settled a noble pension on him. He used to carry him abroad on his parties of hunting, and invited him to every banquet and entertainment; and sometimes conversed privately with him, so that the lords of the court grew jealous and uneasy upon that account. He even presented him to the princesses, who honoured him with their esteem, and received his visits. It is observed as a proof of the peculiar favour showed him, that by the king's special order, Themistocles was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the Magi, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy.

Another proof of his great influence is related. Demaratus of Sparta, who was then at court, being commanded by the king to ask any thing of him, he desired that he might be suffered to make his entry on horseback into the city of Sardis, with the royal tiara on his head: a ridiculous vanity! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and the simplicity of a Lacedæmonian! The king, exasperated at the insolence of his demand, expressed his disgust in the strongest terms, and seemed resolved not to pardon him; but Themistocles having interceded, the king restored him to favour.

In fine, the credit and influence of Themistocles was so great, that under the succeeding reigns, in which the affairs of Persia were still more mixed with those of Greece, whenever the kings were desirous of engaging any Greek in their service, they used to declare expressly in their letters, that he should be in greater favour with them than Themistocles had been with Artaxerxes.

It is said also that Themistocles, when in his most flourishing condition in Persia, honoured and esteemed by all the world, who were envious in making their court to him, said one day, when his table was covered magnificently: "Children, we should have been ruined, if we had not been ruined."

But at last, as it was judged necessary for the king's interest that Themistocles should reside in some city of Asia Minor, that he might be ready on any occasion which should present itself; he was accordingly sent to Magnesia, situated on the Meander; and besides the whole revenues of that city (which amounted to fifty talents¹ every year,) he had those of Myus and Lampascus assigned him for his maintenance. One of the cities was to furnish him with bread, another with wine, and a third with other provisions. Some authors add two more, viz. for his furniture and clothes. Such was the custom of the ancient kings of the East: instead of settling pensions on persons whom they rewarded, they gave them cities, and sometimes even provinces, which under the name of bread, wine, &c. were to furnish them abundantly with all things necessary for supporting, in a magnificent manner, their household establishment. Themistocles lived for some years in Magnesia in the

utmost splendour, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

SECTION III.—CIMON BEGINS TO MAKE A FIGURE AT ATHENS. HIS FIRST ACHIEVEMENTS. A DOUBLE VICTORY GAINED OVER THE PERSIANS, NEAR THE RIVER EURYMEDON. DEATH OF THEMISTOCLES.

THE Athenians having lost one of their most distinguished citizens,² A. M. 3533. as well as ablest generals, by the Ant. J. C. 471. banishment of Themistocles, endeavoured to retrieve that loss, by bestowing the command of the armies on Cimon, who was not inferior to him in merit.

He spent his youth in such excesses as did him no honour, and presaged no good with regard to his future conduct. The example of this illustrious Athenian,³ who passed his juvenile years in so dissolute a manner, and afterwards rose to so exalted a pitch of glory, shows, that parents must not always despair of a son, when wild and irregular in his youth; especially when nature has endued him with genius, goodness of heart, generous inclinations, and an esteem for persons of merit. Such was the character of Cimon. The ill reputation he had drawn upon himself having prejudiced the people against him, he at first was very ill received by them; when, being discouraged by this repulse, he resolved to lay aside all thoughts of concerning himself with public business. But Aristides perceiving, through all his faults, that he possessed many fine qualities, consoled him, inspired him with hope, pointed out the path he should take, instilled good principles into him, and did not a little contribute, by the excellent instructions he gave him, and the affection he expressed for him on all occasions, to make him the man he afterwards appeared. What more important service could he have done his country?

Plutarch observes,⁴ that after Cimon had laid aside his juvenile extravagances, his conduct was in every respect great and noble: and that he was not inferior to Miltiades either in courage and intrepidity, nor to Themistocles in prudence and sense; but that he was more just and virtuous than either of them; and that without being at all inferior to them in military excellence, he far surpassed them in the practice of the moral virtues.

It would be of great advantage to a state, if those who excel in particular professions would take pleasure, and make it their duty, to fashion and instruct such youths as are remarkable for the pregnancy of their parts and goodness of disposition. They would thereby have an opportunity of serving their country even after their death, and of perpetuating, in the person of their pupils, a taste and inclination for true merit, and the practice of the wisest maxims.

The Athenians, a little after Themistocles had left his country, having put to sea a fleet under the command of Cimon the son of Miltiades, took Eion, on the banks of the Strymon, Amphipolis, and other places of Thrace; and as this was a very fruitful country, Cimon planted a colony in it, and sent 10,000 Athenians thither for that purpose.

The fate of Eion is too singular to be omitted here.⁵ Boges⁶ was governor of it under the king of Persia, and acted with such a zeal and fidelity for his sovereign, as have few examples. When besieged by Cimon and the Athenians, it was in his power to have capitulated upon honourable terms, and to have returned to Asia with his family and all his effects. However, being persuaded he could not do this with honour, he resolved to die rather than surrender. The city was assaulted with the utmost fury, and he defended it with incredible bravery. Being at last in the utmost want of provisions, he threw from the walls

¹ Diod. l. xi. p. 43. Plut. in Cim. p. 482, 483.

² Plut. in Cim. p. 480.

³ Herod. l. vii. c. 107.

⁴ Plutarch calls him Butia.

⁵ Herodotus seems to place this history under Xerxes; but it is more probable that it happened under Artaxerxes his successor.

⁶ Fifty thousand crowns: or, about 11,250*l.* sterling.

into the river Strymon all the gold and silver in the place; then caused fire to be set to a pile, and having killed his wife, his children, and his whole family, he threw them into the midst of the flames, and afterwards rushed into them himself. The king of Persia could not but admire, and at the same time bewail, so surprising an example of generosity. The heathens, indeed, might give this name to what is rather savage ferocity and barbarity.

Cimon made himself master also of the island of Scyros, where he found the bones of Theseus, the son of Ægeus, who had fled from Athens to that city, and there ended his days. An oracle had commanded that search should be made after his bones. Cimon put them on board his galley, adorned them magnificently, and carried them to his native country, near 800 years after Theseus had left it. The people received them with the highest expressions of joy; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, they instituted games in which the tragic poets were to try their skill, which became very famous, and contributed exceedingly to the improvement of the drama by the wonderful emulation it excited among the tragic poets, whose pieces were represented on the stage. For Sophocles, who was then a young man, having brought his first play on the stage, the archon, who presided at these games, observing there was a strong faction among the spectators, prevailed with Cimon and the rest of the generals his colleagues (who were ten in number, and chosen one out of each tribe,) to sit as judges. The prize was adjudged to Sophocles, which so deeply afflicted Æschylus, who till then had been considered as the greatest dramatic poet, that Athens became insupportable to him, and he withdrew to Sicily, where he died.

The confederates had taken a great number of barbarian prisoners in Sestus and Byzantium;¹ and, as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon, entreated him to distribute the booty. Accordingly, Cimon placed all the captives (stark naked) on one side, and on the other all their riches and spoils. The allies complained of this partition as too unequal; but Cimon giving them the choice, they immediately took the riches which belonged to the Persians, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. Cimon therefore set out with his portion, and was considered very little qualified to settle the distribution of prizes: for the allies carried off a great number of chains, necklaces, and bracelets of gold; a large quantity of rich habits, and fine purple cloaks; whilst the Athenians had for their share only a multitude of human creatures, quite naked, and unfit for labour. However, the relations and friends of these captives came soon after from Phrygia and Lydia, and purchased them all at a very high price; so, that, with the money arising from their ransom, Cimon had enough to maintain his fleet four months; besides a great sum of money which was put into the public treasury, not to mention what he had himself for his own share. He afterwards used to take exceeding pleasure, in relating this adventure to his friends.

He made the best use of his riches,² as Gorgias the rhetorician has happily expressed it in few, but strong and elegant words. "Cimon," says he,³ "amassed riches only to use them; and he employed them so as to acquire esteem and honour." We may here perceive (by the way) what was the scope and aim of the most exalted actions of the heathens; and with what justice Tertullian defined a Pagan, how perfect soever he might appear, a vain-glorious animal, animal glorie. The gardens and orchards of Cimon were always open, by his order, to the citizens in general; who were allowed to gather whatever fruits they pleased. His table was daily covered in a frugal but polite manner. It was entirely different from those delicate and sumptuous tables, to which only a few persons of great distinction are admitted; and which

are covered merely to display a vain magnificence or elegance of taste. That of Cimon was plain, but abundant; and all the poor citizens were received at it without distinction. In thus banishing from his entertainments whatever had the least air of ostentation and luxury, he reserved to himself an inexhaustible fund, not only for the expenses of his house, but for the wants of his friends, his domestics, and a very great number of citizens; demonstrating, by this conduct, that he knew much better than most rich men the true use and value of riches.

He was always followed by some servants, who were ordered to slip privately a piece of money into the hands of such poor as they met, and to give clothes to those who were in want of them. He often buried such persons as had not left money enough behind them to defray the expenses of their funeral and what is worthy of admiration, and which Plutarch does not fail to observe, he did not act in this manner to gain credit among the people, nor to purchase their voices: since we find him, on all occasions, declaring for the contrary faction, that is, in favour of such citizens as were most considerable for their wealth or authority.

Although he saw all the rest of the governors of his time enrich themselves by the plunder and oppression of the public,⁴ he was always incorruptible, and his hands were never stained with extortion, or the smallest present; and he continued, during his whole life, not only to speak, but to act, gratuitously, and without the least view of interest, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.

To a great number of other excellent qualities, Cimon united sound sense, extraordinary prudence, and a profound knowledge of the genius and characters of men. The allies, besides the sums of money in which each of them was taxed, were to furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several among them, who, ever since the retreat of Xerxes, were studious of nothing but their ease, and applied themselves entirely to the cultivation of their lands, in order to free themselves from the toils and dangers of war, chose to furnish their quota in money rather than in men, and left to the Athenians the care of manning with soldiers and rowers the ships they were obliged to furnish. The other generals, who had no forecast and penetration into the future, gave such of the allies as acted in this manner some uneasiness at first, and were for obliging them to observe the treaty literally. But Cimon, when in power, acted in a quite different manner, and suffered them to enjoy the tranquillity they chose; plainly perceiving, that the allies, instead of being, as formerly, warlike in the field, would insensibly lose their martial spirit, and be fit for nothing but husbandry and trade; whilst the Athenians, by exercising the oar, and having arms in their hands perpetually, would be more and more inured to the fatigues of war, and daily increase in power. What Cimon had foreseen happened; these very people purchased themselves masters at their own expense; so that they who before had been companions and allies, became in some measure the subjects and tributaries of the Athenians.

No Grecian general ever gave so great a blow to the pride and haughtiness of the Persian monarch as A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. Cimon.⁵ After the barbarians had been driven out of Greece, he did not give them time to take breath; but sailed immediately after them with a fleet of upwards of 200 ships, took their strongest cities, and brought over all their allies; so that the king of Persia had not one soldier left in Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia. Still pursuing his point, he had the boldness to attack the enemy's fleet, though much stronger than his own. It lay near the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and consisted of 350 sail of ships, supported by the land army on the coast. It was soon put to flight, and more than 200 sail were taken besides those that were sunk. A great number of the

¹ Plut. in Cim. p. 434.

² Plut. in Cim. p. 184. Cornel. Nep. in Cim. c. iv. Athen. l. xii. p. 573.

³ Φοβὸν τὸν Κίμωνος τὰ χρημάτων κτήματα μὴν δὲ χρητὸς, χρησίμους δὲ τὰς τιμὰς.

⁴ Plut. in Cim. p. 485.

⁵ Plut. in Cim. p. 485—487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66. Diod. l. xi. p. 45—47.

Persians had left their ships, and leaped into the sea, in order to join their land army which lay on the shore. It was very hazardous to attempt a descent in sight of the enemy; and to lead on troops, which were already fatigued by their late battle, against fresh forces much superior in number. However, Cimon, finding that the whole army was eager to engage the barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of the ardour of the soldiers, who were greatly animated with their first success. Accordingly he landed,¹ and marched them directly against the barbarians, who waited resolutely for their coming up, and sustained the first onset with much valour; however, being at last obliged to give way, they fled. A great slaughter ensued, and an infinite number of prisoners and immensely rich spoils were taken. Cimon having, in one day, gained two victories, which almost equalled those of Salamis and Plateæ; to crown all, sailed out to meet a reinforcement of eighty-four Phœnician ships, which were coming from Cyprus to join the Persian fleet, and knew nothing of what had passed. They were all either taken or sunk, and most of the soldiers were killed or drowned.

Cimon, after these glorious exploits, returned in triumph to Athens; and employed part of the spoils in fortifying the harbour, and in beautifying the city. The riches which a general amasses in the field, are applied to the noblest uses when they are disposed of in this manner, and reflect infinitely greater honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent palaces for himself, which must one time or other devolve to strangers; whereas works, built for public use, are his property, in some measure, for ever, and transmit his name to the latest posterity. It is well known that such embellishments in a city give infinite pleasure to the people,² who are always struck with works of this kind; and this, as Plutarch observes in the life of Cimon, is one of the surest, and, at the same time, the most lawful, methods of acquiring their friendship and esteem.

The year following,³ this general

A. M. 3535. sailed towards the Hellespont; and Ant. J. C. 469. having driven the Persians out of the Thracian Chersonesus, of which they had made themselves masters, he conquered it in the name of the Athenians, though he himself had more right to it, as Miltiades his father had been its sovereign. He afterwards attacked the people of the island of Thasos, who had revolted from the Athenians, and defeated their fleet. They maintained their revolt with an almost unparalleled obstinacy and fury. As if they had been in arms against the most cruel and barbarous enemies,⁴ from whom they had the worst of evils to fear, they made a law, that the first man who should only mention the concluding a treaty with the Athenians, should be put to death. The siege was carried on three years, during which the inhabitants suffered all the calamities of war with the same obstinacy. The women were no less inflexible than the men;⁵ for, when the besieged wanted ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair with the greatest readiness, and applied it to that purpose. The city being reduced to the utmost distress by famine, which daily swept away a great number of the inhabitants, Hegesicles, a Thracian, deeply afflicted with seeing such multitudes of his fellow-citizens perish, resolutely determined to sacrifice his life for the preservation of his country. Accordingly, he put a halter round his neck, and presenting himself to the assembly, "Countrymen," says he, "do with me as you please, and do not spare me, if you judge proper; but let my death save the rest of the people, and prevail with you to abolish the cruel law you have enacted, so contrary to your welfare." The Thracians, struck with these words, abolished the

law, but would not suffer it to cost so generous a citizen his life. They surrendered themselves to the Athenians, who spared their lives, and only dismantled their city.

After Cimon had landed his troops on the shore opposite to Thrace, he seized on all the gold-mines in that quarter, and subdued every part of that country as far as Macedonia. He might have attempted the conquest of that kingdom; and, in all probability, could have easily possessed himself of part of it, had he thought fit to improve the opportunity. And indeed, for his neglect on this point, on his return to Athens, he was prosecuted, as having been bribed by the money of the Macedonians and of Alexander, their king. But Cimon had a soul superior to all temptations of that kind, and proved his innocence in the clearest light.

The conquests of Cimon⁶ and the power of the Athenians, which increased every day, gave Artaxerxes great uneasiness. To prevent the consequences, he resolved to send Themistocles into Attica, with a great army, and accordingly proposed it to him.

Themistocles was in great perplexity on this occasion. On one side, the remembrance of the favours which the king had heaped upon him; the positive assurances he had given that monarch, to serve him with the utmost zeal on all occasions; the urgency of the king, who claimed his promise; all these considerations would not permit him to refuse the commission. On the other side, the love of his country, which the injustice and ill treatment of his fellow-citizens could not banish from his mind; his strong reluctance to sully the glory of his former laurels and mighty achievements by so ignominious a step; perhaps, too, the fear of being unsuccessful in a war, in which he should be opposed by excellent generals, and particularly by Cimon, who hitherto had been as successful as valiant; these different reflections would not suffer him to declare against his country, in an enterprise which, whether successful or not, could not but reflect shame on himself.

To rid himself at once of all these inward struggles, he resolved to put an end to his life,⁷ as the only method he could devise not to be wanting in the duty which he owed his country, nor to the promises he had made the prince. He therefore prepared a solemn sacrifice, to which he invited all his friends; when, after embracing them all, and taking a last farewell of them, he drank bull's blood; or, according to others, swallowed a dose of poison, and died in this manner at Magnesia, aged threescore and five years, the greatest part of which he had spent either in the government of the republic, or the command of the armies. When the king was told the cause and manner of his death,⁸ he esteemed and admired him still more, and continued his favour to his friends and domestics. But the unexpected death of Themistocles proved an obstacle to the design that he meditated of attacking the Greeks. The Magnesians erected a splendid monument to the memory of that general in the public square, and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his descendants. They continued to enjoy them in Plutarch's time, that is, near 600 years after, and his tomb was still standing.

Atticus,⁹ in the beautiful dialogue of Cicero, entitled Brutus, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious manner, the tragical end which some writers ascribe to Themistocles, as related above; pretending that the whole is a fiction, invented by rhetoricians, who, on the bare rumour that this great man died by poison, had of themselves added all the other particulars to embellish the story, which otherwise would have been very dry and uninteresting. He appeals for this to Thucydides, that judicious historian, who was an Athenian, and almost contemporary with Themistocles. This author indeed owns, that a report had pre-

¹ We do not find that the ancients made use of long boats in making a landing; the reason of which perhaps was, that as their galleys were flat-bottomed, they ran in to shore without any difficulty.

² Plut. de gerend. rep. p. 818.
³ Plut. in Cim. p. 487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66, 67. Diod. l. xi. p. 53.
⁴ Polyæn. l. viii.
⁵ Polyæn. Str. l. ii.

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⁶ Thucyd. l. i. p. 92. Plut. in Themist. p. 127.

⁷ The wisest heathens did not think a man was allowed to lay violent hands on himself.

⁸ Cic. de Senec. n. 72. Brut. n. 42, 43.

ailed, that this general had poisoned himself; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death, and that his friends conveyed his bones secretly to Athens, where, in Pausanias's time,¹ his mausoleum was standing near the great harbour. This account seems much more probable than the other.

Themistocles was certainly one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced. He had a great soul, and invincible courage, which was even inflamed by danger; was fired with an incredible thirst for glory, which sometimes his patriotism would temper and allay, but which sometimes carried him too far; his presence of mind was such,² that it immediately suggested whatever course was most necessary to pursue: in fine, he had a sagacity and penetration that revealed to him in the clearest light, the most secret designs of his enemies; and caused him to adopt long beforehand the several measures which were requisite to disconcert them, and inspire him with great, noble, bold, extensive views with regard to the honour of his country. The most essential qualities of the heart were, however, wanting in him, I mean, probity, sincerity, equity, and good faith; nor was he altogether free from suspicions of avarice, which is a great blemish in the character of a statesman.

Nevertheless,³ a noble sentiment as well as action is related of him, which speak a great and disinterested soul. His daughter being asked of him in marriage,⁴ he preferred an honest poor man to a rich one of an indifferent character; and gave for his reason, "That in the choice of a son-in-law, he would much rather have merit without riches, than riches without merit."

SECTION IV.—THE REVOLT OF THE EGYPTIANS AGAINST PERSIA, SUPPORTED BY THE ATHENIANS.

The Egyptians,⁵ in the mean time, to free themselves from a foreign yoke, which was insupportable to them, revolted from Artaxerxes, and made Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king. They called in to their assistance the Athenians, who having at that time a fleet of 200 ships at the island of Cyprus, accepted the invitation with pleasure, and immediately set sail for Egypt; judging this a very favourable opportunity to weaken the power of the Persians, by driving them out of so great a kingdom.

Advice being brought Artaxerxes of this revolt, he raised an army of 300,000 men, and resolved to march in person against the rebels. But his friends advising him not to venture himself in that expedition, he gave the command of it to Achæmenes, one of his brothers. The latter being arrived in Egypt, encamped his great army on the banks of the Nile. During this interval, the Athenians having defeated the Persian fleet, and either destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, went up that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimus their general, and having joined Inarus and his Egyptians, they charged Achæmenes, and defeated him in a great battle, in which that Persian general and 100,000 of his soldiers were slain. Those who escaped fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursued them, and immediately made themselves masters of two quarters of the city: but the Persians having fortified themselves in the third, called the *white wall*, which was the largest and strongest of the three, they were besieged in it near three years, during which they made a most vigorous defence, till they were at last delivered by the forces sent to their aid.

Artaxerxes, hearing of the defeat of his army, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it; in order to make a diversion of their forces and hinder them from acting against him, sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, with a large sum of money, to engage them to proclaim war against the Athenians. But the Lacedæmonians having rejected the offer, their refusal did not abate his ardour, and accordingly he gave Megabyzus and Artabazus the command of the forces destined against Egypt. These generals immediately raised an army of 300,000 men in Cilicia and Phœnicia. They were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped, which was not till the next year. Artabazus then took upon him the command of it, and sailed towards the Nile, whilst Megabyzus at the head of the land army, marched towards Memphis. He raised the siege of that city, and afterwards fought Inarus. All the forces on both sides engaged in this battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated; but the Egyptians who had rebelled, suffered most in this slaughter.

After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded by Megabyzus, retreated with the Athenians, and such Egyptians as were willing to follow him; and reached Byblos, a city in the island of Prosopitis, which is surrounded by two arms of the Nile, both of which are navigable. The Athenians ran their fleet into one of these arms, where it was secured from the attacks of the enemy, and held out a siege of a year and a half in this island.

After the battle, all the rest of Egypt submitted to the conqueror, and was reunited to the empire of Artaxerxes, except Amyrteus, who had still a small party in the fens, where he long supported himself, through the difficulty the Persians found in penetrating far enough to reduce him.

The siege of Prosopitis was still carrying on. The Persians finding that they made no progress by the usual methods of attack, because they had to deal with persons who were not deficient either in courage or skill to defend themselves, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, which soon produced what force had not been able to effect. They turned the course, by different canals, of that arm of the Nile in which the Athenians lay, and by that means opened themselves a passage for their whole army to enter the island. Inarus, seeing that all was lost, capitulated with Megabyzus for himself, for all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians, and surrendered upon condition that their lives should be spared. The remainder of the auxiliary forces, which formed a body of 6000 men, resolved to hold out longer; and for this purpose they set fire to their ships, and drawing up in order of battle, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives as dear as they could, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, who refused to yield, and were all cut to pieces at Thermopylæ. The Persians hearing they had taken so desperate a resolution, did not think it advisable to attack them. A peace was therefore offered them, with a promise that they all should be permitted to leave Egypt, and have free passage to their native country either by sea or land. They accepted these conditions, put the conquerors in possession of Byblos and of the whole island, and went by land to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece: but most of the soldiers who had served in this expedition perished in it.

But this was not the only loss the Athenians sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty ships, which they sent to the aid of their besieged countrymen, sailed up one of the arms of the Nile (just after the Athenians had surrendered) to disengage them, not knowing what had happened. But the instant they entered, the Persian fleet, which kept out at sea, followed them and attacked their rear, whilst the army discharged showers of darts upon them from the banks of the river; only a few ships escaped which opened themselves a way through the enemy's fleet, and all

¹ Lib. i. p. 1.

² De instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissimè judicabat, et de futura callidissimè conjiciebat. Corn. Nep. in Themist. c. i.

³ Plut. in Themist. p. 121.

⁴ Themistocles, cum consuleretur atrim bono viro pauperi, an mishi probato diviti filium collocaret: Ego vero inquit, malo virum qui pecunia eget, quam pecuniam qua viro. Ctes. de Offic. l. ii. c. 71.

⁵ Thucyd. l. i. p. 68, and 71, 72. Ctes. c. 32—35. Diod. xi. v. 54—59.

A. M. 3546.

Ant. J. C. 458

A. M. 3547.

Ant. J. C. 457.

A. M. 3548

Ant. J. C. 456

A. M. 3550.

Ant. J. C. 454.

the rest were lost. Thus ended the fatal war carried on by the Athenians for six years in Egypt, which kingdom was now united again to the Persian empire.

A. M. 3550. and continued so during the rest of the reign of Artaxerxes, of which
Ant. J. C. 454. this is the twentieth year. But the prisoners who were taken in this war met with the most unhappy fate.

SECTION V.—INARUS IS DELIVERED UP TO THE KING'S MOTHER, CONTRARY TO THE ARTICLES OF THE TREATY. THE AFFLICTION OF MEGABYZUS, WHO REVOLTS.

ARTAXERXES,¹ after having for A. M. 3556. five years refused to gratify the request of his mother, who daily importuned him to put Inarus and the Athenians who had been taken with him into her hands, in order that he might sacrifice them to the manes of Arhameses her son, at last yielded to her solicitations. But how blind, how barbarously weak, must this king have been, to break through the most solemn engagements merely through complaisance; who (deaf to remorse) violated the law of nations, solely to avoid offending a most unjust mother. This inhuman princess,² without regard to the faith of the treaty, caused Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the rest. Megabyzus was in the deepest affliction on that account; for as he had promised that no injury should be done them, the dishonour reflected principally on him. He therefore left the court, and withdrew to Syria, of which he was governor; and his discontent was so great, that he raised an army and revolted openly.

The king sent Osiris, who was A. M. 3557. one of the greatest lords of the court, against him with an army of Ant. J. C. 447. 200,000 men. Megabyzus engaged Osiris, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his army to flight. Artaxerxes sending to demand Osiris, Megabyzus generously dismissed him, as soon as his wounds were cured.

The next year Artaxerxes sent A. M. 3559. another army against him, the command of which he gave to Menostanes, son to Artarius the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was not more fortunate than the former. He also was defeated and put to flight, and Megabyzus gained as signal a victory as the former.

Artaxerxes, finding he could not reduce him by force of arms, sent his brother Artarius and Anytis his sister, who was the wife of Megabyzus, with several other persons of the first quality, to persuade him to return to his allegiance. They succeeded in their negotiation: the king pardoned him, and he returned to court.

One day as they were hunting, a lion raising himself on his hinder feet, was going to rush upon the king, when Megabyzus seeing the danger he was in, and fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, hurled a dart at the lion, which killed him. But Artaxerxes, upon pretence that he had affronted him, in darting at the lion first, commanded Megabyzus's head to be struck off. Anytis the king's sister, and Amestris his mother, with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon the king to change his sentence into perpetual banishment. Megabyzus was therefore sent to Tyris, a city on the Red Sea, and condemned to end his days there: however, five years after, disguising himself like a leper, he made his escape and returned to Susa, where, by the assistance of his wife and mother-in-law, he was restored to favour, and continued so till his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Megabyzus was extremely regretted by the king and the whole court. He was a man of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, and at the same time the best general. Artaxerxes owed both his crown and life to him:³

but it is of dangerous consequence for a subject, when his sovereign is under too many obligations to him. This was the cause of all the misfortunes of Megabyzus.

It is surprising that so judicious a prince as Artaxerxes should have been so imprudent, as to be fired with jealousy against a nobleman of his court, merely because, in a party of hunting, he had wounded the beast they were pursuing before him! Can any thing be so weak? And is this placing the point of honour in a manner worthy a king? Nevertheless, history furnishes us with many instances of this kind. I am apt to believe, from some expressions of Plutarch,⁴ that Artaxerxes was ashamed of the wild fury to which this false delicacy had raised him, and that he made some kind of public atonement for it: for, according to this author, he published a decree, importing, that any man who was hunting with the king, should be allowed to throw his javelin first at the beast, if opportunity should offer; and he, according to Plutarch, was the first Persian monarch who granted such a permission.

SECTION VI.—ARTAXERXES SENDS EZRA, AND AFTERWARDS NEHEMIAH, TO JERUSALEM.

BEFORE I proceed in the history of the Persians and Greeks, I shall relate, in few words, what events happened among the people of God, during the first twenty years of Artaxerxes, which is an essential part of the history of that prince.

In the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes,⁵ Ezra obtained of the king and his seven counsellors, an ample commission, empowering him to return to Jerusalem with all such Jews as would follow him thither, in order to re-establish the Jewish government and religion, and to regulate both agreeably to their own laws. Ezra was descended from Sarsai, who was high-priest of Jerusalem, at the time when it was destroyed by Nabuchodonosor, and was put to death by his command. Ezra was a very learned and pious man, and was chiefly distinguished from the rest of the Jews, by his great knowledge in the Scriptures; on account of which it is said of him, "That he was very ready in the law of Moses that was given by the God of Israel."⁶ He set out from Babylon with the gifts and offerings which the king, his courtiers, and such Israelites as had stayed in Babylon, had put into his hands for the service of the temple, and which he gave to the priests upon his arrival at Jerusalem. It appears by the commission which Artaxerxes gave him, that this prince had a high veneration for the God of Israel, as, in commanding his officers to furnish the Jews with all things necessary for their worship, he adds, "Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently, unto the most high God, that wrought come not upon the kingdom of the king and his son."⁷ This commission, as I observed, empowered him to settle the religion and government of the Jews, pursuant to the law of Moses; to appoint magistrates and judges to punish evil-doers, not only by imprisoning their persons and confiscating their possessions, but also by sending them into banishment, and even sentencing them to death, according to the crimes they should commit. Such was the power with which Ezra was invested, and which Ant. J. C. 454. he exercised faithfully during thirteen years; till Nehemiah brought a new commission from the Persian court.

Nehemiah was also a Jew,⁸ of distinguished merit and piety, and one of the cup-bearers to king Artaxerxes. This was a very considerable employment in the Persian court, because of the privilege annexed to it, of being often near the king's person, and of being allowed to speak to him in the most favourable moments. However, neither this exalted station, nor the settlement of his family in that land of captivity, could obliterate from his mind the country of his ancestors, nor their religion: neither his love for the one,

¹ Ctes. c. xxxv.—xl. ² Thueyd. l. i. p. 72.
³ Beneficent ad usum laici sunt, dum videtur exalari potius: ubi multum antevertere, pro gratia odium redditur. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 16.

⁴ Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 173. ⁵ Ezra, vii. &c.
⁶ 1 Esdras, viii. 3. ⁷ Ib. 22. ⁸ Nehem. i. and ii.

nor his zeal for the other, was abated; and his heart was still in Zion. Some Jews who were come from Jerusalem having informed him of the sad state of that city, that its walls lay in ruin, its gates were burnt down, and the inhabitants thereby exposed to the insults of their enemies and the scorn of their neighbours; the affliction of his brethren, and the dangers with which they were menaced, made such an impression on his mind, as might naturally be expected from one of his piety. One day as he was waiting upon the king, the latter observing an unusual air of melancholy in Nehemiah's countenance, asked him the cause of it; a proof that this monarch had a tenderness of heart rarely found in those of his high rank, which nevertheless is much more valuable than the most shining qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous state of his country; owned that to be the subject of his grief; and humbly entreated that leave might be given him to go to Jerusalem, in order to repair the fortifications of it. The kings of Persia his predecessors had permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple, but not the walls of Jerusalem. But Artaxerxes immediately caused a decree to be drawn up, that the walls and gates of Jerusalem should be rebuilt; and Nehemiah, as governor of Judea, was appointed to put this decree in execution. The king, to do him the greater honour, ordered a body of horse, commanded by an officer of distinction, to escort him thither. He likewise writ to all the governors of the provinces on this side the Euphrates, to give him all the assistance possible in forwarding the work for which he was sent. This pious Jew executed every part of his commission with incredible zeal and activity.

It is from this decree,¹ enacted by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign, for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, that we date the beginning of the seventy weeks mentioned in the famous prophecy of Daniel, after which the Messiah was to appear, and to be put to death. I shall here insert the whole prophecy, but without giving the explication of it, as it may be found in other writers, and is not a part of this history.

"Thou art greatly beloved, therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision.² Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks; the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood: and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."

When Ezra was in power,³ as his chief view was to restore religion to its ancient purity, he arranged the books of Scripture in their proper order, revised them all very carefully, and collected the ancient documents relating to the people of God, in order to compose out of them the two books of Chronicles, to which he added the history of his own times, which was finished by Nehemiah. With their books ends the long history which Moses had begun, and which the writers who came after him continued in a regular series, till the repairing of Jerusalem. The rest of the sacred history is not written in that uninterrupted order. Whilst Ezra and Nehemiah were compiling

the latter part of that great work, Herodotus whom profane authors call the father of history, began to write. Thus we find that the latest authors of the books of Scripture flourished about the same time with the first author of the Grecian history; and when it began, that of God's people, to compute only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodotus makes no mention of the Jews in his history; for the Greeks desired to be informed of such nations only as were famous for their wars, their commerce, and grandeur; so that as Judea was then but just rising from its ruins, it did not excite the attention of that people.

SECTION VII.—CHARACTER OF PERICLES. THE METHODS EMPLOYED BY HIM TO GAIN THE AFFECTION OF THE PEOPLE.

I NOW return to Greece. Since the banishment of Themistocles, and the death of Aristides (the exact time of which is not known,) two citizens, Cimon and Pericles, divided all influence and authority in Athens. Pericles was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. As he will make a very considerable figure in the following history, it is of importance to the reader to know who he was, in what manner he had been educated, and his scheme and method of government.

Pericles descended,⁴ by the mother's as well as father's side, from the greatest and most illustrious families of Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated at Mycale the king of Persia's lieutenants, married Agarista, niece to Clisthenes, who expelled the Pisistratide, or descendants of Pisistratus the tyrant, and established a popular government at Athens. Pericles had long prepared himself for the design he had formed of engaging in state affairs.

He was brought up under the most learned men of his age, and particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomene, surnamed the *Intelligence*, from his being the first, as we are told, who ascribed human events, as well as the formation and government of the universe, not to chance, as some philosophers, nor to a fatal necessity, but to a superior Intelligence, who disposed and governed all things with wisdom. This tenet or opinion subsisted long before his time; but he perhaps set it in a stronger light than all others had done, and taught it methodically and from principles. Anaxagoras thoroughly instructed his pupil in that part of philosophy which relates to nature, and which is therefore called physics.⁵ This study gave him a strength and greatness of soul, which raised him above an infinite number of vulgar prejudices and vain practices generally observed in his time; which, in affairs of state and military enterprises, often disconcerted the wisest and most necessary measures, or defeated them by scrupulous delays, authorized and covered with the specious veil of religion. These were sometimes dreams or auguries, at other times dreadful phenomena, as eclipses of the sun or moon, or else omens and presages; not to mention the wild chimeras of judiciary astrology. The knowledge of nature, free from the grovelling and weak superstition to which ignorance gives birth, inspired him, says Plutarch, with a well-grounded piety towards the gods, attended with a strength of mind that was immovable, and a calm hope of the blessings to be expected from them. Although he found infinite charms in this study, he did not however devote himself to it as a philosopher, but as a statesman; and he had so much power over himself (a very difficult thing) as to prescribe to himself limits in the pursuit of knowledge.

But the talent which he cultivated with the greatest care, because he looked upon it as the most necessary instrument of all to those who are desirous of conducting and governing the people, was eloquence. And indeed, those who possessed this talent, in a free state like that of Athens, were sure of reigning in the

⁴ Plot. in vit. Periel. p. 153—156.

⁵ The ancients, under this name, comprehended what we call physics and metaphysics; the latter of which implies the knowledge of spiritual things, as God and spirits; and the former, that of bodies.

¹ Dan. ix. 23—27.

² Ibid.

³ Ikenet's Universal History.

assemblies, engrossing suffrages, determining affairs, and exercising a kind of absolute power over the hearts and minds of the people. He therefore made this his chief object, and the mark to which all his other improvements, as well as whatsoever he had learnt from Anaxagoras, were directed;¹ suffusing, to borrow Plutarch's expression, over the study of philosophy the dye of rhetoric; the meaning of which is, that Pericles, to embellish and adorn his discourse, heightened the strength and solidity of reasoning with the colouring and graces of eloquence.

He had no cause to repent his having bestowed so much time on this study, for his success far exceeded his utmost hopes. The poets,² his contemporaries, used to say, that he lightened, thundered, and agitated all Greece; so powerful was his eloquence. It had those piercing and lively strokes,³ that reach the inmost soul; and his discourse left always an irresistible incentive, a kind of spur, behind it in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty with strength; and Cicero observes, that at the very time he opposed, with the greatest tenaciousness, the inclinations and desires of the Athenians, he had the art to make even severity itself, and the kind of harshness with which he spoke against the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his arguments, or the sweetness of his words; whence it was said, that the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, resided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides,⁴ his rival and adversary, was one day asked, whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler: "Whenever," says he, "I have given him a fall, he affirms the contrary, in such strong and forcible terms, that he persuades all the spectators that I did not throw him, though they themselves saw him on the ground." Nor was he less prudent and reserved than strong and vehement in his speeches; and it is related that he never spoke in public, till after he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him, either incongruous to his subject, or offensive to the people. Whenever he was to appear in the assembly,⁵ before he came out of his house he used to say to himself: "Remember, Pericles, that thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks, to Athenians."

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to historians, used in order to improve his mind by the study of the sciences, and to attain to a perfection in eloquence, are an excellent lesson to such persons as are one day to fill the important offices of state; and a just censure of those,⁶ who, disregarding whatever is called study and learning, bring into those employments (upon which they enter without knowledge or experience,) nothing but a ridiculous self-sufficiency, and a rash boldness in deciding. Plutarch,⁷ in a treatise where he shows, that it is to statesmen that a philosopher ought chiefly to attach himself preferably to any other class of men (because in instructing them, he at the same time teaches whole cities and republics,) verifies his assertion from the example of the greatest men both of Greece and Italy, who derived this help from philosophy. Pericles, of whom we now write, was taught by Anaxagoras; Dion of Syracuse by Plato; many princes of Italy by Pythagoras; Cato, the famous censor, travelled to the place where Athenodorus lived, for the same purpose; and lastly, the famous Scipio, the destroyer of

Carthage, always kept Panætius the philosopher near his person.

One of the chief endeavours of Pericles also was, to study thoroughly the genius and disposition of the Athenians, that he might discover the secret springs which were to be employed in order to set them in motion, and the manner in which it was proper to act for acquiring their confidence; for it was in that principally that the great men among the ancients used to make their skill and politics consist.⁸ He found by the reflections he had made on the several transactions of his time, that the predominant passions of this people were, a violent aversion to tyranny, and a strong love of liberty, which inspired them with sentiments of fear, jealousy, and suspicion, of all such citizens as were too conspicuous for their birth, their personal merit, their own credit and authority, or that of their friends. He not only was very like Pisistratus, with regard to the sweetness of his voice and the fluency of expression, but he also resembled him very much in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner; and he observed that the oldest of the Athenians who had seen the tyrant, were prodigiously struck at the resemblance. Besides, he was very rich, was descended from an illustrious family, and had very powerful friends. To prevent, therefore, his being obnoxious to the suspicion and jealousy of the people, he at first shunned public business, which required a constant attendance in the city; and was solely intent upon distinguishing himself in war and dangers.

But when he saw Aristides dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon engaged almost continually in foreign wars, and absent from Greece; he began to appear in public with greater confidence than before, and entirely devoted himself to the party of the people, but not out of inclination, for he was far from affecting popular power, but to remove all suspicions of his aspiring to the tyranny, and still more, to raise a strong bulwark against the influence and authority of Cimon, who had joined with the nobles.

At the same time, he quite changed his conduct, and way of life; and assumed, in all things, the character of a statesman, wholly busied in affairs of government, and entirely devoted to the service of his country. He was never seen in the streets, except when he was going either to the assembly of the people, or to the council. He on a sudden left off going to banquets, assemblies, and other diversions of that kind, which he had used to frequent; and during the many years that he presided in the administration, he was never seen to go to supper with his friends, except once at the nuptials of a near relation.

He knew that the people,⁹ who are naturally fickle and inconstant,¹⁰ commonly disregard those who are always in their sight; and that too strong a desire to please them, grows at last tiresome and importunate; and it was observed that such a behaviour was very prejudicial to Themistocles. To avoid this error, he used to go very rarely to the assemblies; and never appeared before the public but at intervals, in order to make himself desired; and to preserve such an ascendant over their minds as might be always new, and not worn and in a manner withered by an over-great assiduity; wisely reserving himself for great and important occasions. Hence it was said that he imitated Jupiter,¹¹ who, in the government of the world, according to some philosophers, busied himself in great events alone; and left the direction of those of less importance to subaltern deities. And indeed, Pericles used to transact all petty affairs by his friends, and by certain orators that were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes.

Pericles employed his whole industry and applica-

¹ Olim noscenda vulgi natura, et quibus modis temperanter haberetur: senatusque et optimatum ingenia qui maxime periclitarentur, callidi temporum et sapientes habebantur Tacit. *Annal.* lib. iv. cap. 33.

² Plut. de ani. laude, p. 441.

³ Ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, pascis quantum interduci t hominibus fastidii, quantum entatis—Utrique nos desiderium nihil proficiunt. Cic. *pro Mur.* n. 21.

¹¹ Plut. de ger. rep. p. 811.

¹ Βαστατηντροπικην τανσυνελογικων υποκαταμινος.

² Ab Aristophano poeta fulgurata, tonare, permiscere Grevium dictio est. Cic. in *Orat.* n. 29.

³ Quid Pericles? De cujus dicendi copia sic accipimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute patrie, severius tamen id ipsum, quod ille contra populum homines dicebat, populo omnibus et jurandum videbatur: cujus in labris veterum comici-leporum habitasse dicebant: tantamque vim in eo fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audissent, quasi aculos quondam relinqueret. Cic. lib. iii. de *Orat.* n. 133.

⁴ Not the historian.

⁵ Plut. in *Bemp.* lib. i. p. 620.

⁶ Nunc contra plerique ad honores adipiscendum, et ad temp. gerendum, nudi veniunt et incermes, nulla cognitione rerum; nulla scientia ornati. Cic. lib. iii. de *Orat.* n. 136.

⁷ Plut. p. 777.

tion to gain the favour and esteem of the people,¹ in order to counterbalance the fame and influence of Cimon. However, he could not equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whose immense riches gave him an opportunity of bestowing such largesses as appear to us almost incredible, so much do they differ from our customs in that respect. Finding it impossible for him to rival Cimon in this particular, he had recourse to another expedient (in order to gain the love of the populace,) no less effectual perhaps, but certainly not so legitimate and honourable. He was the first who caused the conquered lands to be divided among the citizens; who distributed among them the public revenues for the expense of their games and shows, and annexed pensions to all public employments; so that certain sums were bestowed on them regularly, as well to procure them a place at the games, as for their attendance in the courts of justice, and the public assemblies. It is impossible to say how fatal this unhappy policy was to the republic, and how many evils it drew after it. For these new regulations, besides draining the public treasury, gave the people a fondness for expense and a dissolute turn of mind; whereas they before were sober and modest, and contented themselves with getting a livelihood by their sweat and labour.

By such arts as these Pericles had gained so great an ascendancy over the minds of the people,² that he may be said to have attained a monarchical power under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into what shape he pleased, and presiding with unlimited authority in all their assemblies. And indeed, Valerius Maximus makes scarce any other difference between Pisistratus and Pericles, than that the one exercised a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the strength of his eloquence, in which he made a very great progress under Anaxagoras.

This credit and authority, enormous as it was, could not yet restrain the comic writers from throwing out against him many very severe strokes of satire in the theatres; and it does not appear that any of the poets who censured Pericles with so much boldness, were ever punished, or even called to account for it by the people. Perhaps it was through prudence and policy that he did not attempt to curb this licentiousness of the stage, nor to silence the poets; that he might amuse and content the people by this vain shadow of liberty, and prevent their discovering that they really were enslaved.

Pericles,³ the more to strengthen his own influence, engaged in a design no less hazardous than bold. He resolved to weaken the authority of the tribunal of the Areopagus, of which he was not a member, because he had never been elected either Archon,⁴ Thesmotheta, king of the sacrifices, nor Polemarch. These were different employments in the republic, which from time immemorial had been given by lot; and none but those who had behaved uprightly in them, were allowed a seat in the Areopagus. Pericles, taking advantage of Cimon's absence, set Ephialtes, who was his creature, at work clandestinely; and at last succeeded in lessening the power of that illustrious body, in which the chief strength of the nobility consisted. The people, emboldened and supported by so powerful a faction, subverted all the fundamental laws and ancient customs; took from the senate of the Areopagus the cognizance of the greater part of the causes that used to be brought before it.

leaving it very few, and such only as were of little consequence, and made themselves absolute masters of all the tribunals.

Cimon on his return to Athens, was afflicted to see the dignity of the senate trampled under foot, and therefore set every engine to work to restore it to its pristine authority, and to revive the aristocracy, in the same form as it had been established under Clisthenes. But now his enemies began to exclaim and excite the people against him; reproaching him, among many other things, for his strong attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon had himself given some room for this reproach, by his not paying sufficient regard to the Athenian delicacy: for, in speaking to them, he would for ever extol Lacedæmonia; and whenever he censured their conduct on any occasion, he used to cry, *The Spartans do not act in this manner.* Such expressions as these drew upon him the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens; but an event, in which he nevertheless had no share, made him the object of their utmost detestation.

SECTION VIII.—AN EARTHQUAKE IN SPARTA. INSURRECTION OF THE HELOTS. SEEDS OF DIVISION BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS AND SPARTANS. CIMON IS SENT INTO BANISHMENT.

In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus,⁵ there happened the A. M. 3534.
most dreadful earthquake in Sparta Ant. J. C. 470.
that had ever been known. In several places the country was entirely swallowed up; Taygetus and other mountains were shaken to their foundations; many of their summits being torn away, came tumbling down; and the whole city was laid in ruins, five houses only excepted. To heighten the calamity, the Helots,⁶ who were slaves to the Lacedæmonians, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty, flew up and down every part of the city, to murder such as had escaped the earthquake: but finding them under arms, and drawn up in order of battle, by the prudent foresight of Archidamus, who had assembled them around him, they retired into the neighbouring cities, and commenced that very day open war, having entered into alliance with several of the neighbouring nations, and being strengthened by the Messenians, who at that time were engaged in a war with the Spartans.

The Lacedæmonians in this extremity sent to Athens to implore succour; but this was opposed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way advisable to assist them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he said, ought to be left in its ruins, and the pride of Sparta thereby humbled for ever. But Cimon being struck with horror at these politics, did not hesitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the Lacedæmonians to the aggrandizement of his country: declaring, in the strongest terms, that it was absolutely improper "to leave Greece lame of one of its legs, and Athens without a counterpoise;" the people came into his opinion, and accordingly a succour was voted. Sparta and Athens might indeed be considered as the two limbs on which Greece stood; so that if one of them was destroyed, Greece would inevitably be crippled. It is also certain, that the Athenians were so elate with their grandeur, and were become so proud and enterprising, that they wanted a curb to check their impetuosity; and none was so proper as Sparta, that state being the only one

¹ Plut. in Pericl. p. 156.

² Pericles felicissimus nature incrementis, sub Anaxagora præceptore summo studio perpolitus et instructus. liberis Athenarum cervicibus jugum servitutis imposuit: egit enim ille urbem et versavit arbitrio suo.—Quid inter Pisistratum et Periclem interfuit, nisi quod ille armatus, hic sine armis tyrannidem exercebat? Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

³ Plut. in Pericl. p. 137. In Cim. p. 499.

After some changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the supreme authority was at last invested in nine magistrates, called archons, and lasted but one year. One was called Rex, another Polemarchus, a third Archon, and this magistrate was properly at the head of the state, and gave his name to the year; and six Thesmothetæ, who presided immediately over the laws and decrees.

⁵ Plut. in Cim. p. 488, 489.

⁶ These were so denominated from Helos, a city of Laconia, ruined by the Spartans. This city was said to have been founded by one Helus, the son of Perseus; and had a worse fate than any other of the cities in Laconia, subdued by the Spartans. Having refused to pay the tribute imposed on them by Agis, the third king of the Heraclidae: a line, the Lacedæmonians fell on them with an army, took them prisoners: reduced them to the lowest and most miserable slavery; and to complete all, made a law, forbidding their masters either to give them their liberty, or to sell them into other countries. As a greater mark of infamy still, all the other slaves belonging to the state were called from them *Helots*, in the same manner as the word slave is used now in modern Europe, from the Slavi or Slavones, such another occasion.

that was capable of being a counterpoise to the headstrong disposition of the Athenians. Cimon therefore marched to the aid of the Lacedæmonians with 4000 men.

We have here an example of the powerful influence which a man of fine talents and abilities has in a state, when a great fund of merit is united in his person with a well-established reputation for probity, disinterestedness, and zeal for the good of his country. Cimon, with very little difficulty, succeeds in inspiring the Athenians with noble and magnanimous sentiments, which in outward appearance interfered with their interest; and this in spite of the suggestions of a secret jealousy, which never fails to show itself in the most sensible manner on these occasions. By the ascendant and authority which his virtue gives him, he raises them above the grovelling and unjust (though too common) political views, that prompt the people to consider the calamities of their neighbours as an advantage, which the interest of their own country permits and even enjoins them to lay hold of. The counsels of Cimon were perfectly wise and equitable: but it is surprising how he could prevail so far as to make a whole people approve them, since this is all that could be expected from an assembly of the wisest and gravest senators.

Some time after,¹ the Lacedæmonians again implored the aid of the Athenians against the Messenians and Helots, who had seized upon Ithome. But these forces being arrived under the command of Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intrepidity, their power, and great fame; and affronted them so far, as to send them back, upon suspicion of their harbouring ill designs, and of intending to turn their arms against them.

The Athenians being returned full of anger and resentment, they declared themselves from that very day, enemies to all who should favour the Lacedæmonian interest; for which reason they banished Cimon by the ostracism, on the first opportunity that presented itself for that purpose. This is the first time that the misunderstanding between these two nations, which afterwards increased through mutual discontent, displayed itself in so strong a manner. It was nevertheless suspended for some years, by truces and treaties, which prevented its consequences; but it at last broke out in the most violent manner in the Peloponnesian war.

Those who had shut themselves up in Ithome, after making a ten years' defence in it, surrendered at last to the Lacedæmonians, who gave them their lives upon condition that they should never return to Peloponnesus. The Athenians, to exasperate the Lacedæmonians, received them with their wives and children, and settled them in Naupactus, of which they had just before possessed themselves. The inhabitants of Megara at the same time went over from the Spartans to the Athenians.² In this manner several leagues were concluded on both sides, and many battles were fought; the most famous of which was that of Tanagra in Boeotia, which Diodorus equals with those of Marathon and Platæa, and in which Myronides the Athenian defeated the Spartans, who came to the aid of the Thebans.

It was on this occasion that Cimon,³ thinking himself dispensed with by his proscription, repaired in arms with some soldiers to his tribe to serve his country, and to fight in the Athenian army against the Lacedæmonians: but his enemies caused him to be ordered to retire. However, before he went away, he exhorted his companions, who were no less suspected than himself of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to exert themselves to the utmost, and fight with the greatest courage, to prove their innocence; and if possible to efface from the minds of their citizens a suspicion so injurious to them all. Accordingly, those brave soldiers, who were 100 in number, fired by his words, requested him to give

them his whole armour, which they placed in the centre of their little battalion, in order to have him in a manner present before their eyes. They fought with so much valour and fury, that they were all cut to pieces, to the great regret of the Athenians, who deeply repented their having accused them so unjustly. I omit several events of little importance.

SECTION IX.—CIMON IS RECALLED. HE ESTABLISHES PEACE BETWEEN THE TWO CITIES. HE GAINS SEVERAL VICTORIES, WHICH REDUCE ARTAXERXES TO THE NECESSITY OF CONCLUDING A TREATY HIGHLY HONOURABLE TO THE GREEKS. CIMON'S DEATH.

THE Athenians,⁴ perceiving the great occasion they had for Cimon, recalled him from banishment, in which he had spent five years. It was Pericles himself who proposed and drew up that decree; so moderate in those times, says Plutarch, were feuds and animosities, and so easy to be appeased when the public welfare required it; and so happily did ambition, which is one of the strongest and most lively passions, yield to the necessity of the times, and comply with the occasions of the public.

The instant Cimon returned,⁵ he stifled the sparks of war which were A. M. 3554. going to break out among the Ant. J. C. 450. Greeks, reconciled the two cities, and prevailed with them to conclude a truce for five years. And to prevent the Athenians, who were grown haughty in consequence of the many victories they had gained, from having an opportunity, or harbouring a design, to attack their neighbours or allies, he thought it advisable to lead them at a great distance from home against the common enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable way, to inure the citizens to war, and enrich them at the same time. Accordingly, he put to sea with a fleet of 200 sail. He sent sixty of these into Egypt to the aid of Amyrteus, and himself sailed with the rest against the island of Cyprus. Artabazus was at that time in those seas with a fleet of 300 sail; and Megabyzus, the other general of Artaxerxes, with an army of 300,000 men, on the coast of Cilicia. As soon as the squadron which Cimon had sent into Egypt had joined his fleet, he sailed and attacked Artabazus, and took 100 of his ships. He sunk many of them, and chased the rest as far as the coast of Phœnicia. And as if this victory had been only a prelude to a second, he made a descent on Cilicia in his return, attacked Megabyzus, defeated him, and cut to pieces a prodigious number of his troops. He afterwards returned to Cyprus with this double triumph, and laid siege to Citium, a strong city of very great importance. His design, after he had completed the conquest of that island, was to sail for Egypt, and again embroil the affairs of the barbarians; for he had very extensive views, and meditated no less a project than that of entirely subverting the mighty empire of Persia. The rumours which prevailed, that Themistocles was to command against him, added fresh fire to his courage; and, almost assured of success, he was infinitely pleased with the occasion of trying his strength against that general. But we have already seen that Themistocles laid violent hands on himself about this time.

Artaxerxes,⁶ tired with a war in which he had sustained great losses, resolved, with the advice of his council, to put an end to it. Accordingly he sent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians, upon the most advantageous conditions they could. Megabyzus and Artabazus sent ambassadors to Athens to propose an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were chosen on both sides, and Callias was at the head of those of Athens. The conditions of the treaty were as follows: 1. That all the Grecian cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, with such laws and forms of government as they should think fit to choose. 2. That no Persian ship of war should be allowed to enter the seas between the Cyprean and Chelidonian islands, that is, from the Euxine sea

¹ Plot. in Cim. Thucyd. l. i. p. 67, 68.

² Thucyd. l. i. p. 69-71. Diod. l. xi. p. 39-65.

³ Plot. in Cim. p. 489.

⁴ Plot. in Cim. p. 490.

⁵ Ibid. Diod. l. xii. p. 73, 74.

⁶ Diod. p. 74, 75.

to the coasts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Persian general should advance any troops within three days' march of those seas. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia. These articles being ratified by both parties, peace was proclaimed.

Thus ended this war, which, from A. M. 3555. the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, had lasted fifty-one years complete, and in which infinite numbers of Persians as well as Greeks had perished.

Whilst this treaty was negotiating,¹ Cimon died, either of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege of Citium. When he was near his end, he commanded his officers to sail with the fleet immediately for Athens, and to conceal his death with the utmost secrecy. Accordingly it was executed with so much secrecy, that neither the enemy nor the allies once suspected it; and they returned safe to Athens, still under the conduct and auspices of Cimon, though he had been dead above thirty days.

Cimon was universally regretted;² which is no wonder, since he was possessed of all those qualities that dignify the soul; a most tender son, a faithful friend; a citizen zealous for the good of his country; a great politician, an accomplished general; modest when raised to the highest employments and most distinguished honours; liberal and beneficent almost to profusion; simple, and averse to ostentation of every kind, even in the midst of riches and abundance; in fine, so great a lover of the poor citizens, as to share his whole estate with them, without being ashamed of such companions of his fortune. History mentions no statues or monuments erected to his memory, nor any magnificent obsequies celebrated after his death; but the greatest honour that could be paid him was the sighs and tears of the people; these were permanent and lasting statues,³ which are not obnoxious to the inclemencies of weather, or the injuries of time, and endear the memory of the good and virtuous to the remotest ages. For the most splendid mausoleums, the works of brass and marble, that are raised in honour of wicked great men, are despised by posterity, as sepulchres which enclose nothing but vile dust and putrefaction.

What followed proved more strongly the loss which Greece had sustained by his death; for Cimon was the last of all the Grecian generals who did any thing considerable or glorious against the barbarians. Excited by the orators, who gained the strongest ascendancy over the minds of the people, and sowed the seeds of division in their public assemblies, they turned their animosity against each other, and at last proceeded to open war, the fatal consequences of which no one endeavoured to prevent; a circumstance that was of great advantage to the king of Persia, and of the utmost prejudice to the affairs of Greece.

SECTION X.—THUCYDIDES IS OPPOSED TO PERICLES. THE ENVY RAISED AGAINST THE LATTER. HE CLEARS HIMSELF, AND SUCCEEDS IN PROCURING THE BANISHMENT OF THUCYDIDES.

THE nobles of Athens seeing Pericles raised to the highest degree of power,⁴ and far above all the rest of the citizens, resolved to oppose to him a man who, in some measure, might make head against him, and prevent his authority from growing up to monarchy. Accordingly they opposed to him Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, a man who had displayed his wisdom on numberless occasions. He did not indeed possess the military talents of Pericles; but then he had as great influence over the people; shaping their opinions, and directing their assemblies as he pleased; and as he never stirred out of the city, but continually combated Pericles in all his designs, he soon restored things to an equilibrium. On the other side, Pericles

was solicitous of pleasing the people on all occasions and slackened the rein more than ever; entertaining them as often as possible with shows, festivals, games, and other diversions.

He found means to maintain, during eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board a fleet consisting of threescore ships, which he fitted out every year; and thereby did his country an important service, by training up a great number of excellent seamen for its defence. He also planted several colonies in Chersonesus, in Naxos, in Andros, and among the Bisaltæ in Thrace. He sent a very numerous one to Italy, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak, and which built Thurium. Pericles had various views in settling those colonies, besides the particular design he might have of gaining the affections of the people by that means. His chief motives were to clear the city of a great number of idle persons who were ever ready to disturb the government; to relieve the wants of the lowest class of people, who before were unable to maintain themselves; in fine, to awe the allies, by settling native Athenians among them, as so many garrisons, which might prevent their engaging in any measures contrary to the interest of that people. The Romans acted in the same manner; and it may be said that so wise a policy was one of the most effectual methods used by them to secure the tranquillity of the state.

But the circumstance which did Pericles the greatest honour in the opinion of the people, was his adorning the city with magnificent edifices and other works which raised the admiration and astonishment of all foreigners, and gave them a grand idea of the power of the Athenians. It is surprising that in so short a space so many works of architecture, sculpture, engraving, and painting, should be performed, and at the same time be carried to the highest perfection: for it is generally found, that edifices, raised in haste boast neither a solid and durable grace, nor the regular accuracy of perfect beauty. Commonly nothing but length of time joined to assiduous labour, can give them such strength as may preserve, and make them triumph over ages; and this raises our wonder still more in regard to the works of Pericles, which were finished with so much rapidity, and have nevertheless subsisted through so great a length of time. For each of those works, the very instant it was finished, had the beauty of an antique; and at this very day, says Plutarch, above 500 years after, they retain a freshness and youth as if just come out of the artist's hands; so happily do they preserve the graces and charms of novelty, which will not suffer time to diminish their lustre; as if an ever-blooming spirit, and a soul exempt from age, were diffused into every part of those works.

But that circumstance, which excited the admiration of the whole world, raised the jealousy of the people against Pericles. His enemies were for ever crying aloud in the assemblies, that it was dishonourable to the Athenians, to appropriate to themselves the bank of all Greece, which he had sent for from Delos, where it had been deposited; that the allies must necessarily consider such an attempt as a manifest tyranny, when they found that the sums which had been extorted from them upon pretence of their being employed in the war, were laid out by the Athenians in gilding and embellishing their city, in making magnificent statues, and raising temples that cost millions. They did not exaggerate on these occasions; for the temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon, had alone cost 3,000,000 livres.⁵

Pericles, on the contrary, remonstrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give the allies an account of the moneys they had received from them; that it was enough they defended them from, and repulsed, the barbarians, whilst the allies furnished neither soldiers, horses, nor ships; and were excused for some sums of money, which, from the instant they were paid in, were no longer the property of the donors, but of those who received them, provided they performed the conditions agreed upon, and in con-

¹ Plat. in Cim. p. 491.

² Sic æ gremio, minime est mirandum, si et vita ejus fuit secunda, et mors acerba. Cor. Nep. in Cim. c. iv.

³ He pulcherrime officii et mæmuræ. Nam, quæ saxa struuntur, si judicium posterorum in adium vertit, pro sepulchris sperantur. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 38.

⁴ Plut. in Peric. p. 158—161.

⁵ About 145,000*l.* sterling.

ulation of which they were received. He added, that as the Athenians were sufficiently provided with all things necessary for war, it was but just that they should employ the rest of their riches in edifices and other works, which, when finished, would give immortal glory to the city: and which, during the whole time they were carrying on, diffused a general plenty, and gave bread to an infinite number of citizens; that they themselves had all kinds of materials, as timber, stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress wood; and all sorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, masons, smiths, stone-cutters, dyers, goldsmiths, artificers in ebony, painters, embroiderers, and turners; men fit to convey these materials by sea, as merchants, sailors, and experienced pilots; others, for land carriage, as cartwrights, waggoners, carters, ropemakers, stonehewers, paviors, and miners. That it was for the advantage of the state to employ these different artificers and workmen, who, as so many separate bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domestic army, whose different functions and employments diffused gain and increase throughout all sexes and ages: lastly, that whilst men of robust bodies, and of an age fit to bear arms, whether soldiers or mariners, and those who were in the different garrisons, were supported with the public moneys; it was but just, that the rest of the people who lived in the city should also be maintained in their way; and that, as all were members of the same republic, they all ought to reap the same advantages, by doing it services, which, though of a different kind, did however all contribute either to its security or ornament.

One day, as the debates were growing warm, Pericles offered to defray all the expense of these buildings, provided it should be declared in the public inscriptions, that he alone had been at the charge of them. At these words, the people, either admiring his magnanimity, or fired with emulation and determined not to let him engross that glory, cried with one voice, that he might take out of the public treasury all the sums necessary for his purpose.

Phidias the celebrated sculptor presided over all these works as dictator-general. It was he in particular who formed the statue of Pallas, which was so highly valued by all the judges of antiquity. It was made of gold and ivory,¹ and was twenty-six cubits, or thirty-nine feet, in height. There arose an incredible ardour and emulation among the several artificers, who all strove to excel each other, and immortalize their names by master-pieces of art.

The Odeon, or music-theatre, which had a great number of rows of seats and columns within it, and whose roof grew narrower by degrees, and terminated in a point, was built, as history informs us, after the model of king Xerxes's tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he proposed, with great warmth, a decree, by which it was ordained, that musical games should be celebrated on the festival called Panathenæa; and having been chosen the judge and distributor of the prizes, he regulated the manner in which musicians should play on the flute and the lyre, as well as sing. From that time, the musical games were always exhibited in this theatre.

I have already taken notice, that the more the beauty and splendour of these works were admired, the greater envy and clamour were raised against Pericles. The orators of the opposite faction were eternally exclaiming against him; accusing him of squandering the public moneys, and of laying out very unseasonably the revenues of the state in edifices, whose magnificence was of no use. At last, the rupture between him and Thucydides rose to such a height, that one or other of them must necessarily be banished by the ostracism. He got the better of Thucydides; prevailed to have him banished; crushed by that means the faction which opposed him, and obtained a despotic authority over the city and gov-

ernment of Athens. He now disposed at pleasure of the public moneys, troops, and ships. The islands and sea were subject to him; and he reigned singly and alone in that wide domain, which extended not only over the Greeks, but the barbarians also, and which was cemented and strengthened by the obedience and fidelity of the conquered nations, by the friendship of kings, and treaties concluded with various princes.

Historians highly extol the magnificent edifices and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, and I have related faithfully their testimony; but I do not know whether the complaints and murmurs raised against him were so very ill grounded. Was it, indeed, just in him to expend, in superfluous buildings and vain decorations, the immense sums intended as a fund for carrying on the war?² and would it not have been better to have eased the allies of part of the contributions, which in Pericles's administration, were raised to a third part more than before? Cicero³ considers only such edifices and other works worthy of admiration, as are of use to the public, as aqueducts, city walls, citadels, arsenals, sea-ports; and among these we must rank the work made by Pericles to join Athens to the port of Piræus. But Cicero observes, at the same time, that Pericles was blamed for squandering away the public treasure, merely to embellish the city with superfluous ornaments. Plato,⁴ who formed a judgment of things, not from their outward splendour, but from truth, observes, (after his master Socrates,) that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and simplicity of their ancient manners.

SECTION XI.—PERICLES CHANGES HIS CONDUCT TOWARDS THE PEOPLE. HIS PRODIGIOUS AUTHORITY. HIS DISINTERESTEDNESS.

WHEN Pericles saw himself thus invested with the whole authority,⁵ he began to change his behaviour. He now was not so mild and affable as before, nor did he submit or abandon himself any longer to the whims and caprice of the people, as to so many winds; but drawing in, says Plutarch, the reins of this too loose, popular government, in the same manner as we screw up the strings of an instrument when too slack, he changed it into an aristocracy, or rather a kind of monarchy, without departing however from the public good. Choosing always what was most expedient, and becoming irreplicable in all things, he gained so mighty an ascendancy over the minds of the people, that he turned and directed them at pleasure. Sometimes by his bare advice, and by persuasive methods, he would turn them over gently to his will, and gain their assent spontaneously; at other times when he found them obstinate, he would in a manner drag them forward against their will, to those measures which were most expedient; imitating in this respect a skilful physician, who, in a tedious and stubborn disease, knows at what time it is proper for him to indulge his patient in innocent things that are pleasing to him; at what time afterwards he must administer medicines of a strong and violent nature, which indeed put him to pain, but are alone capable of restoring his health.

And, indeed, it is manifest that the utmost skill and abilities were required to manage and govern a populace haughty from their power and exceedingly capricious; and in this respect Pericles succeeded wonderfully. He used to employ, according to the different situation of things, sometimes hope and at other times fear, as a double helm, either to check the wild transports and impetuosity of the people, or to raise their spirits when dejected and desponding. By this conduct he showed that eloquence, as Plato observes, is only the art of directing the minds of people at will; and that the chief excellency of this art consists in moving, reasonably, the various passions, whether

¹ Non Minervæ Athenis factæ amplitudine uteror, cum ea sit cubitorum xvi. Eboræ hæc et auro constat. *Plin. l. xxvi. c. 3.*

² They amounted to upwards of 10,000,000 French money.

³ Lib. ii. Offic. n. 60.

⁴ In *Gorg.* p. 515. In *Alcib.* c. l. p. 119.

⁵ *Plut.* in *Pericl.* p. 161.

gentle or violent; which being to the soul what strings are to a musical instrument, need only to be touched by an ingenious and skilful hand to produce their effect.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance which gave Pericles this great authority, was, not only the force of his eloquence; but, as Thucydides observes, the reputation of his life, and great probity.

Plutarch points out in Pericles one quality which is very essential to statesmen;¹ a quality well adapted to win the esteem and confidence of the public, and which supposes a great superiority of mind; and that is, for a man to be fully persuaded that he wants the counsels of others, and is not able to manage and direct all things alone; to associate with himself in his labours persons of merit, to employ each of these according to his talents; and to leave to them the management of small matters, which only consume time, and deprive him of that liberty of mind, which is so necessary in the conduct of important affairs. Such a conduct, says Plutarch, is productive of two great advantages. First, it extinguishes, or at least deadens, the force of envy and jealousy, by dividing, in some measure, a power, which is grating and offensive to our self-love when we see it united in one single person, as if all merit centred in him alone. Secondly, it forwards and facilitates the execution of affairs, and makes their success more certain. Plutarch, the better to explain his thought, employs a very natural and beautiful comparison. The hand, says he, from its being divided into five fingers, is so far from being weaker, that it is the stronger, the more active, and better adapted to motion, on that very account. It is the same with a statesman, who has the skill to divide his cares and functions in a proper manner, and who by that means makes his authority more active, more extensive and decisive: whereas, the indiscreet eagerness of a narrow-minded man, who takes umbrage at, and wishes to engross every thing, serves to no other purpose but to set his weakness and incapacity in a stronger light, and to disconcert his affairs. But Pericles, says Plutarch, did not act in this manner. Like a skilful pilot, who, though he stand almost motionless himself, however puts every thing in motion, and will sometimes seat subaltern officers at the helm; so Pericles was the soul of the government; and, seeming to do nothing of himself, he actuated and governed all things; employing the eloquence of one man, the credit and interest of another, the prudence of a third, and the bravery and courage of a fourth.

To what has been here related,² we may add another quality, which is no less rare and valuable, I mean, a noble and disinterested soul. Pericles was so averse to the receiving of gifts, had such an utter contempt for riches, and was so far above all rapaciousness and avarice, that though he had raised Athens to the richest and most flourishing state; though his power surpassed that of many tyrants and kings; though he had long disposed in an absolute manner of the treasures of Greece, he did not, however, add a single drachma to the estate he inherited from his father. This was the source, the true cause, of the supreme authority of Pericles in the republic; the just and deserved fruit of his integrity and perfect disinterestedness.

It was not only for a few short moments, nor during the first impressions of rising favour, which are generally short-lived, that he preserved this authority. He maintained it forty years, notwithstanding the opposition of Cimon, of Tolmides, of Thucydides, and many others, who had all declared against him; and of these forty years he spent the last fifteen without a rival, from the time of Thucydides's banishment, and disposed of all affairs with absolute power. Nevertheless, in the midst of this supreme authority, which he had rendered perpetual and unlimited in his own person, his soul was always superior to the charms and allurements of wealth, though he never neglected

improving his estate to the utmost of his power. For Pericles did not act like those rich men, who, notwithstanding their immense revenues, either through negligence or want of economy, or pompous and absurd expenses, are always poor in the midst of their riches; unable and unwilling to do the least service to their virtuous friends, or their faithful and zealous domestics; and at last die overwhelmed with debts, leaving their name and memory to the detestation of their unfortunate creditors; of whose ruin they have been the cause. I shall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want of economy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts, and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the public moneys, the maxim of Tacitus holds good,³ viz. that when a man has squandered away his estate, he then makes it his whole study to retrieve the loss of it by all sorts of methods, not excepting the most criminal.

Pericles knew much better the use which a statesman ought to make of riches. He was sensible that he ought to expend them in the service of the public, in procuring of able men to assist him in the administration; in relieving good officers, who too often are destitute of the favours of fortune; in rewarding and encouraging merit of every kind, and a thousand such things; to which doubtless, either on account of the exquisite joy they give or the solid glory that results from them, no one will be so thoughtless as to compare the expenses lavished away in entertainments, equipages, or gaming. In this view, Pericles managed his own estate with the utmost economy; having himself taught one of his old servants to take care of his domestic concerns; and he always had the account brought him, at stated times, of all sums that had been received as well as expended; confining himself and his family to a decent subsistence (from which he banished severely all superfluities of a vain and ostentatious kind,) suitable to his estate and condition. This way of life, indeed, did by no means please his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much less his wife. They thought Pericles did not live at a sufficient expense for persons of their rank; and murmured at that low and sordid economy, as they called it, which carried no air of the plenty which generally reigns in houses where riches and authority are united. However, Pericles paid little regard to these complaints, and directed his conduct by far superior views.

I believe we may apply, on this occasion, a very just remark of Plutarch, in his parallel of Aristides and Cato. After saying, that political virtue, or the art of governing cities and kingdoms, is the greatest and most perfect that man can acquire, he adds, that economy is not one of the least considerable branches of this virtue. And indeed, as riches are one of the means which may most contribute to the security or ruin of a state; the art that teaches to dispose and make a good use of them, and which is called economy, is certainly a branch of politics; and not one of the least considerable branches of it, since great wisdom is required, in order to the observing a just medium on these occasions, and to the banishing poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art, which, by avoiding industriously all trifling and needless expenses, prevents a magistrate from being forced to overburden a people with taxes; and keeps always in reserve, in the public coffers, money sufficient for the supporting a war that may break out, or for providing against any unforeseen emergency. Now what is said of a kingdom or a city, may be said also of individuals. For a city which is composed of an assemblage of houses, and which forms a whole of several parts united, is either powerful or weak in the aggregate, in proportion as all the members of which it consists are powerful or weak. Pericles certainly acquitted himself well with regard to that part of this science which relates to the government of a family; but I do not know whether the same may be said of his administration of the public revenues

¹ Plut. in *præc. de rep. ger.* p. 812.

² Plut. in *vit. Pericli.* p. 161, 162.

³ Si ambitioſum erarium exhausimus, per scelera ſupplendum erit. *Tacit. Annal.* l. ii. c. 38.

SECTION XII.—JEALOUSY AND CONTESTS ARISE BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS. A TREATY OF PEACE IS CONCLUDED FOR THIRTY YEARS.

SUCH was the conduct of Pericles with respect to his domestic concerns;¹ and his administration of public affairs is no less worthy of admiration. The Lacedæmonians beginning to grow jealous of the prosperity of the Athenians, and to take umbrage at it; Pericles, to inspire his citizens with greater courage and magnanimity, published a decree, importing, that notice should be sent to all the Greeks inhabiting either Europe or Asia, and to all the cities great or small, to send immediately deputies to Athens, to debate on the means of rebuilding the temples that had been burnt by the barbarians; and of performing the sacrifices which they had engaged themselves to offer up, for the preservation and safety of Greece, when war was carrying on against them; as also, to consider the necessary expedients for establishing such an order and discipline in their navy, that all ships might sail in safety, and the Greeks live in peace one with another.

Accordingly, twenty persons were chosen for this embassy, each of whom was upwards of fifty years of age. Five of these were sent to the Ionians and Dorians of Asia, and the inhabitants of the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the countries of the Hellespont and Thrace, as far as Byzantium. Five were ordered to go to Bœotia, to Phocis, and Peloponnesus; and from thence, by the country of the Locrians, to proceed to the several cities of the upper continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The last five were ordered to cross Eubœa, and to go to the people of mount Eta, and those of the gulf of Malea, and to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, of Achnia, and of Thessaly; to induce the several nations to come to the assembly convened at Athens, and to assist at the debates which should be there carried on concerning peace and the general affairs of Greece. I judged it necessary to enter into this detail, as it shows how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all these solicitations were in vain; as the cities did not send their deputies, which, according to historians, was owing to the opposition made by the Lacedæmonians, a circumstance we are not to wonder at. They were sensible that Pericles's design was to have Athens acknowledged as mistress and sovereign of all the other Grecian cities; and Lacedæmon was far from allowing it that honour. A secret leaven of dissension had, for some years, begun to disturb the tranquillity of Greece; and we shall find by the sequel, that this discord augmented continually.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wisdom with which he formed and conducted his enterprises. The troops reposed the highest confidence in him, and followed him with full assurance of success. His chief maxim in war was, never to venture a battle unless he were almost certain of victory, and not to lavish the blood of the citizens. He used to say frequently, that were it in its power they should be immortal; that trees when felled shoot to life again in a little time, but when once men die they are lost for ever. A victory that was only the effect of fortunate temerity, appeared to him little worthy of praise, though it often was much admired.

His expedition into the Thracian Chersonesus did him great honour, and was of great advantage to all the Greeks of that country; for he not only strengthened the Grecian cities of that peninsula, by the colonies of the Athenians which he carried thither, but also shut up the isthmus with a strong wall, with forts at proper distances from sea to sea; securing by that means the whole country from the perpetual incursions of the Thracians, who were very near neighbours to it.

He also sailed with 100 ships round Peloponnesus, spreading the terror of the Athenian arms wherever he

came, the success of which was not once interrupted on this occasion.

He advanced as far as the kingdom of Pontus with a large, well-manned, and magnificent fleet; and granted the Grecian cities all they thought fit to ask of him. At the same time he displayed to the barbarian nations in that neighbourhood, to their kings and princes, the greatness of the power of the Athenians; and proved to them, by the security with which he sailed to all parts, that they possessed the empire of the seas without a rival.

But so constant and shining a fortune began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians.² Intoxicated with the idea of their power and grandeur, they now revolved nothing but the boldest and most lofty projects. They were for ever talking of new attempts upon Egypt; of attacking the maritime provinces of the great king; of carrying their arms into Sicily (a fatal and unhappy design, which at that time did not take effect, though it was revived soon after); and of extending their conquests towards Hetruria on one side, and Carthage on the other. Pericles was far from giving in to such idle views, or supporting them with his credit and approbation. On the contrary, his whole study was to damp that restless ardour, and check an ambition which no longer knew either bounds or measure. It was his opinion, that the Athenians ought to employ their forces for the future only in securing and preserving their present acquisitions; and he thought he had gained a great point in restraining the power of the Lacedæmonians, the reducing of which he always meditated; and this was particularly seen in the sacred war.

This name was given to the war which was raised on account of Delphi.³ The Lacedæmonians having entered armed into the country where that temple is situated, had dispossessed the people of Phocis of the superintendence of that temple, and bestowed it on the Delphians. As soon as they had left it, Pericles went thither with an army and restored the Phocians.

Eubœa having rebelled at the same time, Pericles was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no sooner arrived there, than news was brought that the inhabitants of Megara had taken up arms, and that the Lacedæmonians headed by Plistonax their king, were on the frontiers of Attica. This obliged him to quit Eubœa, and to go with all possible expedition to defend his country. The Lacedæmonian army being retired, he returned against the rebels, and again subjected all the cities of Eubœa to the Athenians.

After this expedition,⁴ a truce of thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty restored tranquillity for the present; but as it did not descend to the root of the evil, nor cure the jealousy and enmity of the two nations, this calm was not of long duration.

SECTION XIII.—NEW SUBJECTS OF CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS, OCCASIONED BY THE ATHENIANS LAYING SIEGE TO SAMOS; BY THEIR SUCCOURING THE PEOPLE OF CORCYRA, AND BESIEGING POTIDÆA. AN OPEN RUPTURE ENSUES.

THE Athenians,⁵ six years after, took up arms against Samos in favour of Miletus. These two cities were contesting for that of Priene, to which each claimed a right. It is pretended, that Pericles kindled this war to please a famous courtesan, of whom he was very fond; her name was Aspasia, a native of Miletus. After several events and battles, Pericles besieged the capital of the island of Samos. It is said, that this was the first time he used military engines, as battering-rams and tortoises, in-

¹ Plat. in Pericl. p. 164.

² Ibid.

³ Thucyd. l. i. p. 75. Died. p. 87.

⁴ Thucyd. l. i. p. 75, 76. Died. l. xii. p. 86 89. Plat. in Pericl. p. 165—167

⁵ Plat. in Pericl. p. 162.

vented by Artemon the engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a chair to the batteries, whence he was surnamed Periphoretus. The use of these machines had been long known in the East. The Samians, after sustaining a nine months' siege, surrendered; Pericles razed their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expenses of the war. Part of these sums they paid down; agreed to disburse the rest at a certain time, and gave hostages by way of security for the payment.

After the reduction of Samos, Pericles, being returned to Athens, in a splendid manner celebrated the obsequies of those who had lost their lives in this war, and pronounced in person the funeral oration over their graves. This custom, which he first introduced, was afterwards regularly observed. The senate of the Areopagus always appointed the orator on these occasions. He was chosen, ten years after, for the like ceremony in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

Pericles,¹ who foresaw that a rupture would soon ensue between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, advised the former to send aid to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians had invaded; and to win over to their interest that island, which was so very formidable at sea; foretelling them, that they would shortly be attacked by the nations of the Peloponnesus. The occasion of the quarrel between the people of Corcyra and Corinth, which gave rise to the Peloponnesian war, one of the most considerable events in the Grecian history, was as follows.

Epidamnus,² a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulantii, was a colony of Corcyreans, founded by Phalius of Corinth. This city having become in process of time very populous and powerful, divisions arose in it, and the common people expelled the most wealthy inhabitants, who went over to the neighbouring nations, and infested them greatly by their incursions. In this extremity they first had recourse to the Corcyreans, and being refused by them, they addressed the Corinthians, who took them under their protection, sent succours to them, and settled other inhabitants in their city. But they did not continue long unmolested there, the Corcyreans besieging it with a large fleet. The people of Corinth hastened to its aid, but having been defeated at sea, the city surrendered that very day upon condition that the foreigners should be slaves, and the Corinthians prisoners till farther orders. The Corcyreans erected a trophy, murdered all their prisoners except the Corinthians, and laid waste the whole country.

The year after the battle, the Corinthians raised a greater army than the former, and fitted out a new fleet. The people of Corcyra, finding it would be impossible for them to make head alone against such powerful enemies, sent to the Athenians to desire their alliance. The treaty of peace concluded between the states of Greece, left such Grecian cities as had not declared themselves on either side, the liberty of joining whom they pleased, or of standing neutral. This the Corcyreans had hitherto done, judging it their interest not to espouse any party; in consequence of which they had hitherto been without allies. They now sent for this purpose to Athens; and the Corinthians hearing of it, sent deputies thither also on their part. The affair was debated with great warmth in the presence of the people, who heard the reasons on both sides, and it was twice discussed in the assembly. The Athenians declared the first time in favour of the Corinthians; but afterwards changing their opinion (doubtless in consequence of the remonstrances of Pericles,) they received the Corcyreans into their alliance. However, they did not go so far as to conclude a league offensive and defensive with them (for they could not declare war against Corinth without breaking at the same time with all Pelopon-

nesus,) but only agreed to succour each other mutually, in case they should be attacked, either in their own person or in that of their allies. Their real design was, to set those two states, which were very powerful by sea, at variance; and after each should have exhausted the other by a tedious war, to triumph over the weakest; for at that time there were but three states in Greece who possessed powerful fleets; and these were Athens, Corinth, and Corcyra. They also had a design on Italy and Sicily, which their taking the island of Corcyra would very much promote.

On this plan they concluded an alliance with the Corcyreans, and accordingly sent them ten galleys, but with an order for them not to engage the Corinthians, unless they should first invade the island of Corcyra, or some other place belonging to their allies; this precaution was used, in order that the articles of the truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey these orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyreans and the Corinthians, near the island of Sybota, opposite to Corcyra: it was one of the most considerable, with regard to the number of ships, that was ever fought between the Greeks. The advantage was nearly equal on both sides. About the end of the battle, as night was drawing on, twenty Athenian galleys came up. The Corcyreans, with this reinforcement, sailed next day by day-break towards the port of Sybota, whither the Corinthians had retired, to see if they would venture a second engagement. However, the latter contented themselves with sailing out in order of battle, without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the island of Sybota, each ascribing the victory to themselves.

From this war arose another,³ which occasioned an open rupture between the Athenians and Corinthians, and afterwards the war of Peloponnesus. Potidæa, a city of Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, who sent magistrates thither annually; but it was dependent at that time on Athens, and paid tribute to it. The Athenians fearing this city would revolt, and prevail with the rest of the Thracian allies to join them, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their walls on the side next Pallene; to deliver hostages to them as sureties for their fidelity; and to send back the magistrates which Corinth had given them. Demands of so unjust a nature only hastened the revolt. The Potidæans declared against the Athenians,⁴ and several neighbouring cities followed their example. Both Athens and Corinth took up arms and sent forces thither. The two armies engaged near Potidæa, and that of the Athenians had the advantage. Alcibiades, who was then very young, and Socrates his master, signalized themselves on this occasion. It is something very singular, to see a philosopher put on his coat of mail; as well as to consider his behaviour and conduct in a battle. There was not a soldier in the whole army who so resolutely supported all the toils and fatigues of the campaign as Socrates. Hunger, thirst, and cold, were enemies he had long accustomed himself to despise and subdue with ease. Thrace, the scene of this expedition, was a frozen region. Whilst the other soldiers, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay close in their tents, and scarce ever dared to stir out of them; Socrates used to come into the open air clad as usual and barefooted. His gaiety and wit were the life of the table; and induced others to pass the glass round cheerfully, though he himself never drank wine to excess. When the armies engaged he performed his duty wonderfully well. Alcibiades having been thrown down and wounded, Socrates placed himself before him, defended him valiantly, and, in sight of the whole army, prevented him and his arms from being taken by the enemy. The prize of valour was justly due to Socrates; but as the generals seemed inclined to decree it to Alcibiades, on account of his illustrious birth; Socrates, who only sought for opportunities to inflame him with a desire of true glory,

¹ Thucyd. l. i. p. 17—37. Diod. l. xii. p. 90—93. Plat.

² Perist. p. 167.

³ This city was afterwards called Dyrrachium;

⁴ Thucyd. l. i. p. 37—42. Diod. l. xii. p. 93, 94.

⁴ Plat. in Conviv. p. 219, 220. Plat. in Alcib. p. 294

contributed more than any other person, by the noble eulogium he made on his courage, to cause the crown and complete suit of armour (which was the prize of valour) to be adjudged to Alcibiades.

Notwithstanding the loss which the Corinthians had sustained in the battle, the inhabitants of Potidæa did not change their conduct. The city was therefore besieged. The Corinthians,¹ fearing to lose a place of so much importance, addressed their allies in the strongest terms; who all, in conjunction with them, sent a deputation to Lacedæmon, to complain of the Athenians, as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians admitted them to audience in one of their ordinary assemblies. The people of Ægina, though very much disgusted at the Athenians, did not send a deputation publicly thither for fear of giving umbrage to a republic to which they were subject, but they acted in secret as strenuously as the rest. The people of Megara complained vehemently against the Athenians, that (contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice to the treaty concluded between the Greeks) they had prohibited them by a public decree from access to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports dependent on them. By that decree,² according to Plutarch,³ the Athenians declared an eternal and irreconcilable hatred against Megara; and ordained that all Megarians should be put to death that set foot in Athens: and that all the Athenian generals, when they took the usual oath, should swear expressly, that they would send a body of soldiers twice a year, to lay waste the territories of that hostile city.

The chief complaints were made by the Corinthian ambassador, who spoke with the utmost force and freedom. He represented to the Lacedæmonians, that as they themselves never swerved from the most inviolable integrity, either in public or private transactions, they for that very reason, were less inclined to suspect the probity of others; and that their own moderation prevented their discovering the ambition of their enemies: that instead of flying, with readiness and activity, to meet dangers and calamities, they never attempted to remedy them, till they were quite crushed by them: that by their indolence and supineness, they had given the Athenians an opportunity of attaining, by insensible degrees, their present height of grandeur and power: that it was quite different with regard to the Athenians: "that this active, vigilant, and indefatigable people, were never at rest themselves, nor would suffer any other nation to be so. Employed," says he, "wholly in their projects, and they form none but such as are great and bold, their deliberations are speedy, and their execution the same. One enterprise serves only as a step to a second. Whether they are successful or unfortunate, they turn every thing to their advantage; and never stop in their career, nor are discouraged. But you, who are opposed by such formidable enemies, are lulled asleep in a fatal tranquillity; and do not reflect that it is not sufficient for a man who desires to live at ease merely to forbear injuring others, he must also hinder any one from injuring him; and that justice consists, not only in forbearing to commit evil ourselves, but in avenging that done to us by others. Shall I be so free as to say it? Your integrity is of too antique a cast for the present state of affairs. It is necessary for men in politics, as well as in all other things, to conform always to times and circumstances. When people are at peace they may follow their ancient maxims; but when they are involved in a variety of difficulties, they must try new expedients, and set every engine at work to extricate themselves. It

is by these arts that the Athenians have increased their power so much. Had you imitated their activity, they would not have dispossessed us of Corcyra, and would not now be laying siege to Potidæa. Follow, at least on this occasion, their example, by succouring the Potidæans and the rest of your allies, as your duty obliges you; and do not force your friends and neighbours, by forsaking them, to have recourse, through despair, to other powers."

The Athenian ambassador, who was come to Sparta upon other affairs, and was in the assembly, did not think it advisable to let this speech go unanswered. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind, of the still recent services that the republic, by which he was sent, had done to all Greece, which (he said) merited some regard; and that therefore it ought not to be envied, much less should endeavours be used to lessen its power: that the Athenians could not be charged with having usurped an empire over Greece; since it was merely at the entreaty of their allies, and in some measure with the consent of Sparta, that they had been forced to take the abandoned helm: that those who murmured, did it without grounds; and only from the aversion which mankind in general have to dependence and subjection, though of the gentlest and most equitable kind: that he exhorted them to employ a sufficient time in deliberating, before they came to a resolution; and not involve themselves and all Greece in a war, which would necessarily be attended with the most fatal consequences: that gentle methods might be found for terminating the differences of the allies, without breaking at once into open violence. However, that the Athenians, in case of an invasion, were able to oppose force with force; and would prepare for a vigorous defence, after having invoked, against Sparta, the deities who take vengeance of those that forswear themselves, and violate the faith of treaties.

The ambassadors being withdrawn, and the affair debated, the majority were for war. But before the final resolution was passed, Archidamus, king of Sparta, setting himself above those prejudices which so strongly biased the rest, and directing his views to futurity, made a speech in which he set forth the dreadful consequences of the war in which they were going to embark; showed the strength and resources of the Athenians; exhorted them first to try gentle methods, which they themselves had seemed to approve; but to make, in the mean time, the necessary preparations for carrying on so important an enterprise, and not to be under any apprehensions, that their moderation and delays would be branded with the name of cowardice, since their past actions secured them from any suspicion of that kind.

But, notwithstanding all these wise expostulations a war was resolved. The people caused the allies to return into the assembly, and declared to them, that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggressors; but that it would be expedient first to assemble all who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimously. This decree of the Lacedæmonians was made in the fourteenth year of the truce; and was not owing so much to the complaint of the allies, as to the jealousy of the Athenian power, which had already subjected a considerable part of Greece.

Accordingly the allies were convened a second time.⁴ They all gave their votes in their several turns, from the greatest city to the least, and war was resolved by general consent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged advisable to begin them immediately; and while this was doing, in order to gain time, and observe the necessary formalities, to send ambassadors to Athens, to complain of the violation of the treaty.

The first who were sent thither, reviving an old complaint, required of the Athenians to expel from their city the descendants of those who had profaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of Cylon.⁵ As

¹ Thucyd. l. i. p. 43—59.

² Plut. in Pericl. p. 168.

³ According to Plutarch, some persons pretended that Pericles had caused this decree to be enacted, to revenge the private injury done to Aspasia, from whose house the people of Megara had carried off two courtesans; and he cites some verses of Aristophanes, who, in a comedy entitled *the Scharaxians*, reproaches Pericles with this action. But Thucydides, a contemporary author, who was very well acquainted with all the transactions of Athens, does not say a word of this affair; and he is much more worthy of belief than a poet who was a professed slanderer and satirist.

⁴ Thucyd. l. i. p. 74—84. 93.

⁵ This Cylon had seized on the citadel of Athens above 100 years before. Those who followed him, being besieged

Pericles was of that family by the mother's side, the view of the Lacedæmonians, in making this demand, was, either to procure his banishment or lessen his authority. However, it was not complied with. The second ambassadors required, that the siege of Potidæa should be raised, and the liberty of Ægina restored; and above all, that the decree against the Megarians should be repealed; declaring, that otherwise no accommodation could take place. In fine, a third embassy came, who took no notice of any of these particulars, but only said, that the Lacedæmonians were for peace; but that this could never be, except the Athenians should cease to infringe the liberties of Greece.

SECTION XIV.—TROUBLES EXCITED AGAINST PERICLES. HE DETERMINES THE ATHENIANS TO ENGAGE IN WAR AGAINST THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

PERICLES opposed all these demands with great vigour,¹ and especially that relating to the Megarians. He had great influence at Athens, but at the same time had many enemies. Not daring to attack him at first in person, they cited his most intimate friends, and those for whom he had the greatest esteem, as Phidias, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras, before the people; and their design in this was, to sound how the people stood affected towards Pericles himself.

Phidias was accused of having embezzled considerable sums in the forming the statue of Minerva, which was his master-piece. The prosecution having been carried on with the usual forms, before the assembly of the people, not a single proof of Phidias's pretended embezzlement appeared: for that artist, from the time of his beginning that statue, had by Pericles's advice, contrived the workmanship of the gold in such a manner, that all of it might be taken off and weighed; which accordingly Pericles bid the informers do in presence of all the spectators. But Phidias had witnesses against him, the truth of whose evidence he could neither dispute nor silence; these were the fame and beauty of his works, the ever-existing causes of the envy which attacked him. The circumstance which they could least forgive in him was, his having represented to the life (in the battle of the Amazons, engraved on the shield of the goddess) his own person, and that of Pericles;² and, by an imperceptible art, he had so blended and incorporated these figures with the whole work, that it was impossible to erase them, without disfiguring and taking to pieces the whole statue. Phidias was therefore dragged to prison, where he came to his end, either by the common course of nature or by poison. Other authors say, that he was only banished, and that after his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia. It is not possible to excuse, in any manner, the ingratitude of the Athenians, in thus making a prison or death the reward of a master-piece of art; nor their excessive rigour in punishing, as a capital crime, an action that appears innocent in itself; or which, to make the worst of it, was a vanity very pardonable in an artist.

Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Asia, had settled in Athens, where she had become very famous, not so much for the charms of her person, as for her vivacity and the solidity of her wit, and her great knowledge. All the illustrious men in the city thought it an honour to frequent her house. Socrates himself used to visit her constantly;³ and was not ashamed to pass for her pupil, and to own that he had learned rhetoric from her. Pericles declared also that he was indebted to Aspasia for his eloquence, which so greatly distinguished him in Athens; and that it was from her conversation he had imbibed the principles of the art of

policy, for she was exceedingly well versed in the maxims of government. Their intimacy was owing to still stronger motives. Pericles did not love his wife, he resigned her very freely to another man, and supplied her place with Aspasia, whom he loved passionately, though her reputation was more than suspicious. Aspasia was accused of impiety and a dissolute conduct; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Pericles saved her, by his entreaties, and by the compassion he raised in the judges, by shedding abundance of tears whilst her cause was pleading; a behaviour little consistent with the dignity of his character and the rank of supreme head of the most powerful state of Greece.

A decree had passed, by which informations were ordered to be laid against all such persons as denied what was ascribed to the ministry of the gods;⁴ or those philosophers and others who gave lessons on the more abstruse points of physics, and the motions of the heavens, topics which were considered injurious to the established religion. The scope and aim of this decree was, to make Pericles suspected with regard to these matters, because Anaxagoras had been his master. This philosopher taught, that one only Intelligence had modified the chaos, and disposed the universe in the beautiful order in which we now see it; which tended directly to depreciate the gods of the Pagan system. Pericles thinking it would be impossible for him to save his life, sent him out of the city to a place of safety.

The enemies of Pericles seeing that the people approved and received with pleasure all these accusations, impeached that great man himself, and charged him with embezzling the public moneys during his administration. A decree was made, by which Pericles was obliged to give in immediately his accounts; was to be tried for peculation and rapine; and the cause to be adjudged by 1500 judges. Pericles had no real cause for fear, because in the administration of the public affairs his conduct had always been irreproachable; especially on the side of interest; he could not however but be under some apprehensions from the ill will of the people, when he considered their great levity and inconstancy. One day when Alcibiades (then very young) went to visit Pericles, he was told that he was not to be spoken with, because of some affairs of great consequence in which he was then engaged. Alcibiades inquiring what these mighty affairs were, was answered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accounts. "He ought rather," says Alcibiades, "to think how he may avoid giving them in;" and indeed this is what Pericles at last resolved. To allay the storm, he made a resolution to oppose the inclination the people discovered for the Peloponnesian war no longer, preparations for which had been long carrying on, firmly persuaded that this would soon silence all complaints against him; that envy would yield to a more powerful motive; and that the citizens when in such imminent danger, would not fail of throwing themselves into his arms, and submit implicitly to his conduct, from his great power and exalted reputation.

This is what some historians have related;⁵ and the comic poets in the lifetime, and under the eye, as it were, of Pericles, spread a report in public, to sully, if possible, his reputation and merit, which drew upon him the envy and enmity of many. Plutarch on this occasion makes a reflection which may be of great service, not only to those in the administration of public affairs, but to all sorts of persons, as well as of advantage in the ordinary intercourse of life. He thinks it strange, when actions are good in themselves, and as far as can be judged from external appearance, laudable in all respects, that men purely to discredit illustrious personages, should pretend to dive into their hearts; and from a spirit of the vilest and

in it, and reduced to extreme famine, fled for shelter to the temple of Minerva, from whence they afterwards were taken out by force and cut to pieces. Those who advised this murder were declared guilty of impiety and sacrilege, and as such banished. However, they were recalled some time after.

¹ Plut. in Pericl. p. 168, 169.

² Aristot. in tractat. de mund. p. 613.

³ Plat. in Menex. p. 235.

⁴ Τα δὲ αὐτὴν μὴ νομιζόντας, ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μετεωρῶν διδόντας. Anaxagoras, teaching that the divine Intelligence alone gave a regular motion to all the parts of nature and presided in the government of the universe; destroyed, by that system, the plurality of gods, their powers, and all the peculiar functions which were ascribed to them.

⁵ Plut. de Herod. malign. p. 855, 856.

most abject malignity, should ascribe such views and intentions to them, as they probably never so much as imagined. He, on the contrary, wishes, when the motive is obscure, and the same action may be considered in different lights, that men would always view it in the most favourable, and incline to judge candidly of it. He applies this maxim to the reports which had been spread concerning Pericles, as the fomentor of the Peloponnesian war, merely for private and interested views; whereas, the whole tenor of his past conduct ought to have convinced every body, that it was wholly from reasons of state, and for the good of the public, that he at last acquiesced in an opinion, which he had hitherto thought it incumbent on him to oppose.

Whilst this affair was carrying on at Athens,¹ the Lacedæmonians sent several embassies thither, one after another, to make the various demands above mentioned. At last the affair was debated in the assembly of the people, and it was resolved they should first deliberate upon all the articles, before they gave a positive answer. Opinions, as is usual in these cases, were divided; and some were for abolishing the decree enacted against Megara, which seemed the chief obstacle to a peace.

Pericles spoke on this occasion with a force of eloquence, which his view to the public welfare, and the honour of his country, rendered more vehement and triumphant than it had ever appeared before. He showed, in the first place, that the decree relating to Megara, on which the greatest stress was laid, was not of so little consequence as they imagined: that the demand made by the Lacedæmonians on that head was merely to sound the disposition of the Athenians, and to try whether it would be possible to encroach upon them by frightening them: that should they recede on this occasion, it would betray fear and weakness: that the affair was of less importance than the giving up to the Lacedæmonians the empire which the Athenians had possessed during so many years, by their courage and resolution: that should the Athenians give way on this point, the Lacedæmonians would immediately prescribe new laws to them, as to a people seized with dread; whereas, if they made a vigorous resistance, their opponents would be obliged to treat them at least, on the foot of equals: that with regard to the present matters in dispute, arbiters might be chosen, in order to adjust them in an amicable way; but that it did not become the Lacedæmonians to command the Athenians with a magisterial air, to quit Potidæa, to free Egina, and revoke the decree relating to Megara: that such imperious behaviour was directly contrary to the treaty, which declared in express terms, *That should any disputes arise among the allies, they should be decided by pacific methods, AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP ANY PART OF WHAT THEY POSSESSED*: that the surest way to prevent a government from being eternally contesting about its possessions, is to take up arms, and dispute its rights sword in hand: that the Athenians had just reason to believe they would gain their cause this way; and to give them a stronger idea of this truth, he set before them a most brilliant description of the present state of Athens, giving a very particular account of its treasures, revenues, fleets, land as well as sea forces, and those of its allies; contrasting these several resources with the poverty of the Lacedæmonians, who (he said) had no money, which is the sinews of war, not to mention the poor condition of their navy, on which success in war most depended. And indeed,² there were at that time in the public treasury, which the Athenians had brought from Delos to their city, 9600 talents, which amount to about 1,200,000*l.* sterling. The annual contributions of the allies amounted to 460 talents, that is, to near 1,400,000 French livres. In cases of necessity, the Athenians would find infinite resources³

in the ornaments of the temples, since those of the statue of Minerva alone amounted to fifty talents of gold, that is, 1,500,000 French livres, which might be taken from the statue without spoiling it, and be afterwards fixed on again in more auspicious times. With regard to the land forces, they amounted to very near 30,000 men, and the fleet consisted of 300 galleys. Above all, he advised them not to venture a battle in their own country against the Peloponnesians, whose troops were superior in number to theirs; not to regard the laying waste of their lands, as they might easily be restored to their former condition; but to consider the loss of their men as highly important, because irretrievable; to make their whole policy consist in defending their city, and preserving the empire of the sea, which would certainly one day give them the superiority over their enemies. He laid down the plan for carrying on the war, not for a single campaign, but during the whole time it might last; and enumerated the evils they had to fear, if they deviated from that system. Pericles, after adding other considerations, taken from the character and internal government of the two republics; the one uncertain and fluctuating in its deliberations, and rendered still slower in the execution, from its being obliged to wait for the consent of its allies; the other speedy, determinate, independent, and mistress of its resolutions, which is no indifferent circumstance with regard to the success of enterprises; Pericles, I say, concluded his speech, and gave his opinion as follows: "We have no more to do but to dismiss the ambassadors, and to give them this answer: That we permit those of Megara to trade with Athens, upon condition that the Lacedæmonians do not prohibit either us, or our allies, to trade with them. With regard to the cities of Greece, we shall leave those free who were so at the time of our agreement, provided they shall do the same with regard to those dependent on them. We do not refuse to submit the decision of our differences to arbitration, and will not commit the first hostilities: however, in case of being attacked, we shall make a vigorous defence."

The ambassadors were answered as Pericles had dictated. They returned home, and never came again to Athens; soon after which the Peloponnesian war broke out.

CHAPTER II.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE GREEKS IN SICILY AND ITALY.

As the Peloponnesian war is a great event, of considerable duration, before I enter upon the history of it, it may be proper to relate, in a few words, the most considerable transactions which had happened in Græcia Major, to the time we now speak of, whether in Sicily or Italy.

SECTION I.—THE CARTHAGINIANS ARE DEFEATED IN SICILY. THERON, TYRANT OF AGRIGENTUM. REIGN OF GELON IN SYRACUSE, AND HIS TWO BROTHERS. LIBERTY IS RESTORED.

I. Gelon.

WE have seen that Xerxes,⁴ whose project tended to no less than the total extirpation of the Greeks, had prevailed with the Carthaginians to make war against the people of Sicily. They crossed over thither with an army of above 300,000 men, and a fleet of 2000 ships, and upwards of 3000 transports. Hamilcar, the ablest of the Carthaginian generals at that time, was charged with this expedition. However, the success was not answerable to these mighty preparations; the Carthaginians

of the property of individuals. 4. Rents and produce of mines and marble quarries. 5. Capitation tax on the *Meteci* or strangers permanently settled in the city. Xenophon estimates the whole at 1,000 talents, or 256,000*l.* sterling. *Walpole's Memoirs on European Turkey*, p. 435.]

⁴ Diocl. l. xi. p. 1, and 16—22.

¹ Thucyd. l. i. p. 93—97. Diocl. l. xii. p. 95—97.

² Diocl. l. xii. p. 96, 97.

³ [The Athenian revenues consisted of, 1. Contributions from the allies, which amounted to 600 talents in the days of Alcibiades. 2. Customs at the rate of 2 per cent. on imports and exports, which yielded 36 talents. 3. Confiscations

were entirely defeated by Gelon, who at that time had the chief authority in Syracuse.

This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily,¹ situated on the southern coast between Agrigentum and Camarina, called Gelas, whence perhaps he received his name. He had signalized himself very much in the wars, which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against the neighbouring powers, most of whom he subdued, and was very near taking Syracuse. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, upon pretence of defending the rights and succession of the tyrant's children, took up arms against his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, possessed himself of the government in his own name. Some time after he made himself master also of Syracuse, by the assistance of some exiles whom he had caused to return into it, and who had engaged the populace to open the gates of that city to him. He then gave Gela to Hiero his brother, and applied himself wholly in extending the limits of the territory of Syracuse, and soon rendered himself very powerful. We may form a judgment of this from the army which he offered the Grecian ambassadors,² who came to desire his aid against the king of Persia; and by his demand of being appointed generalissimo of their forces, which however they refused. The fear he was in at that time, of being soon invaded by the Carthaginians, was the chief occasion of his not succouring the Greeks. He showed himself to be a crafty politician by his conduct; and when news was brought him of Xerxes's having crossed the Hellespont, he sent a trusty person with rich presents, and ordered him to wait the issue of the first battle, and in case Xerxes should be victorious, to pay homage to him in his name, otherwise to bring back the money. I now return to the Carthaginians.

They had landed in Sicily at the earnest solicitations of Terillus, formerly tyrant of Himera, but dethroned by Theron, another tyrant, who reigned at Agrigentum. The family of the latter was one of the most illustrious of all Greece, as he was descended in a direct line from Cadmus. He married into the family which at that time ruled at Syracuse, and which consisted of four brothers, Gelon, Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus. He married his daughter to the first, and himself married the daughter of the third.

Hamilcar having landed at Panormus, began by laying siege to Himera. Gelon hastened with a great army to the succour of his father-in-law; when uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This was perhaps the most complete victory ever gained.

The battle was fought the same day with that of Thermopylæ;³ the circumstances of which I have related in the history of the Carthaginians. One remarkable circumstance in the conditions of the peace,⁴ which Gelon prescribed to the conquered, was, that they should cease to sacrifice their children to the god Saturn; which shows, at the same time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon.

The spoils won on this occasion were of immense value. Gelon allotted the greatest part of them for the ornament of the temples in Syracuse. They also took an incredible number of prisoners. These he shared, with the utmost equity, with his allies, who employed them, after putting irons on their feet, in cultivating their lands, and in building magnificent edifices, as well for the ornament as the utility of the cities. Several of the citizens of Agrigentum had each 500 for his own share.

¹ Herod. l. vii. c. 153—167.

² He promised to furnish 300 ships and 30,000 men.

³ Herodotus says, that this battle was fought the same day with that of Salamis, which does not appear so probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's successes, entreated him to succour them against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamis, which exalted their courage so much, that after this battle they imagined themselves strong enough to resist their enemies, and to put an end to the war, to their own advantage, without the assistance of any other power.

⁴ Plat. in Apophth. p. 175.

Gelon, after so glorious a victory, far from growing more proud and haughty, behaved with greater

A. M. 3525
Ant. J. C. 479.

affability and humanity than ever towards the citizens and his allies. Being returned from the campaign, he convened the assembly of the Syracusans, who were ordered to come armed into it. However, he himself came unarmed thither: declared to the assembly every circumstance of his conduct, the uses to which he had applied the several sums with which he had been intrusted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that if they had any complaints to make against him, his person and life were at their disposal. All the people, struck with so unexpected a speech, and still more with the confidence he reposed in them, answered by acclamations of joy, praise, and gratitude; and immediately with one consent, invested him with the supreme authority, and the title of king. And to preserve to latest posterity the remembrance of Gelon's memorable action,⁵ who had come into the assembly, and put his life into the hands of the Syracusans, they erected a statue in honour of him, wherein he was represented in the ordinary habit of a citizen, ungraced, and unarmed. This statue met afterwards with a very singular fate, and worthy of the motives which had occasioned its being set up. Timoleon, above 130 years after, having restored the Syracusans to their liberty, thought it advisable, in order to erase all traces of tyrannical government, and at the same time to assist the wants of the people, to sell publicly by auction all the statues of those princes and tyrants who had governed it till that time. But first he brought them to a formal trial, as so many criminals; hearing the depositions and witnesses upon each of them. They were all condemned unanimously, the statue of Gelon only excepted, which found an eloquent advocate and defender in the warm and sincere gratitude which the citizens retained for that great man, whose virtue they revered as if he had been still alive.

The Syracusans had no cause to repent their having intrusted Gelon with unlimited power and authority. This made no addition to his known zeal for their interests, but only enabled him to do them more important services. For,⁶ by a change till then unheard of, and of which Tacitus since found no example except in Vespasian,⁷ he was the first whom the sovereignty made the better man. He made upwards of 10,000 foreigners, who had served under him, denizens. His views were, to people the capital, to increase the power of the state, to reward the services of these brave and faithful soldiers, and to attach them more strongly to Syracuse, from the sense of the advantageous settlement they had obtained in being incorporated with the citizens.

He prided himself particularly upon his inviolable sincerity,⁸ truth, and fidelity to his engagements; a quality very essential to a prince, the only one capable of gaining him the love and confidence of his subjects and of foreigners, and which therefore ought to be considered as the basis of all just policy and good government. Having occasion for money to carry on an expedition he meditated (this, very probably, was before he had triumphed over the Carthaginians,) he addressed the people in order to obtain a contribution from them; but finding the Syracusans unwilling to be at that expense, he told them, that he asked nothing but a loan, and that he would engage to repay it as soon as the war should be over. The money was advanced, and repaid punctually at the promised time. How happy is that government where such justice and equity are exercised; and how mistaken are those ministers and princes, who violate them in the slightest degree!

One of the chief objects of his attention,⁹ in which his successor imitated him, was to make the cultiva-

⁵ Plat. in Timol. p. 247. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 37.

⁶ Diod. l. xi. p. 55.

⁷ Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est Hist. l. i. c. 50.

⁸ Plat. in Apophth. p. 175.

⁹ Ibid.

tion of the lands be considered as an honourable employment. It is well known how fruitful Sicily was in corn; and the immense revenues which might be produced from so rich a soil when industriously cultivated. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and delighted in appearing sometimes at their head, in the same manner as on other occasions he had marched at the head of armies. His intention, says Plutarch, was not merely to make the country rich and fruitful, but also to exercise his subjects, to accustom and inure them to toils, and by that means to preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably follow a soft and indolent life. There are few maxims (in points of policy) on which the ancients have insisted more strongly, than on that relating to the cultivation of their lands; a manifest proof of their great wisdom, and the profound knowledge they had of what constitutes the strength and solid support of a state. Xenophon in a dialogue, entitled *Hiero*,¹ the subject of which is government, shows the great advantage it would be to a state, were the king studious to reward those who excel in husbandry, and in whatever relates to the cultivation of lands. He says the same of war, of trade, and of all the arts; on which occasion, if honours were paid to all those who should distinguish themselves in them, it would give universal life and motion; would excite a noble and laudable emulation among the citizens, and give rise to a thousand inventions for the improvement and perfection of those arts.

It does not appear that Gelon had been educated in the same manner as the children of the rich among the Greeks, who were taught music and the art of playing on instruments with great care. Possibly this was a consequence of his mean birth, or rather was owing to the little value he set on those kind of exercises. One day at an entertainment,² when according to the usual custom, a lyre was presented to each of the guests; when it was Gelon's turn, instead of touching the instrument as the rest had done, he caused his horse to be brought, mounted him with wonderful agility and grace, and showed that he had learned a nobler exercise than playing on the lyre.

Since the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily,³ the several cities enjoyed a profound peace, and Syracuse was particularly happy in its tranquillity, under the auspicious government of Gelon. He was not born in Syracuse, and yet all the inhabitants of that city, though so extremely jealous of their liberty, had forced him in a manner to be their king. Though an alien, the supreme power went in search of him, not courted on his part with any art or inducement but those of merit. Gelon was thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of the regal office, as well as its great weight; and he accepted it with no other view but the good of his people. He thought himself king only for the defence of the state, to preserve the good order of society, to protect innocence and justice, and to exhibit to all his subjects, in his simple, modest, active, and regular life, a pattern of every civil virtue. The whole of royalty that he assumed was the toils and cares of it, a zeal for the public welfare, and the sweet satisfaction which results from making millions happy by his cares: in a word, he considered the sovereignty as an obligation, and a means to procure the felicity of a greater number of men. He banished from it pomp, ostentation, licentiousness, and impunity for crimes. He did not affect the appearance of reigning, but contented himself with making the laws reign. He never made his inferiors feel that he was their master, but only inculcated into them that both himself and they ought to submit to reason and justice. To induce their obedience, he employed no other methods but persuasion and a good example, which are the weapons of virtue, and alone produce a sincere and uninterrupted obedience.

A revered old age, a name highly dear to all his subjects, a reputation equally diffused within and without his kingdom; these were the fruits of that

wisdom which he retained on the throne to the last gasp. His reign was short, and only just showed him in a manner to Sicily, to exhibit in his person an example of a great, good, and true king. He died, after having reigned only seven years, to the infinite regret of all his subjects. Every family imagined itself deprived of its best friend, its protector and father. The people erected, without the city, in the place where his wife Demarata had been buried, a splendid mausoleum, surrounded with nine towers of surprising height and magnificence; and decreed those honours to him, which were then paid to the demigods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demolished the mausoleum, and Agatholes the towers: but, says the historian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which destroys all grosser things, could destroy the glory of his name, or abolish the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraven in the hearts of the Sicilians.

II. Hiero.

After Gelon's death, the sceptre continued near 12 years in his family. He was succeeded by Hiero, A. M. 3532. Ant. J. C. 472 his eldest brother.

It will be necessary for us, in order to reconcile the authors who have written concerning this prince, some of whom represent him as a good king, and others a detestable tyrant; it will be necessary, I say, to distinguish the periods. It is very probable that Hiero, dazzled, in the beginning of his reign, by the glitter of sovereign power, and corrupted by the flattery of his courtiers, studiously endeavoured to deviate from that path which his predecessor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himself so happy. This young prince was avaricious,⁴ headstrong, unjust, and studious of nothing but the gratification of his passions, without ever endeavouring to acquire the esteem and affection of the people; who, on the other side, had the utmost aversion for a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them, rather than as a king; and nothing but the veneration they had for Gelon's memory, prevented it from breaking out.

Some time after he had ascended the throne,⁵ he entertained violent suspicions of Polyzelus, his brother, whose great influence among the citizens made him fear that he had a design to depose him. In order to rid himself without noise of an enemy whom he fancied very dangerous, he resolved to put him at the head of some forces he was going to send to the succour of the Sybarites against the Crotoniats, hoping that he would perish in the expedition. His brother's refusal to accept this command, made him the more violent against him. Theron, who had married Polyzelus's daughter, joined with his father-in-law. This gave rise to great differences of long duration between the kings of Syracuse and Agrigentum; however, they at last were reconciled by the judicious mediation of Simonides the poet;⁶ and to make their reconciliation lasting, they cemented it by a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's sister; after which the two kings always lived in good intelligence with each other.

At first,⁷ an infirm state of health, which was increased by repeated illnesses, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking seriously; after which he resolved to draw around him men of learning, who might converse agreeably with him, and furnish him with useful instructions. The most famous poets of the age came to his court, as Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus; and it is affirmed, that their delightful conversation did not a little contribute to soften the cruel and savage disposition of Hiero.

Plutarch⁸ relates a noble saying of his, which shows an excellent disposition in a prince. He declared, that his palace and his ears should be always open to every man who would tell him the truth, and that without disguise or reserve.

¹ Diod. l. xi. p. 51.

² Schol. in Pind.

³ In Apoph. p. 175.

⁴ Ibid. p. 56.

⁵ *Elian*. l. iv. c. 15.

⁶ P. 916, 917.

⁷ Plut. in *Apophthegm.* p. 175.

⁸ Diod. l. xi. p. 29, 30.

The poets above mentioned not only excelled in poetry, but were also possessed of a great fund of learning in other branches, and were respected and consulted as the sages of their times. This is what Cicero¹ says of Simonides in particular. He had a great ascendancy over the king; and the only use he made of it was, to incline him to virtue.

They often used to converse on philosophical subjects.² I observed on another occasion, that Hiero, in one of these conversations, asked Simonides his opinion with regard to the nature and attributes of the Deity. The latter desired one day's time to consider of it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion. The prince pressing him to give his reasons for these delays; he confessed, that the subject was above his comprehension, and that the more he reflected, the more obscure it appeared to him.

Xenophon has left us an excellent treatise on the art of governing well, entitled *Hiero*, and written in the form of a dialogue between this prince and Simonides. Hiero undertakes to prove to the poet, that tyrants and kings are not so happy as is generally imagined. Among the great number of proofs alleged by him, he insists chiefly on their unhappiness in being deprived of the greatest comfort and blessing in this life, viz. the enjoyment of a true friend, to whose bosom they may safely confide their secrets and afflictions; who may share with them in their joy and sorrow; in a word, a second self, who may form but one heart, one soul with them. Simonides, on the other side, lays down admirable maxims with respect to the duties of a sovereign. He represents to him, that a king is not so for himself, but for others: that his grandeur consists, not in building magnificent palaces for his own residence, but in erecting temples, and fortifying and embellishing his cities: that his glory consists not in his people's fearing him, but in their being afraid for him: that a truly royal care is, not to enter the lists with the first comer at the Olympic games (for the princes of that age were passionately fond of them, and especially Hiero),³ but to contend with the neighbouring kings, who should succeed best in diffusing wealth and abundance throughout his dominions, and in endeavouring to secure the felicity of the people.

Nevertheless, another poet (Pindar) praises this same Hiero for the victory he had won in the horse-race. "This prince," says he, in his ode, "who governs with equity the inhabitants of opulent Sicily, has gathered the fairest flower of every virtue. He takes a noble delight in the most exquisite performances of poetry and music. He loves melodious airs, such as it is customary for us to play at the banquets given us by our dearest friends. Rouse then thyself, take thy lyre, and raise it to the Doric pitch. If thou feepest thyself animated by a glorious fire in favour of Pisa⁴ and Phœnicia; if they have waked the sweetest transports in thy breast, when that generous courser (without being quickened by the spur) flew along the banks of the Alpheus, and carried his royal rider to glorious victory: O sing the king of Syracuse, the ornament of the Olympic course!"

The whole ode, translated by the late Mr. Massieu, is in the sixth volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*, from which I have made the short extract above. I was very glad to give the reader some idea of Pindar, from this little specimen.

The next ode to this was composed in honour of Theron, king of Agrigentum, victorious in the chariot-

race. The diction of it is so sublime, the thought so noble, and the moral so pure, that many look upon it as Pindar's master-piece.

I cannot say how far we may depend on the rest of the praises which Pindar gives to Hiero, for poets do not always pride themselves upon their sincerity in the eulogiums they bestow on princes; however, it is certain that Hiero had made his court the resort of all persons of wit and genius; and that he had invited them to it by his affability and engaging behaviour, and much more by his liberality, which is a great merit in a king.

We cannot bestow on Hiero's court the eulogium which Horace⁵ gives the house of Mæcenas, in which a character prevailed rarely found among scholars, and nevertheless infinitely preferable to all their erudition. This amiable house, says Horace, was an utter stranger to the mean and grovelling sentiments of envy and jealousy; and men saw, in those who shared in their master's favour, a superior merit or credit, without taking the least umbrage at it. But it was far otherwise in the court of Hiero or of Theron.⁶ It is said that Simonides, and Bacchylides his nephew, employed all kinds of criticism, to lessen the esteem which those princes had for Pindar's works. The latter by way of reprisal, ridicules them very strongly in his ode to Theron, in comparing them to ravens, who croak in vain against the divine bird of Jove. But modesty was not the virtue which distinguished Pindar.

Hiero,⁷ having driven the ancient inhabitants of Catania and Naxos from their country, settled a colony of 10,000 men there, half of whom were Syracusans, and the rest Peloponnesians. This induced the inhabitants of those cities to appoint, after his death, the same solemnities in his honour, as were bestowed on heroes or demigods, because they considered him as their founder.

He showed great favour to the children of Anaxilaus,⁸ formerly tyrant of Zancle, and a great friend to Gelon his brother. As they were arrived at years of maturity, he exhorted them to take the government into their own hands; after Micythus, their tutor, should have perfectly informed them of the state of it, and how he himself had behaved in the administration. The latter, having assembled the nearest relations and most intimate friends of the young princes, gave, in their presence, so good an account of his guardianship, that the whole assembly (in perfect admiration) bestowed the highest encomiums on his prudence, integrity, and justice. Matters were carried so far, that the young princes were extremely urgent with him to continue to preside in the administration, as he had hitherto done. However, the wise tutor preferring the sweets of ease to the splendour of authority, and persuaded, at the same time, that it would be for the interest of the state if the young princes took the government into their own hands, resolved to retire from business. Hiero died after having reigned eleven years.

III. Thrasybulus.

He was succeeded by Thrasybulus his brother,⁹ who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making him be regretted. Swelled with pride and a brutal haughtiness, he considered men as mere worms; vainly fancying they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was of a quite different nature from them. He abandoned himself implicitly to the flattering counsels of the giddy young courtiers who surrounded him. He treated all his subjects with

¹ Simonides, non poeta solum suavia, verum etiam ceteroqui doctus sapiensque traditur. Lib. i. de nat. deor. n. 60.

² Cie. l. i. de nat. deor. n. 60.

³ It is said that Themistocles, seeing him arrive at the Olympic games with a splendid equipage, would have had him forbidden them, because he had not succoured the Greeks against the common enemy, any more than Gelon his brother; which motion did honour to the Athenian general. *Ælian* l. ix. c. 5.

⁴ Pisa was the city, near which the Olympic games were solemnized; and Phœnicia was the name of Hiero's courser, signifying the gainer of victory.

⁵ Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hæc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mi offit unquam,
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni
Cuique suos. Hor. lib. i. sat. 9.
Sir, you mistake, that's not our course of life,
We know no jealousies, no brawls, no strife;
From all those ills our patron's house is free;
None, 'cause more learned or wealthy, troubles me;
We have our stations, all their own pursue, &c. *Crævus*.

⁶ Scholiast. Pind.

⁷ Diocl. l. xi. p. 37.

⁸ Ibid. p. 50.

⁹ Ibid. p. 51, 32.

the utmost severity; banishing some, confiscating the possessions of others, and putting great numbers to death. So severe a slavery soon grew insupportable to the Syracusans, and therefore they implored the succour of the neighbouring cities, whose interest it was also to throw off the tyrant's yoke. Thrasylus was besieged even in Syracuse, the sovereignty of part of which he had reserved to himself, viz. Achradina, and the island, which was very well fortified; but the third quarter of the city, called Tyche, was possessed by the enemy. After making a feeble resistance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the city, and withdrew into banishment among the Locrians. He had reigned but a year. In this manner the Syracusans recovered their liberty. They also delivered the rest of the cities of Sicily from tyrants; established a popular government in all places, and maintained that form by themselves during threescore years, till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, who again enslaved them.

After Sicily had been delivered A. M. 3544. from the government of tyrants,¹ Ant. J. C. 460. and all the cities of it were restored to their liberty; as the country was extremely fruitful in itself, and the peace which all places enjoyed, gave the inhabitants of this island an opportunity of cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks; the people grew very powerful, and amassed great riches. To perpetuate to latest posterity the remembrance of the happy day in which they had thrown off the yoke of slavery, by the banishment of Thrasylus, it was decreed in the general assembly of the nation that a colossal statue should be set up to Jupiter the Deliverer: that on the anniversary of this day a festival should be solemnized, by way of thanksgiving, for the restoration of their liberty; and that there should be sacrificed in honour of the gods, 450 bulls, with which the people should be entertained at a common feast.

There nevertheless lay concealed in the minds of many, a certain secret leaven of tyranny, which frequently disturbed the harmony of this peace, and occasioned several tumults and commotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I shall omit. To prevent the evil consequences of them,² the Syracusans established the Petalism, which differed very little from the Athenian Ostracism; and was so called from the Greek *πῆλα*, signifying a leaf, because the votes were then given on an olive-leaf. This judgment was put in force against those citizens whose great power made the people apprehensive that they aspired at the tyranny, and it banished them for ten years; however it did not long continue in force, and was soon abolished; because the dread of falling under its censure, having prompted the most virtuous men to retire, and renounce the government, the chief employments were now filled by such citizens only as had the least merit.

Deucetius, according to Diodorus,³ was chief over the people who were properly called Sicilians. Having united them all (the inhabitants of Hybla excepted) into one body, he became very powerful, and formed several great enterprises. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This temple was very famous on account of some wonders which are related of it; and still more from the sacred nature of the oaths which were then taken, the violation whereof was said to be always followed by a sudden and exemplary punishment. This was a secure asylum for all persons who were oppressed by superior power; and especially for slaves who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their masters. They continued in safety in this temple, till certain arbiters and mediators had made their peace; and there was not a single instance of a master's having ever broken the promise he had made of pardoning his slaves; so famous were the gods who presided over this temple, for the severe vengeance they took on those who violated their oaths.

This Deucetius, after having been successful on a

great many occasions, and gained several victories particularly over the Syracusans; saw his fortune change on a sudden by the loss of a battle, and was abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. In the consternation and despondency into which so general and sudden a desertion threw him, he formed such a resolution as despair only could suggest. He withdrew in the night to Syracuse, advanced as far as the great square of the city, and there falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracusans, that is to his professed enemies. The singularity of this spectacle attracted great numbers of people. The magistrates immediately convened the people, and debated on the affair. They first heard the orators, whose business was generally to address the people with great violence; and these animated them against Deucetius, as a public enemy, whom Providence seemed to throw into their way, to revenge and punish, by his death, all the injuries he had done the republic. A speech of this tendency struck all the virtuous part of the assembly with horror. The most ancient and wisest of the senators represented, "That they were not now to consider what punishment Deucetius deserved, but how it behove the Syracusans to act on that occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a suppliant, a character by which his person was become sacred and inviolable. That there was a goddess (Nemesis) who took vengeance of crimes, especially of cruelty and impiety, who doubtless would not suffer that to go unpunished: that besides the baseness and inhumanity there is in insulting the unfortunate, and in crushing those who are already under one's foot; it was worthy the grandeur and good nature of the Syracusans, to exert their clemency even to those who least deserved it." All the people came into this opinion, and with one consent spared Deucetius's life. He was ordered to reside in Corinth, the mother-city and fountness of Syracuse; and the Syracusans engaged to furnish Deucetius with all things necessary for his subsisting honourably there. What reader, who compares these two different opinions, does not perceive which of them was the noblest and most generous.

SECTION II.—OF SOME FAMOUS PERSONS AND CITIES IN GRECIA MAGNA. PYTHAGORAS, CHARONDAS, ZALEUCUS, MILO THE ATLETA; CROTONA, SYBARIS, AND THURIUM.

I. Pythagoras.

IN treating of what relates to Græcia Magna in Italy, I must not omit Pythagoras, who was the glory of it. He was born in Samos.⁴

A. M. 3480.
Ant. J. C. 524.

After having travelled into a great many regions, and enriched his mind with much uncommon and excellent learning, he returned to his native country, but did not make a long stay in it, because of the tyrannical government which Polycrates had established in it, who however had the highest regard for him, and showed him all the esteem due to his rare merit. But the study of the sciences, and particularly of philosophy, is by no means compatible with slavery, though of the mildest and most honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and resided usually either at Crotona, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Tarentum. Servius Tullius,⁵ or Tarquinus Superbus, reigned in Rome at that time; which absolutely refutes the opinion of those who imagined that Numa Pompilius, the second king of the Romans, who lived upwards of 100 years before, had been Pythagoras's disciple; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the resemblance of their manners, disposition, and principles.

The whole country soon felt very happy effects from the presence of this excellent philosopher.⁶ An

⁴ Diog. Laert. in vit. Pythag.

⁵ Liv. l. i. c. 18.

⁶ Pythagoras, cum in Italiam venisset, exornavit urbem Græciam, quæ magna dicta est, et privatim et publicè præstantissimè et institutis, et artibus. *Cic. Tuscul. Quæst.* l. v. n. 10.

¹ Diod. l. xi. 55. &c.

² Ibid. p. 65.

³ Ibid. p. 67—70.

inclination for study, and a love of wisdom, diffused themselves almost universally in a very short time. Multitudes flocked from all the neighbouring cities to get a sight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to profit by his salutary counsels. The several princes of the country took a pleasure in inviting him to their courts, which they thought honoured by his presence; and all were delighted with his conversation, and glad to learn from him the art of governing nations with wisdom. His school became the most famous that had ever been till that age. He had no less than 4 or 500 disciples. Before he admitted them in that quality, he kept them in a state of noviciate, as it were, and probation for five years, during which time he obliged them to keep the strictest silence; thinking it proper for them to be instructed, before they should attempt to speak. It is well known that the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls was one of the chief of his tenets. His disciples had the greatest reverence for every word he uttered; and if he did but barely aver a thing, that alone, without further examination, was sufficient to gain credit to his assertion; and to confirm the truth of any thing, they used to express themselves in this manner, *The master said it*.¹ However, the disciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all inquiry, and in sacrificing implicitly their reason and understanding; a sacrifice that is due only to the divine authority, which is infinitely superior to our reason and all our knowledge; and which, consequently, is authorized to prescribe laws to us, and dictate absolute obedience.

The school of Pythagoras bred a great number of illustrious disciples, who did infinite honour to their master; as wise legislators, great politicians, persons skilled in all the sciences, and capable of governing states, and being the ministers of the greatest princes. A long time after his death,² that part of Italy which he had cultivated and improved by his instructions, was still considered as the nursery and seat of men skilled in all kinds of literature, and maintained that glorious character for several ages. The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of Pythagoras's virtue and merit,³ since the oracle of Delphi having commanded that people, during the war with the Samnites, to erect two statues in the most conspicuous part of Rome, the one to the wisest, and the other to the most valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly set up two in the place where the *Comitia* were held, representing Pythagoras and Theseus. We have no certain information with respect to the time and place of Pythagoras's death.

II. Crotona. Sybaris. Thurium.

Crotona was founded by Myscel-

A. M. 3295. Ius,⁴ chief of the Achæans, the third Ant. J. C. 709. year of the seventeenth Olympiad.

This Myscelus being come to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo, about the spot on which he should build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who was arrived upon the same account. The god gave them a favourable audience; and after having determined them with regard to the place that would best suit their new settlements, he proposed different advantages to them, and left them, among other particulars, the choice of riches or health. The offer of riches struck Archias, but Myscelus desired health; and, if history is to be credited, Apollo performed his promise faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuse, which soon became the most opulent city of Greece. Myscelus laid the foundations of Crotona,⁵ which became so famous for the long life and innate strength of its inhabitants, that its name was used proverbially to signify a very healthy spot, whose air was extremely pure. The natives of this

city signalized themselves in a great number of victories in the Grecian games; and Strabo relates that, in one and the same Olympiad, seven Crotonians were crowned in the Olympic games, and carried off all the prizes of the stadium.

Sybaris was ten leagues (200 stadia) from Crotona,⁶ and had also been founded by the Achæans, but before the other. This city became afterwards very powerful. Four neighbouring states, and twenty-five cities, were subject to it, so that it was alone able to raise an army of 300,000 men. The opulence of Sybaris was soon followed by luxury, and such a dissoluteness of manners as is scarcely credible. The citizens employed themselves in nothing but banquets, games, shows, parties of pleasure, and carousals. Public rewards and marks of distinction were bestowed on those who gave the most magnificent entertainments; and even to such cooks as were best skilled in the important art of making new discoveries in dressing dishes, and inventing new refinements to please the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effeminacy to such a height, that they carefully removed from their city all such artificers whose work was noisy; and would not suffer any cocks in it, lest their shrill piercing crow should disturb their balmy slumbers.

All these evils were heightened by dissention and discord,⁷ which at last proved their ruin. Five hundred of the wealthiest persons in the city having been expelled by the faction of one Telys, fled to Crotona. Telys demanded to have them surrendered to him; and, on the refusal of the Crotonians to deliver them up (who were prompted to this generous resolution by Pythagoras, who then lived among them) war was declared. The Sybarites marched 300,000 men into the field, and the Crotonians only 100,000; but then they were headed by Milo, the famous champion (of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak,) over whose shoulders a lion's skin was thrown, and himself armed with a club, like another Hercules. The latter gained a complete victory, and made a dreadful havoc of those who fled, so that very few escaped, and their city was depopulated. About threescore years after, some Thessalians came and settled in it; however, they did not long enjoy peace, being driven out by the Crotonians. Being thus reduced to the most fatal extremity, they implored the succour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The latter, moved with compassion at their deplorable condition, after causing proclamation to be made in Peloponnesus, that all who were willing to join that colony were at liberty to do it, sent the Sybarites a fleet of ten ships, under the command of Lampon and Xenocrates.

They built a city near the ancient Sybaris and called it Thurium.⁸ Two men greatly renowned for their learning, the one an orator, and the other an historian, settled in this colony. The first was Lysias, at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in Thurium, till the ill fate which befell the Athenians in Sicily, and then went to Athens. The second was Herodotus. Though he was born in Halicarnassus, a city of Caria, he was, however, considered as a native of Thurium, because he settled there with that colony.

Divisions soon broke out in the city, on occasion of the new inhabitants, whom the rest were desirous to exclude from all public employments, and privileges. But as these were much more numerous, they expelled all the ancient Sybarites, and got the sole possession of the city. Being supported by the alliance they made with the people of Crotona, they soon grew vastly powerful, and having settled a popular form of government in their city, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, which they called by the names of the different nations whence they sprung.

¹ Αὐτομαθία.

² Pythagoras tenuit magnam illam Græciam cum honore, et disciplina, tum etiam auctoritate multaque secula postea eius vixit Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli alii docti viderentur. *Tusc. Quest.* l. i. c. 38.

³ Plin. l. xxiv. c. 6.

⁴ Strab. l. vi. p. 262 & 269. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. ii. p. 121.

⁵ Κρότωνος ὑποδείξεις.

⁶ Strab. l. vi. 263. Athen. l. xii. p. 518—520.

⁷ Diod. l. xxi. p. 76—95.

⁸ Dionys. Halicarn. in vit. Lys. p. 82. Strab. l. xiv. p.

III. *Charondas, the legislator.*

They now bent their whole thoughts to the strengthening of their government by wholesome laws, for which purpose they made choice of Charondas, who had been educated in Pythagoras's school, to digest and draw them up. I shall quote some of them in this place.

1. He excluded from the senate, and all public employments, all such as should marry a second wife, in case any children by their first were living: being persuaded, that a man who was so regardless of his children's interest, would be equally so of his country's, and be as worthless a magistrate as he had been a father.

2. He sentenced all false accusers to be carried through every part of the city crowned with heath or broom, as the vilest of men; an ignominy which most of them were not able to survive. The city, thus delivered from those pests of society, was restored to its former tranquillity. And indeed, from calumniators generally arise all feuds and contests, whether of a public or private nature; and yet, according to Tacitus's observation, they are too much tolerated in most governments.

3. He enacted a new kind of law against another species of pests, which is generally the first occasion of the depravity of manners in a state; by suffering all those to be prosecuted who should form a correspondence, or contract a friendship, with wicked men, and by laying a heavy fine upon them.

4. He required all children of the citizens to be educated in polite literature; the effect of which is to soften and civilize the minds of men, inspiring them with gentleness of manners, and inclining them to virtue; all which constitute the felicity of a state, and are equally necessary to citizens of all conditions. In this view he appointed salaries (paid by the state) for masters and preceptors; in order that learning, by being communicated gratuitously, might be acquired by all. He considered ignorance as the greatest of evils, and the source whence all vices flowed.

5. He made a law with respect to orphans which appears sufficiently judicious, by intrusting the care of their education to their relations by the mother's side, as their lives would not be in danger from them; and the management of their estates to their paternal relations, it being the interest of the latter to make the greatest advantage of them, since they would inherit them, in case of the demise of their wards.

6. Instead of putting deserters to death, and those who quitted their ranks and fled in battle, he only sentenced them to make their appearance during three days in the city, dressed in the habit of women, imagining, that the dread of so ignominious a punishment would be equally efficacious with putting to death; and being, at the same time, desirous of giving such cowardly citizens an opportunity of atoning for their fault.

7. To prevent his laws from being too rashly or easily abrogated, he imposed a very severe and hazardous condition on all persons who should propose to alter or amend them in any manner. They were to appear in the public assembly with a halter about their necks; and in case the alteration proposed did not pass, they were to be immediately strangled. There were but three amendments ever proposed, and all of them admitted.

Charondas did not long survive his own laws. Returning one day from pursuing some thieves, and finding a tumult in the city, he came armed into the assembly, though he himself had prohibited this by an express law. A certain person objected to him in severe terms, that he violated his own laws: "I do not violate them," says he, "but thus seal them with my blood;" saying which, he plunged his sword into his bosom, and expired.

IV. *Zaleucus, another lawgiver.*

At the same time there arose among the Locrians

another famous legislator,² Zaleucus by name, who, as well as Charondas, had been Pythagoras's disciple. There is now scarce any thing extant of his, except a kind of preamble to his laws, which gives a most advantageous idea of them. He requires, above all things, of the citizens, to believe and be firmly persuaded, that there are gods; and adds, that the bare casting up our eyes to the heavens, and contemplating their order and beauty, are sufficient to convince us, that it is impossible so wonderful a fabric could have been formed by mere chance or human power. As the natural consequence of this belief, he exhorts men to honour and revere the gods, as the authors of whatever is good and just among mortals; and to honour them, not merely by sacrifices and splendid gifts, but by a circumspect conduct, and by purity and innocence of manners; these being infinitely more grateful to the deities than all the sacrifices that can be offered.

After this exordium, so pregnant with religion and piety, in which he describes the Supreme Being as the primary source whence all laws flow, as the chief authority which commands obedience to them, as the most powerful motive for our faithful observance of them, and as the perfect model to which mankind ought to conform: he descends to the particulars of those duties which men owe to one another; and lays down a precept which is very well adapted to preserve peace and unity in society by enjoining the individuals who compose it not to make their hatred and dissensions perpetual, which would evince an unsocial and savage disposition; but to treat their enemies as men who would soon be their friends. This is carrying morality to as great a perfection as could be expected from heathens.

With regard to the duty of judges and magistrates, after representing to them, that in pronouncing sentence they ought never to suffer themselves to be biased by friendship, hatred, or any other passion; he only exhorts them to avoid carefully all haughtiness or severity towards the parties engaged in law, since such are but too unhappy in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues inseparable from lawsuits. The office indeed of judges, how laborious soever it may be, is far from giving them a right to vent their ill humour upon the contending parties; the very condition and essence of their employment require them to behave with impartiality, and to do justice on all occasions; and when they distribute this even with mildness and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they grant.

To banish luxury from his republic, which he looked upon as the certain destruction of a government, he did not follow the practice established in some nations, where it is thought sufficient, for the restraining it, to punish, by pecuniary mulcts, such as infringe the laws; but he acted, says the historian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the same time more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich and costly stuffs, embroidered robes, jewels, earrings, neck-laces, bracelets, gold-rings, and such-like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common prostitutes. He enacted a similar law with regard to the men: excepting in the same manner, from the observance of it, such only as were willing to pass for debauchees and infamous wretches. In these regulations he easily, and without violence, preserved the citizens from the least approaches to luxury and effeminacy.³ For no person was so lost to all sense of honour, as to be willing to wear the badges of his shame, under the eye, as it were, of all the citizens, since this would make him the public laughing stock, and reflect eternal infamy on his family.

V. *Milo, the champion.*

We have seen him at the head of an army obtain a great victory. However, he was still more renowned for his athletic strength than for his military bravery. He was surnamed the Crotonian, from Crotona the

¹ Diod. l. xii. p. 70—83.

² More inter veteres recepta, qui satis penarum adversa impudicus in ipsa professionis flagitii crederetur. Tacit. *Annal.* l. ii. c. 83.

³ Delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum, et penis quidem nunquam satis coercitum. Tacit. *Annal.* l. i. c. 30.

place of his birth. It was his daughter, whom, as was before related, Democedes the famous physician, and Milo's countryman, married, after he had escaped from Darius's court to Greece, his native country.

Pausanias relates,¹ that Milo was seven times victorious at the Pythian games, once when a child; that he won six victories (at wrestling) in the Olympic games, one of which was also gained in his childhood; and that challenging a seventh time (in Olympia) any person to wrestle with him, he could not engage for want of an opponent. He would hold a pomegranate in such a manner, that, without breaking it, he would grasp it so fast in his hand, that no one, however strong, could possibly wrest it from him. He would stand so firm on a *discus*,² which had been oiled to make it the more slippery, that it was impossible to push him off. He would bind his head with a cord, after which holding his breath strongly, the veins of his head would swell so prodigiously as to break the rope. When Milo, fixing his elbow on his side, stretched forth his right hand quite open, with his fingers held close one to the other, his thumb excepted, which he raised, the utmost strength of man could not separate his little finger from the other three.

All this was only a vain and puerile ostentation of his strength. Chance, however, gave him an opportunity of making a much more laudable use of it. One day,³ as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras (for he was one of his most constant disciples,) the pillar which supported the ceiling of the school in which the pupils were assembled, being shaken by some accident, Milo supported it by his single strength, gave the auditors time to get away, and having provided for their safety, he afterwards escaped himself.

What is related of the voracious appetite of the athlete is almost incredible. Milo's appetite was scarce satiated with twenty minæ (pounds) of meat, the same quantity of bread, and three *congiæ* of wine every day.⁴ Athenæus relates, that this champion having run the whole length of the stadium, with a bull four years old on his shoulders, he afterwards knocked him down with one stroke of his fist, and ate the whole beast that very day. I will take it for granted, that all the other particulars related of Milo are true; but is it in the slightest degree probable, that one man could devour a whole ox in so short a time?

We are told that Milo,⁵ when advanced to a very great age, seeing the rest of the champions wrestling, and grazing upon his own arms, which once were so vigorous and robust, but were then very much enfeebled by time, burst into tears and cried, *Alas! these arms are now dead.*

And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakness from himself;⁶ and the confident persuasion which he entertained of his own strength, and which he preserved to the last, proved fatal to him. Happening to meet, as he was travelling, an old oak, which had been opened by some wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to split it in two by his bare strength. But after forcing out the wedges by the exertion he made, his arms were caught in the trunk of the tree, by the violence with which it closed; so that being unable to disengage his hands he was devoured by wolves.

An author has judiciously observed,⁷ that this surprisingly robust champion, who prided himself so much on his bodily strength, was the weakest of men with regard to a passion, which often subdues and captivates the strongest; a courtesan having gained so great an ascendancy over Milo, that she tyrannized over him in the most imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands she laid upon him.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR OF PELOPONNESUS.

THE Peloponnesian war, which I am now entering upon, began about A. M. 3579. the end of the first year of the Ant. J. C. 431. eighty-seventh Olympiad, and lasted twenty-seven years. Thucydides has written the history of it to the twenty-first year inclusively. He gives us an accurate account of the several transactions of every year, which he divides into campaigns and winter-quarters. However, I shall not be so minute, and shall only extract such parts of it as appear most entertaining and instructive. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus will also be of great assistance to me on this occasion.

SECTION I.—THE SIEGE OF PLATEÆ BY THE THEBANS. ALTERNATE RAVAGES OF ATTICA AND PELOPONNESUS. HONOURS PAID TO THE ATHENIANS WHO FELL IN THE FIRST CAMPAIGN.

The first year of the war.

THE first act of hostility by which the war began,⁸ was committed by the Thebans, who besieged Plateæ, a city of Boeotia, in alliance with Athens. They were introduced into it by treachery; but the citizens falling upon them in the night, killed them all, with the exception of about 200, who were taken prisoners, and who a little after were put to death. The Athenians, as soon as the news was brought of the action at Plateæ, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms.

The truce being evidently broken, both sides prepared openly for war; and ambassadors were sent to all places to strengthen themselves by the alliance of the Greeks and barbarians. Every part of Greece was in motion, some few states and cities excepted, which continued neuter, till they should see the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and espoused their interest very warmly, because the Athenians, forgetting that the moderation and gentleness with which they commanded over others, had procured them many allies, had afterwards alienated the greatest part of them by their pride and the severity of their government, and incurred the hatred, not only of those who were then subject to them, but of all such as were apprehensive of becoming their dependants. In this temper of mind were the Greeks at that time. The confederates of each of those two states were as follow.

All Peloponnesus, Argos excepted, which stood neuter, had declared for Lacedæmonia. The Achæans, the inhabitants of Pelene excepted, were neuter, at first, but at length insensibly engaged in the war. Out of Peloponnesus were the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium, on the side of the Lacedæmonians.

The confederates of the Athenians were, the people of Chios, Lesbos, Plateæ, the Messenians of Naupactus; the greatest part of the Acarnanians, Corcyreans, Cephalenians, and Zacynthians, besides the several tributary countries, as maritime Caria, Doria that lies near it, Ionia, the Hellespont; and the cities of Thrace, Chalcis, and Potidæa excepted, all the islands between Crete and Peloponnesus, eastward; and the Cyclades, Melos and Thera excepted.

Immediately after the attempt on Plateæ, the Lacedæmonians had ordered forces to be levied both within and without Peloponnesus; and made all the preparations necessary for entering the enemy's country. All things being ready, two thirds of the troops marched to the isthmus of Corinth, and the rest were left to guard the country. Archidamus, king of Lacedæmonia, who commanded the army, assembled the generals and chief officers, and calling to their remembrance the great actions performed by their ancestors, and those they themselves had done,

¹ Ilib. vi. p. 360. 370.

² This discus was a kind of quoit, flat and round.

³ Strab. l. vi. p. 263.

⁴ Thirty pounds, or eighteen pints.

⁵ Athen. l. x. p. 412.

⁶ Cic. de Senect. n. 27.

⁷ Paus. l. vi. p. 370.

⁸ Aelian. l. ii. c. 24.

⁹ Thucyd. l. ii. p. 99—102. Diod. l. xii. p. 97—100. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

or been eye-witnesses to, he exhorted them to support, with the utmost efforts of their valour, the pristine glory of their respective cities, as well as their own fame. He represented to them, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; and that in expectation of the issue of a war which would determine their fate, they were incessantly addressing heaven in favour of a people, who were as dear to them as the Athenians were become odious; that, however, he could not deny, that they were going to march against an enemy, who, though greatly inferior to them in numbers and in strength, were nevertheless very powerful, warlike, and daring; and whose courage would doubtless be still more inflamed by the sight of danger, and the laying waste of their territories: that therefore they must exert themselves to the utmost, to spread an immediate terror in the country they were going to enter, and to inspire the allies with confidence. The whole army answered with the loudest acclamations of joy, and repeated assurances that they would do their duty.

The assembly breaking up, Archidamus, ever zealous for the welfare of Greece, and resolving to neglect no expedient that might prevent a rupture, the dreadful consequences of which he foresaw, sent a Spartan to Athens, to endeavour, before they should come to hostilities, to prevail, if possible, with the Athenians to lay aside their designs; now that they saw an army ready to march into Attica. But the Athenians, so far from admitting him to audience, or hearing his reasons, would not so much as suffer him to come into their city; Pericles having prevailed with the people to make an order, that no herald or ambassador should be received from the Lacedæmonians till they had first laid down their arms. In consequence of this, the Spartan was commanded to leave the country that very day: and an escort was sent to guard him to the frontiers, and to prevent his speaking to any person by the way. At his taking leave of the Athenians, he told them, that day would be the beginning of the great calamities that would ensue to all Greece. Archidamus, seeing no hopes of a reconciliation, marched for Attica, at the head of 60,000 chosen troops.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entered the country, declared to the Athenians that should Archidamus, when he was laying waste their territories, spare his (Pericles's) lands, either on account of the rights of hospitality which subsisted between them, or to furnish his enemies, and those who envied him, with a handle to slander him, as holding intelligence with him, he from that day, made over all his lands and houses to the city of Athens. He demonstrated to the Athenians, that the welfare of the state depended upon consuming the enemy's troops, by protracting the war; and that for this purpose they must immediately remove all their effects out of the country, retire to the city, and shut themselves up in it without ever hazarding a battle. The Athenians, indeed, had not forces enough to take the field and oppose the enemy. Their troops, exclusive of those in garrison, amounted but to 13,000 heavy-armed soldiers; and 16,000 inhabitants, including the young and old, the citizens as well as others, who were appointed to defend Athens: and besides these, 1200 troopers, including the archers who rode on horseback, and 1600 foot archers. This was the whole army of the Athenians. But their chief strength consisted in a fleet of 300 galleys, part of which were ordered to lay waste the enemy's country, and the rest to save the allies, on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expenses of the war.

The Athenians, animated by the ardent exhortations of Pericles, brought from the country their wives, their children, their furniture, and all their effects, after which they pulled down their houses, and even carried off the timber. With regard to the cattle of all kinds, they conveyed them into the island of Eubœa and the neighbouring isles. However, they

were deeply afflicted at this sad and precipitate migration, and it drew plentiful tears from their eyes. From the time that the Persians had left their country, that is, for near fifty years, they had enjoyed the sweets of peace, wholly employed in cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks. But now they were obliged to abandon every thing. They took up their habitations in the city, as conveniently as they could, in the midst of such confusion; retiring either to their relations or friends: and some withdrew even to the temples and other public places.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, being set out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at Enœe, which is the first fortress towards Boœtia. They employed a long time in preparing for the attack, and raising the batteries; for which reason complaints were made against Archidamus, as if he carried on the war indolently, because he had not approved of it. He was accused of being too slow in his marches, and of encamping too long near Corinth. He was also charged with having been too dilatory in raising the army, as if he had desired to give the Athenians opportunity to carry off all their effects out of the country; whereas had he marched speedily into it, all they had might have been plundered and destroyed. His design, however, was to engage the Athenians, by these delays, to agree to an accommodation, and to prevent a rupture, the consequences of which he foresaw would be pernicious to all Greece. Finding, after making several assaults, that it would be impossible for him to take the city, he raised the siege, and entered Attica in the midst of the harvest. Having laid waste the whole country, he advanced as far as Acharæ, one of the greatest towns near Athens, and but 1500 paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exasperated to see him advanced so near, would sally out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of coming to a battle.

It indeed was not without much difficulty that the Athenians (haughty and imperious as they were) could endure to be braved and insulted in this manner by an enemy, whom they did not think superior to themselves in courage. They were eye-witnesses of the dreadful havoc made of their lands, and saw all their houses and farms in a blaze. They could no longer bear this sad spectacle, and therefore demanded fiercely to be led out against the Lacedæmonians, be the consequence what it would. Pericles saw plainly, that the Athenians would thereby hazard every thing, and expose their city to certain destruction, should they march out to engage, under the walls of their city, an army of 60,000 fighting men composed of the choicest troops at that time in Boœtia and Peloponnesus. Besides, he had made it his chief maxim to spare the blood of the citizens, since that was an irreparable loss. Pursuing inflexibly, therefore, the plan he had laid down, and studious of nothing but how he might check the impatience and ardour of the Athenians, he was particularly careful not to assemble either the senate or the people, lest they should form some fatal resolution, in spite of all the opposition in his power. His friends used every effort imaginable to make him change his conduct. His enemies, on the other side, endeavoured to stagger him by their menaces and slanderous discourses. They strove to sting him by songs and satires, in which they aspersed him as a man of a cowardly, unfeeling disposition, who basely gave up his country to the sword of the enemy. But no man showed so much rancour against Pericles as Cleon.² He was the son of a currier, and also followed that trade himself. He had raised himself by faction, and probably by a species of merit which those must possess who would rise in popular governments. He had a thundering and overbearing voice; and possessed besides, in a wonderful manner, the art of gaining the people, and engaging them in his interest. It was he who enacted a law, that three *oboli* (not two as before) should be given to each of the 6000 judges. The characteris-

¹ *Gloria primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gregal. Tacit. Annal. l. xiii. c. 31.*

² *It is he whom Aristophanes has invighed so much against in several of his comedies.*

tics which more immediately distinguished him were, an unbounded self-conceit, a ridiculous arrogance of his uncommon merit, and a boldness of speech, which he carried to the highest pitch of insolence and effrontery, and spared no man. But none of these things could move Pericles.¹ His invincible strength of mind raised him above low, vulgar clamours. Like a good pilot in a raging storm, who, after he has given out the proper orders, and taken all the precautions necessary, is studious of nothing but how to make the best use of his art, without suffering himself to be moved by the tears or entreaties of those whom fear has distracted; Pericles, in like manner, after having put the city in a good posture of defence, and posted guards in all places to prevent a surprise, followed those counsels which his prudence suggested, entirely regardless of the complaints, the taunts, and licentious invectives, of the citizens; from a firm persuasion, that he knew much better than they in what manner they were to be governed. It then appeared evidently, says Plutarch,² that Pericles was absolute master of the minds of the Athenians, since he prevailed so far (at such a juncture as this) as to keep them from sallying out of the city;³ as if he had kept the keys of the city in his own possession, and fixed on their arms the seal of his authority, to forbid their making use of them. Things happened exactly as Pericles had foretold; for the enemy, finding the Athenians were determined not to stir out of their city, and having advice that the enemy's fleet were carrying fire and sword into their territories, they raised their camp, and after making dreadful havoc in the whole country through which they marched, they retired to Peloponnesus, and retired to their several homes.

It might here be asked, why Pericles acted, on this occasion, in quite a different manner from what Themistocles had done about fifty years before, when, at Xerxes's approach, he made the Athenians march out of their city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a little reflection will show, that the circumstances differed widely. Themistocles, being invaded by all the forces of the East, justly concluded that it would be impossible for him to withstand, in a single city, those millions of barbarians who would have poured upon it like a deluge, and deprived him of all hopes of being succoured by his allies. This is the reason given by Cicero. *Fluctum enim totius Barbaria ferre urbs una non poterat.* It was therefore prudent in him to retire for some time, and to let the confused multitude of barbarians consume and destroy one another. But Pericles was not engaged in so formidable and oppressive a war. The odds were not very great, and he foresaw it would allow him intervals in which he might breathe. Thus, like a judicious man and an able politician, he kept close in Athens, and could not be moved either by the remonstrances or murmurs of the citizens. Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus,⁴ condemns absolutely the resolution which Pompey formed and executed, of abandoning Rome to Caesar; whereas he ought, in imitation of Pericles, to have shut himself up in it with the senate, the magistrates, and the flower of the citizens who had declared in his favour.

After the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians put troops into all the important posts both by sea and land, pursuant to the plan they intended to follow, as long as the war continued. They also came to a resolution to keep always 1000 talents in reserve,⁵ and 100 galleys; and never to use them, except the enemy should invade Attica by sea; at the same time making it death for any man to propose the employing them any other way.

The galleys which had been sent into Peloponnesus made dreadful havoc there, which consoled the Athenians, in some measure, for the losses they had sus-

tained. One day, as the forces were going on board and Pericles was entering his own ship, a sudden and total eclipse of the sun ensued, and the earth was overspread with the deepest gloom. This phenomenon filled the minds of the Athenians with the utmost terror; who were wont, through superstition, and the ignorance of natural causes, to consider such events as fatal omens. Pericles seeing the pilot who was on board his ship astonished, and incapable of managing the helm, threw his cloak over his face, and asked him whether he saw; the pilot answering, that the cloak hindered him; Pericles then gave him to understand, that a like cause, viz. the interposition of the vast body of the moon between his eyes and the sun prevented his seeing its splendour.

The first year of the war of Peloponnesus being now elapsed,⁶ the Athenians, during the winter, solemnized public funerals, according to ancient custom (a custom conformable to the dictates of humanity and gratitude,) in honour of those who had lost their lives in that campaign, a ceremony which they constantly observed, during the whole course of that war. For this purpose, they set up, three days before, a tent, in which the bones of the deceased citizens were exposed, and every person strewed flowers, incense, perfumes, and other things of the same kind, upon those remains. They afterwards were put on carriages, in coffins made of cypress-wood, every tribe having its particular coffin and carriage; but in one of the latter a large empty coffin⁷ was carried in honour of those whose bodies had not been found. The procession marched with a grave, majestic, and religious pomp; a great number of the inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners, assisted at this mournful solemnity. The relations of the deceased officers and soldiers stood weeping at the sepulchre. These bones were carried to a public monument, in the finest suburb of the city, called the Ceranicus; where were buried, in all ages, those who lost their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon, who, to immortalize their rare valour were interred in the field of battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the citizens of the greatest distinction pronounced their funeral oration. Pericles was now appointed to exercise this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from the sepulchre to the tribunal, in order to be the better heard, and spoke the oration, the whole of which Thucydides has transmitted to us. Whether it was really composed by Pericles, or by the historian, we may affirm that it is truly worthy the reputation of both those great men, as well for the noble simplicity of the style, as for the just beauty of the thoughts, and the grandeur of the sentiments which pervade every part of it. After having paid,⁸ in so solemn a manner, this double tribute of tears and applauses, to the memory of those brave soldiers who had sacrificed their lives to defend the liberties of their country: the public, who did not confine their gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their widows, and all their infant orphans. This was a powerful incentive to animate the courage of the citizens;⁹ for great men are formed, where merit is best rewarded.

About the close of the same campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odrysians in Thrace; and, in consequence of this treaty, his son was admitted a citizen of Athens. They also came to an accommodation with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, by restoring to him the city of Therniz, after which they joined their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis.

SECTION II.—THE PLAGUE MAKES DREADFUL HAVOC IN ATTICA. PERICLES IS DIVESTED OF THE COMMAND. THE LACEDÆMONIANS HAVE RECOURSE TO THE PERSIANS FOR AID. POTIUS IS TAKEN BY THE ATHENIANS. PERICLES IS RE-

¹ *Sperendia rumoribus valida. Tacit.*

² *Plut. An. Soti ger. sit. resp. p. 784.*

³ *Διεικλυται, αὐτὸς τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ ἄρχου καὶ τὰς κλῆϊ; τὴν ὥρην ἢ τοτ' ἐξαργυρίαντες.*

⁴ *Lib. vii. Epist. 11.*

⁵ *About 140,000*l*.*

⁶ *Thucyd. l. ii. p. 122—130.*

⁷ *Those are called Cenotaphia.*

⁸ *Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130.*

⁹ *Αἰδῶν γὰρ οἷς καίτοις ἀντὶς μύριστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἔργοντο πελιδνίσουσι.*

STORED TO HIS EMPLOYMENTS. HIS DEATH, AND THAT OF ANAXAGORAS.

Second and third years of the War.

IN the beginning of the second campaign,¹ the enemy made an incursion into the country as before, and laid it waste. But the plague

A. M. 3574. made a much greater devastation in Ant. J. C. 430. Athens; the like having never been known. It is related, that it began

in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence spread over Libya, and a great part of Persia; and at last broke at once, like a flood, upon Athens. Thucydides, who himself was seized with that distemper, has described very minutely the several circumstances and symptoms of it, in order, says he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity may serve as an instruction to posterity, in case the like should ever again happen. Hippocrates,² who was employed to visit the sick, has also described it as a physician, and Lucretius³ as a poet. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks; and the greatest care and skill of the physicians were a feeble help to those who were infected. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The assistance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all such of their relations or friends as had the courage to approach them. The quantity of baggage, which had been removed out of the country into the city, proved very noxious. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarce breathe, during the raging heat of the summer, so that they were soon either piled one upon the other (the dead as well as those who were dying,) or else crawling through the streets; or lying along by the side of fountains, to which they had dragged themselves, to quench the raging thirst which consumed them. The very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death; without the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to the time to come.

The plague,⁴ before it spread into Attica, had made great ravages in Persia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the high reputation of Hippocrates of Cos, the greatest physician of that or any other age, caused his governors to write to him, to invite him into his dominions, in order that he might prescribe to those who were infected. The king made him the most advantageous offers; setting no bounds to his rewards on the side of interest, and, with regard to honours, promising to make him equal with the most considerable persons in his court. The reader has already been told, the prodigious regard which was shown to the Grecian physicians in Persia; and, indeed, can services of such importance be too well rewarded? However, all the glitter of the Persian riches and dignities was not able to tempt Hippocrates; nor stilled the hatred and aversion which was become natural to the Greeks for the Persians, ever since the latter had invaded them. This great physician therefore, sent no other answer than this.—That he was free from either wants or desires; that all his cares were due to his fellow-citizens and countrymen; and that he was under no obligation to barbarians, the declared enemies of Greece. Kings are not used to denials. Artaxerxes, therefore, in the highest transports of rage, sent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at that time; commanding them to deliver up to him that insolent wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign punishment; and threatening, in case they refused, to lay waste their city and island in such a manner, that not the least footsteps of it should remain. However, the inhabitants of Cos were not under the least terror. They made answer, that the menaces of Da-

rius and Xerxes had not been able in former times to prevail with them to give them earth and water, or to obey their orders; that Artaxerxes's threats would be equally impotent; that, let what would be the consequences, they would never give up their fellow citizen; and that they depended on the protection of the gods.

Hippocrates had said in one of his letters, that his services were due entirely to his countrymen. And, indeed, the instant he was sent for to Athens, he went thither, and did not once stir out of the city till the plague was quite ceased. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the sick; and to multiply himself, as it were, he sent several of his disciples into all parts of the country; after having instructed them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians were struck with the deepest sense of gratitude for this generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained, by a public decree, that Hippocrates should be initiated in the greater mysteries, in the same manner as Hercules the son of Jupiter; that a crown of gold should be presented to him, of the value of 1000 staters,⁵ amounting to 500 pistoles French money; and that the decree by which it was granted him should be read aloud by a herald in the public games, on the solemn festival of Panathenæa: that the freedom of the city should be given him, and himself be maintained, at the public charge, in the Prytæum, all his lifetime, in case he thought proper: in fine, that the children of all the people of Cos, whose city had given birth to so great a man, might be maintained and brought up in Athens, in the same manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean time, the enemy having marched into Attica, came down towards the coast, and advancing still forward laid waste the whole country. Pericles resolutely adhering to the maxim he had established, not to expose the safety of the state to the hazard of a battle, would not suffer his troops to sally out of the city: however, before the enemy left the open country, he sailed to Peloponnesus with 100 galleys, in order to hasten their retreat by so powerful a diversion; and after having made a dreadful havoc (as he had done the first year) he returned into the city. The plague was still there as well as in the fleet, and it spread to those troops that were besieging Potidea.

The campaign being thus ended, the Athenians, who saw their country depopulated by two great scourges, war and pestilence, began to despond and to murmur against Pericles; considering him as the author of all their calamities, as he had involved them in that fatal war. They therefore sent a deputation to Lacedæmonia, to obtain, if possible, an accommodation by some means or other, firmly resolved to make whatever concessions should be demanded of them; however, the ambassadors returned back without being able to obtain any terms. Complaints and murmurs now broke out afresh; and the whole city was in such a trouble and confusion, as seemed to prognosticate the worst of evils. Pericles, in the midst of this universal consternation, could not forbear assembling the people; and endeavoured to soften, and at the same time to encourage them, by justifying himself. "The reasons," says he, "which induced you to undertake this war, and which you all approved at that time, are still the same; and are not changed by the alteration of circumstances, which neither you nor myself could foresee. Had it been left to your option to make choice of peace or war, the former would certainly have been the most eligible: but as there was no other means for preserving your liberty, but by drawing the sword, was it possible for you to hesitate? If we are citizens who truly love our country, ought our private misfortunes to make us neglect the common welfare of the state? Every man feels the evil which afflicts himself, because it is present; but no one is sensible of the good which will result from it, because it is not come. Have you forgotten the strength and grandeur of your empire? Of the two parts which form this globe of ours, viz. the land

¹ Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130—147. *Diod. p. 101, 102. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171.*

² Epidem. l. iii. § 3.

³ Lib. vi.

⁴ Hippocrat. in *Epid.*

⁵ The Attic stater was a gold coin weighing two drachms. It is in the original *στατὴρ χρυσ.*

and sea, you have absolute possession of the latter; and no king, nor any other power is able to oppose your fleets. The question now is, whether you will preserve this glory and this empire, or resign it for ever. Be not therefore grieved because you are deprived of a few country-houses and gardens, which ought to be considered no otherwise than as the frame of the picture, though you would seem to make them the picture itself. Consider, that if you do but preserve your liberty, you will easily recover them; but that should you suffer yourselves to be deprived of this blessing, you will lose every valuable possession with it. Do not show less generosity than your ancestors, who, for the sake of preserving it, abandoned even their city; and who, though they had not inherited such a glory from their ancestors, yet suffered the worst of evils, and engaged in the most perilous enterprises, to transmit it to you. I confess that your present calamities are exceedingly grievous, and I myself am duly sensible and deeply afflicted for them. But it is just in you to exclaim against your general, for an accident that was not to be diverted by all the prudence of man; and to make him responsible for an event, in which he has not the least concern? We must submit patiently to those evils which Heaven inflicts upon us, and vigorously oppose such as arise from our fellow-creatures. As to the hatred and jealousy, which attend on your prosperity, they are the usual lot of all who believe themselves worthy of commanding. However, hatred and envy are not long-lived, but the glory that accompanies exalted actions is immortal. Revolve therefore perpetually in your minds now shameful and ignominious it is for men to bow the neck to their enemies, and how glorious it is to triumph over them; and then, animated by this double reflection, march on to danger with joy and intrepidity, and do not crouch so tamely in vain to the Lacedæmonians; and call to mind, that those who display the greatest bravery and resolution in dangers, acquire the most esteem and applause."

The motives of honour and fame, the remembrance of the great actions of their ancestors, the grateful title of sovereigns of Greece, and above all, jealousy against Sparta, the ancient perpetual rival of Athens, were the usual motives which Pericles employed to influence and animate the Athenians, and they had hitherto never failed of success. But on this occasion, the sense of present evils prevailed over every other consideration, and stifled all other thoughts. The Athenians indeed did not design to sue to the Lacedæmonians any more for peace, but the mere sight and presence of Pericles was insupportable to them. They therefore deprived him of the command of the army, and sentenced him to pay a fine, which, according to some historians, amounted to fifteen talents, and, according to others, fifty.¹

However, this public disgrace of Pericles was not to be very lasting. The anger of the people was appeased by this first effort, and had spent itself in this injurious treatment of him, as the bee leaves its sting in the wound. But he was not now so happy with regard to his domestic evils; for, besides his having lost a great number of his friends and relations by the pestilence, feuds and divisions had long reigned in his family. Xanthippus, his eldest son, who himself was extremely profuse, and had married a young wife no less extravagant, could not bear his father's exact economy, who allowed him but a very small sum for his pleasures. This made him borrow money in his father's name. When the lender demanded his debt of Pericles, he not only refused to pay, but even prosecuted him for it. Xanthippus was so enraged, that he inveighed in the strongest terms against his father, exclaiming against him in all places, and ridiculing openly the assemblies he held at his house, and his conferences with the Sophists. He did not know that a son, though treated unjustly (which was far otherwise in his case,) ought to submit patiently to the injustice of his father, as a citizen ought to suffer that of his country.

The plague carried off Xanthippus. At the same time Pericles lost his sister, with many of his relations and best friends, whose assistance he most wanted in the administration. But he did not sink under these losses; his strength of mind was not shaken by them; and he was not seen to weep or show the usual marks of sorrow at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of Paralus, the last of his legitimate children. Stunned by that violent blow, he did his utmost to preserve his usual tranquillity, and not show any outward symptoms of sorrow. But when he was to put the crown of flowers upon the head of his dead son, he could not support the cruel spectacle, nor stifle the transports of his grief, which forced its way in cries, in sobs, and a flood of tears.

Pericles, misled by the principles of a false philosophy, imagined, that bemoaning the death of his relations and children, would betray a weakness inconsistent with that greatness of soul which he had ever shown: and that on this occasion, the sensibility of the father would sully the glory of the conqueror. How gross an error! how childish an illusion! which either makes heroism consist in wild and savage cruelty; or, leaving the same grief and confusion in the mind, assumes a vain outside of constancy and resolution, merely to be admired. But does martial bravery extinguish nature? Is a man dead to all feeling, because he makes a considerable figure in the state? The emperor Antonius had a much juster way of thinking, when on occasion of Marcus Aurelius's lamenting the death of the person who had brought him up, he said, "Suffer him to be a man, for neither philosophy nor sovereignty renders us insensible."²

Fickleness and inconstancy were the prevailing characteristics of the Athenians; and as these carried them on a sudden to the greatest excesses, they soon brought them back again within the bounds of moderation and gentleness. It was not long before they repented the injury they had done Pericles, and earnestly wished to see him again in their assemblies. By dint of suffering, they began to be in some measure inured to their domestic misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and in their ardour for reinstating its affairs they did not know any person more capable of effecting it than Pericles. He, at that time, never stirred out of his house, and was in the utmost grief for the loss he had sustained. However, Alcibiades and the rest of his friends entreated him to go abroad and show himself in public. The people asked him pardon for their ungrateful usage to him; and Pericles, moved with their entreaties, and persuaded that it did not become a good citizen to harbour the least resentment against his country, resumed the government.

About the end of the second campaign, some ambassadors had set out from Lacedæmon, commissioned to solicit the king of Persia's alliance, and engage him to furnish a sum of money for maintaining the fleet: this step was most disgraceful to the Lacedæmonians who called themselves the deliverers of Greece, since they thereby retracted or sullied the glorious actions they had formerly achieved in her defence against Persia. They went by way of Thrace, in order to disengage Sitacles from the alliance of the Athenians and prevail with him to succour Potidæa. But they here met with some Athenian ambassadors who caused them to be arrested as disturbers of the public peace, and afterwards to be sent to Athens, where, without suffering them to be heard, they were put to death the same day; and their bodies thrown on a dung-hill, by way of reprisal on the Lacedæmonians, who treated all who were not of their party in the same inhuman manner. It is scarce possible to conceive how two cities, which a little before, were so strongly united, and ought to have prided themselves upon showing a mutual civility and forbearance towards each other, could contract so inveterate a ha-

¹ Permitti illi, ut homo sit; neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit affectus. *Jul. Capitol. in vit. Antonine Pii.*

² Fifteen or fifty thousand French crowns.

tred, and break into such cruel acts of violence, as infringed all the laws of war, humanity, and nations: and prompt them to exercise greater cruelties upon one another, than if they had been at war with barbarians.

Potidea had now been besieged almost three years; when the inhabitants, reduced to extremity, and in such want of provisions that some fed on human flesh, and not expecting any succours from the Peloponnesians, whose attempts in Attica had all proved abortive, surrendered on conditions. The circumstances which made the Athenians treat them with lenity, were, the severity of the weather, which exceedingly annoyed the besiegers; and the prodigious expense of the siege,¹ which had already cost 2000 talents.² They therefore came out of the city with their wives and children, as well citizens as foreigners, with each but one suit of clothes, and the women two, and carried off nothing but a little money to procure them a settlement. The Athenians blamed their generals for granting this capitulation without their order; because otherwise, as the citizens were reduced to the utmost extremities, they would have surrendered at discretion. They sent a colony thither.

The first thing Pericles did after A. M. 3575. his being re-elected generalissimo, Ant. J. C. 429. was to propose the abrogating of that law which he himself had caused to be enacted against bastards, when he had some legitimate children. It declared, that such only should be considered as native and legitimate Athenians, whose fathers and mothers were both natives of Athens; and it had been executed just before with the utmost rigour. For the king of Egypt³ having sent to Athens a present of 40,000 measures of corn to be distributed among the people, the bastards, on account of this new law, were involved in a thousand law-suits and difficulties, till then unpractised, and which had not been so much as thought of. Near 5000 of them were condemned and sold as slaves, whilst 14,040 citizens were confined in their privileges, and recognized as true Athenians. It was thought very strange, that the author and promoter of this law should himself desire to have it repealed. But the Athenians were moved to compassion at the domestic calamities of Pericles; so that they permitted him to enrol his bastard in the register of the citizens of his tribe, and to let him bear his own name.

A little after he himself was infected with the pestilence. Being Ant. J. C. 428. extremely ill, and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends as had not forsaken him, discoursing together in his bed-chamber about his rare merit, they ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories; for whilst he was generalissimo of the Athenians, he had erected for the glory of their city nine trophies, in memory of as many battles gained by him. They did not imagine that Pericles heard what they were saying, because he seemed to have lost his senses; but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him; when, breaking suddenly from his silence, "I am surprised," says he, "that you should treasure up so well in your memories, and extol so highly, a series of actions in which fortune had so great a share, and which are common to me with so many other generals: and at the same time should forget the most glorious circumstance in my life,—I mean my never having caused a single citizen to put on mourning." A fine saying! which very few in high stations can declare

with truth. The Athenians were deeply afflicted at his death.

The reader has doubtless observed, from what has been said of Pericles, that in him were united most qualities which constitute the great man; as those of the admiral, by his skill in naval affairs; of the great captain, by his conquest and victories; of the financier, by his excellent regulations of the public revenue; of the great politician, by the extent and justness of his views, by his eloquence in public deliberations, and by the dexterity and address with which he transacted affairs; of a minister of state by the methods he employed to increase trade and promote the arts in general; in fine, of father of his country, by the happiness he procured to every individual, and which he always had in view, as the true scope and end of his administration.

But I must not omit another characteristic which was peculiar to him. He acted with so much wisdom, moderation, disinterestedness, and zeal, for the public good; he discovered, in all things, so great a superiority of talents, and gave so exalted an idea of his experience, capacity, and integrity, that he acquired the confidence of all the Athenians; and fixed (in his own favour,) during forty years that he governed the Athenians, their natural fickleness and inconstancy. He suppressed that jealousy, which an extreme fondness for liberty had made them entertain against all citizens distinguished by their merit and great authority. But the most surprising circumstance is, he gained this great ascendancy merely by persuasion, without employing force, mean artifices, or any of those arts which a common politician excuses in himself, upon the specious pretence that the necessity of the public affairs and the interest of the state, require them.

Anaxagoras died the same year as Pericles.⁴ Plutarch relates a circumstance concerning him, that happened some time before, which must not be omitted. He says, that this philosopher, who had voluntarily reduced himself to excessive poverty, in order that he might have the greater leisure to pursue his studies; finding himself neglected in his old age by Pericles, who, in the multiplicity of the public affairs, had not always time to think of him; wrapped his cloak about his head,⁵ and threw himself on the ground, in the fixed resolution to starve himself. Pericles hearing of this accidentally, ran with the utmost haste to the philosopher's house, in the deepest affliction. He conjured him, in the strongest and most moving terms, not to throw his life away; adding, that it was not Anaxagoras but himself, that was to be lamented, if he was so unfortunate as to lose so wise and faithful a friend; one who was so capable of giving him wholesome counsels, in the pressing emergencies of the state. Anaxagoras then, uncovering a little his head, spoke thus to him: *Pericles, those who need the light of a lamp take care to feed it with oil.* This was a gentle, and at the same time a keen and piercing, reproach. Pericles ought to have supplied his wants unasked. Many lamps are extinguished in this manner in a country, by the criminal negligence of those who ought to supply them.

SECTION III.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS BESIEGE PLATÆÆ. MITYLENE IS TAKEN BY THE ATHENIANS. PLATÆÆ SURRENDERS. THE PLAGUE BREAKS OUT AGAIN IN ATHENS.

Fourth and fifth years of the war.

THE most memorable transaction of the following years,⁶ was the siege of Platææ, by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the most famous sieges of antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged, and their bold and

¹ The army which besieged Potidea consisted of 3000 men, exclusive of the 1600 who had been sent under the command of Phormio. Every soldier received (daily) two drachms, or twenty pence (French,) for master and man; and those of the galleys had the same pay. *Thucyd.* l. iii. p. 182.

² About 280,000*l.*

³ Plutarch does not name this king. Perhaps it was Inarus, son to Psammetichus king of Libya, who had caused part of the Egyptians to take up arms against Artaxerxes, and to whom the Athenians, above thirty years before, had sent succours against the Persians. *Thucyd.* l. i. p. 68.

⁴ Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

⁵ It was the custom for those to cover their heads with their cloaks, who were reduced to despair, and resolved to die.

⁶ *Thucyd.* l. ii. p. 147—151. *Diod.* l. xii. p. 102—100.

A. M. 3576.
Ant. J. C. 428.

industrious stratagem, by which several of them got out of the city, and by that means escaped the fury of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians besieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had pitched their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the surrounding country, the Plateans sent deputies to Archidamus, who commanded on that occasion, to represent that he could not attack them with the least shadow of justice, because that, after the famous battle of Platææ, Pausanias, the Grecian general, offering up a sacrifice in their city to Jupiter the Deliverer, in presence of all the allies, had given them their freedom, to reward their valour and zeal; and therefore that they ought not to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their liberties, since it had been granted them by a Lacedæmonian. Archidamus answered, that their demands would be very reasonable, had they not joined with the Athenians, the professed enemies to the liberties of Greece; but that, if they would disengage themselves from their present alliance, or at least remain neuter, they then should be left in the full enjoyment of their privileges. The deputies replied, that they could not possibly come to any agreement, without the cognizance of Athens, whither their wives and their children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither; when the Athenians promising solemnly to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Plateans resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than surrender; and accordingly they informed the Lacedæmonians, from their walls, that they could not comply with what was desired.

Archidamus then, after calling upon the gods to witness that he did not first infringe the alliance, and was not the cause of the calamities which might befall the Plateans, for having refused the just and reasonable conditions offered them, prepared for the siege. He surrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid long-ways, very close together, with their boughs interwoven, and turned towards the city, to prevent any person from going out of it. He afterwards threw up a platform to set the batteries on; in hopes that, as so many hands were employed, they should soon take the city. He therefore caused trees to be felled on Mount Cithæron, and interwove them with fascines, in order to support the terrace on all sides; he then threw into it wood, earth, and stones; in a word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole army worked night and day, without the least intermission, during seventy days; one half of the soldiers reposing themselves, whilst the rest were at work.

The besieged observing that the work began to rise, threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city opposite to the platform, in order that they might always out-top the besiegers; and filled the hollow of this wooden wall with the bricks they took from the rubbish of the neighbouring houses; so that the beams of timber served in a manner as a defence to keep the wall from falling, as it was carrying up. It was covered, on the outside, with hides, both raw and dry, in order to shelter the works and the workmen from the fires discharged against it. In proportion as it rose, the platform was raised also, which in this manner was carried to a great height. But the besieged made a hole in the opposite wall, in order to carry off the earth that sustained the platform; which the besiegers perceiving, they put baskets of reeds filled with mortar in the place of the earth which had been removed, because these could not be so easily carried off. The besieged, therefore, finding their first stratagem defeated, made a mine under ground as far as the platform, in order to work under cover, and to remove from it the earth and other materials of which it was composed, and which they gave from hand to hand, as far as the city. The besiegers were a considerable time without perceiving this, till at last they found that their work did not go forward, and that the more earth they laid on, the lower it sunk. But the besieged judging that the superiority of numbers would at length prevail; without wasting their time any longer on this work, or carrying the wall higher on the side towards the battery, contented themselves

with building another within, in the form of a half moon, both ends of which joined to the wall; in order that they might retire behind it when the first wall should be forced; and so oblige the enemy to make fresh works.

In the mean time the besiegers having set up their machines (doubtless after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not say this,) shook the city wall in a very terrible manner, which, though it alarmed the citizens very much, did not however discourage them. They employed every art that their imagination could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They prevented the effect of the battering-rams by ropes¹ which turned aside their strokes. They also employed another artifice: the two ends of a great beam were made fast by long iron chains to two large pieces of timber, supported at due distance upon the wall in the nature of a balance; so that whenever the enemy played their machine, the besieged lifted up this beam, and let it fall on the head of the battering-ram, which quite deadened its force, and consequently made it of no effect.

The besiegers finding the attack did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the place, and therefore changed the siege into a blockade. However, they first endeavoured to set fire to it, imagining that the town might easily be burnt down, as it was so small, whenever a strong wind should rise; for they employed all the artifice imaginable, to make themselves masters of it as soon as possible, and with little expense. They therefore threw fascines into the intervals between the walls of the city and the intrenchment with which they had surrounded them; and filled these intervals in a very little time, because of the multitude of hands employed by them; in order to set fire at the same time, to different parts of the city. They then lighted the fire with pitch and sulphur, which in a moment made such a prodigious blaze, that the like was never seen. This invention was very near carrying the city, which had baffled all others; for the besieged could not make head at once against the fire and the enemy in several parts of the town; and had the weather favoured the besiegers, as they flattered themselves it would, it had certainly been taken; but history informs us, that an exceeding heavy rain fell, which extinguished the fire.

This last effort of the besiegers having been defeated as successfully as all the rest, they now turned the siege into a blockade, and surrounded the city with a brick wall, strengthened on each side with a deep ditch. The whole army was engaged successively in this work, and when it was finished, they left a guard over half of it, the Boeotians offering to guard the rest; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned to Sparta, about the month of October. There were now in Platææ but 400 inhabitants, and fourscore Athenians, with 110 women to dress their victuals, and no other person, whether freeman or slave; all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege.

During the campaign, some engagements were fought both by sea and land, which I omit as being of no importance.

The next summer,² which was the fourth year of the war, the people of Lesbos, the citizens of Methymna excepted, resolved to break their alliance with the Athenians. They had designed to rebel before the war was declared, but the Lacedæmonians would not receive them at that time. The citizens of Methymna sent advice of this to the Athenians, assuring them, that if immediate succour was not sent, the island would be inevitably lost. The defection of the Athenians, who had sustained great losses by the war and the plague, was greatly increased, when news was brought of the revolt of so considerable an island, whose forces, which were hitherto unimpaired, would now join the enemy, and reinforce them on a sudden

¹ The lower end of these ropes formed a variety of slip-knots, with which they caught the head of the battering ram, which they raised up by the help of the machine.

² Thucyd. l. iii. p. 174—207. Diod. l. xii. p. 108, 109.

by the addition of a powerful fleet. The Athenians therefore immediately sent forty galleys designed for Peloponnesus, which accordingly sailed for Mitylene. The inhabitants, though in great consternation, because they were quite unprepared, yet put on the appearance of bravery, and sailed out of the port with their ships; however, being repulsed, they proposed an accommodation, which the Athenians listened to, from an apprehension that they were not strong enough to reduce the island to their allegiance. A suspension of arms was therefore agreed upon, during which the Mityleneans sent ambassadors to Athens. The fear of not obtaining their demands, made them send others to Lacedæmonia, to desire succours. This was not ill judged, the Athenians sending them an answer which they had no reason to interpret in their favour.

The ambassadors of Mitylene, after a dangerous voyage, being arrived in Lacedæmonia, the Spartans deferred giving them audience till the solemnization of the Olympic games, in order that the allies might hear the complaints they had to make. I shall repeat their whole speech on that occasion, as it may serve, at once, to give a just idea of Thucydides's style, and of the disposition of the several states towards the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. "We are sensible," said the ambassadors, "that it is usual to treat deserters well at first, because of the services they do those whom they fly to; but to despise them afterwards as traitors to their country and friends. This is far from being unjust, when they have no inducement to such a change; when the same union subsists, and the same aids are reciprocally granted. But it is far otherwise between us and the Athenians: and we entreat you not to be prejudiced against us, because, after having been treated mildly by the Athenians during the peace, we now renounce their alliance when they are unfortunate. For, since we are come hither to demand admittance into the number of your friends and allies, we ought to begin our own justification, by showing the justice and necessity of our procedure; it being impossible for a true friendship to be established between individuals, or a solid alliance between cities, unless both are founded on virtue, and uniformity of principles and sentiments.

"To come to the point: The treaty we concluded with the Athenians, was not to enslave Greece, but to free it from the yoke of the barbarians: and it was concluded from the retreat of the Persians, when you renounced the command. We adhered to it with pleasure, so long as the Athenians continued to entertain just designs; but when we saw that they discontinued the war which they were carrying on against the enemy, merely to oppress the allies, we could not but suspect their conduct. And as it was extremely difficult, in so great a diversity of interests and opinions, for all to continue in strict union; and still harder to make head against them, when alone and separated; they have subjected, by insensible degrees, all the allies, except the inhabitants of Chios, and our people; and used our own forces for this end. For, at the same time that they left us seemingly at our liberty, they obliged us to follow them; though we could no longer rely on their word, and had the strongest reason to fear the like treatment. And, indeed, what probability is there, after their enslaving all the other states, that they should show a regard to us only, and admit us upon the foot of equals, if they may become our masters whenever they please; especially as their power increases daily, in proportion as ours lessens? A mutual fear between confederates, is a strong motive to make an alliance lasting, and to prevent unjust and violent attempts, by keeping all things in an equilibrium. If they left us the enjoyment of our liberties, it was merely because they could not intrench upon them by open force, but only by that equity and specious moderation they have shown us. First they pretended to prove, from their moderate conduct in regard to us, that as we are free, we should not have marched in conjunction with them against the other allies, had they not given them just ground for complaint. Secondly, by attacking the weak and subduing them one after another,

they enabled themselves, by their ruin, to subject the most powerful without difficulty, who at last would be left alone, and without support; whereas, had they begun by invading us, at the time that the allies were possessed of all their strength, and were able to make some stand, they could not so easily have completed their design. Besides, as we had a large fleet, which would strengthen considerably whatever party we should declare for, this was a check upon them. Add to this, that the high regard we have always shown for their republic, and the endeavours we have used to gain the favour of those who commanded it, have suspended our ruin. But we had been undone, had not this war broke out; and of this the fate of others leaves us no room to doubt.

"What friendship, then, what lasting alliance, can be concluded with those who never are friends and allies, but when force is employed to make them continue such? For, as they were obliged to pay court to us during the war, to prevent our joining with the enemy; we were constrained to treat them with the same regard in time of peace, to prevent their falling upon us. That which love produces in other places, was with us the effect of fear. It was this circumstance that made an alliance subsist some time, which both parties were determined to break upon the very first favourable occasion; let therefore no one accuse us for the advantage we now take. We had not always the same opportunity to save ourselves, as they had to ruin us; but were under a necessity of waiting a favourable juncture, before we could venture to declare ourselves.

"Such are the motives which now oblige us to solicit your alliance: motives, the equity and justice of which appear very strong to us, and consequently call upon us to provide for our safety: we should have claimed your protection before, had you been sooner inclined to afford it us; for we offered ourselves to you, even before the war broke out: we are now come, at the persuasion of the Bœotians, your allies, to disengage ourselves from the oppressors of Greece, and join our arms with those of its defenders; and to provide for the security of our state, which is now in imminent danger. If any thing can be objected to our conduct, it is, our declaring so precipitately with more generosity than prudence, and without having made the least preparations. But this also ought to engage you to be the more ready in succouring us; that you may not lose the opportunity of protecting the oppressed, and avenging yourselves on your enemies. There never was a more favourable conjuncture than that which now offers itself; a conjuncture, when war and pestilence have consumed their forces, and exhausted their treasure: not to mention that their fleet is divided, by which means they will not be in a condition to resist you, should you invade them at the same time by sea and land. For, they either will leave us to attack you, and give us an opportunity of succouring you; or they will oppose us altogether, and then you will have but half their forces to deal with.

"As to what remains, let no one imagine that you will expose yourselves to dangers for a people incapable of doing you service. Our country indeed lies at a considerable distance from you, but our aid is near at hand. For the war will be carried on, not in Attica, as is supposed, but in that country whose revenues are the support of Attica, and we are not far from it. Consider, also, that in abandoning us, you will increase the power of the Athenians by the addition of ours; and that no state will then dare to revolt against them. But in succouring us, you will strengthen yourselves with a fleet which you so much want; and you will induce many other people, after our example, to join you; and you will take off the reproach cast upon you, of abandoning those who have recourse to your protection, which will be no inconsiderable advantage to you during the course of the war.

"We therefore implore you, in the name of Jupiter Olympius, in whose temple we now are, not to frustrate the hopes of the Greeks, nor reject suppliants; whose preservation may be highly advantageous, and whose ruin may be infinitely pernicious to you. Show

yourselves such now, as the idea entertained of your generosity, and the extreme danger to which we are reduced, demand; that is, the protectors of the afflicted, the deliverers of Greece."

The allies, struck with these reasons, admitted them into the alliance of Peloponnesus. An immediate incursion into the enemy's country was resolved, and that the allies should rendezvous at Corinth, with two-thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians arrived first, and prepared engines for transporting the ships from the gulf of Corinth into the sea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by sea and land. The Athenians were no less active on their side; but the allies, being employed in their harvest, and beginning to grow weary of the war, were a long time before they met.

During this interval, the Athenians, who perceived that all these preparations were made against them, from a supposition that they were very weak; in order to undeceive the world, and show that they were able to furnish a fleet without calling in any of their ships from before Lesbos, put to sea a fleet of 100 sail, which they manned with citizens as well as foreigners; not exempting a single citizen, except such only as were obliged to serve on horseback, or whose revenue amounted to 500 measures of corn. After having showed themselves before the isthmus of Corinth, to make a display of their power, they made descents into whatever part of Peloponnesus they pleased.

They never had had a finer fleet. They guarded their own country, and the coasts of Eubœa and Salamis with a fleet of 100 ships: they cruised round Peloponnesus with another fleet of the like number of vessels, without including their fleet before Lesbos and other places. The whole amounted to upwards of 250 galleys. The expenses of this powerful armament entirely exhausted their treasure, which had been very much drained before by those incurred by the siege of Potidea.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly surprised at so formidable a fleet, which they no ways expected, returned with the utmost expedition to their own country, and only ordered forty galleys to be fitted out for the succour of Mitylene. The Athenians had sent a reinforcement thither, consisting of 1000 heavy-armed troops, by whose assistance they made a contravallation, with forts in the most commodious places; so that it was blocked up both by sea and land, in the beginning of winter. The Athenians were in such great want of money for carrying on this siege, that they were reduced to assess themselves, which they had never before, and by this means 200 talents¹ were sent to it.

The people of Mitylene being in

A. M. 3577. want of all things, and having waited to no purpose for the succours which the Lacedæmonians had promised them, surrendered, upon condition that no person should be put to death or imprisoned, till the ambassadors, whom they should send to Athens, were returned; and that, in the mean time, the troops should be admitted into the city. As soon as the Athenians had got possession of the city, such of the factious Mityleneans as had fled to the islands for refuge, were conveyed to Tenedos, and afterwards to Athens. There the affair of the Mityleneans was debated. As their revolt had greatly exasperated the people, because it had not been preceded by any ill treatment, and seemed a mere effect of their hatred for the Athenians, in the first transports of their rage they resolved to put all their citizens to death indiscriminately, and to make all the women and children slaves; and immediately they sent a galley to put the decree in execution.

But night gave them leisure to reflect. This severity was judged too cruel, and carried beyond its due bounds. They imagined to themselves the fate of that unhappy city, entirely abandoned to slaughter, and repeated their having involved the innocent with the guilty. This sudden change of the Athenians

gave the Mitylenean ambassadors some little glimmering of hope; and they prevailed so far with the magistrates, as to have the affair debated a second time. Cleon, who had suggested the first decree, a man of a fiery temper, and who had great influence over the people, maintained his opinion with much vehemence and heat. He represented, that it was unworthy a wise government to change with every wind, and to annul in the morning what they had decreed the night before; and that it was highly important to take an exemplary vengeance on the Mityleneans, in order to awe the rest of their allies, who were every where ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the first assembly, now opposed his arguments more strongly than before. After describing, in a tender and pathetic manner, the deplorable condition of the Mityleneans, whose minds (he said) must necessarily be tortured with anxiety and suspense, whilst they were expecting a sentence that was to determine their fate; he represented to the Athenians, that the fame of their mildness and clemency had always reflected the highest honour on them, and distinguished them gloriously from all other nations. He observed, that the citizens of Mitylene had been drawn involuntarily into the rebellion; a proof of which was, their surrendering the city to them the instant it was in their power to do it: they, therefore, by this decree, would murder their benefactors and consequently be both unjust and ungrateful, as they would punish the innocent with the guilty. He observed farther, that supposing the Mityleneans in general were guilty, it would however be for the interest of the Athenians to dissemble, in order that the rigorous punishment they had decreed might not exasperate the rest of the allies; and that the best way to put a stop to the evil, would be to leave room for repentance, and not plunge people into despair, by the absolute and irrevocable refusal of a pardon. His opinion therefore was, that they should examine very deliberately the cause of those factious Mityleneans who had been brought to Athens, and pardon all the rest.

The assembly was very much divided, so that Diodorus carried it only by a few votes. A second galley was therefore immediately fitted out. It was furnished with every thing that might accelerate its course; and the ambassadors of Mitylene promised a great reward to the crew, provided they arrived in time. They therefore made extraordinary exertions, and did not quit their oars even when they took sustenance, but ate and drank as they rowed, and took their rest alternately; and very happily for them the wind was favourable. The first galley had got a day and night's sail before them; but as those on board carried ill news, they did not make great haste. Its arrival before the city had spread the utmost consternation in every part of it: but this consternation was increased infinitely, when the decree, by which all the citizens were sentenced to die, was read in a full assembly. Nothing now was heard in all places but cries and loud laments. The moment that the sentence was going to be put in execution, advice came that a second galley was arrived. Immediately the cruel massacre was suspended. The assembly was again convened: and the decree which granted a pardon was listened to with such silence and joy, as is much easier conceived than expressed.

All the factious Mityleneans who had been taken, though upwards of 1000, were put to death. The city was afterwards dismantled, the ships delivered up, and the whole island, the city of Methymna excepted, was divided into 3000 parts, 300 of which were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the rest divided by lot among such Athenians as were sent thither, to whom the natives of the country gave a revenue of two mines² for every portion; on which condition they were permitted to keep possession of the island, but not as proprietors. The cities which belonged to the Mityleneans on the coast of Asia, were all subjected by the Athenians.

¹ Two hundred thousand crowns, about 45,000*l.* sterling.

² The Attic mina was worth 100 drachms, that is, fifty French livres.

During the winter of the preceding campaign,¹ the inhabitants of Plateæ, having lost all hopes of succour, and being in the utmost want of provisions, formed a resolution to escape through the enemy: but half of them, struck with the greatness of the danger and the boldness of the enterprise, entirely lost their courage when they came to the execution; out the rest (who were about 220 soldiers) persisted in their resolution, and escaped in the following manner.

Before I begin the description of their escape, it will be proper to inform my readers, in what sense I use certain expressions which I shall employ in it. In strictness of speech, the line of fortification which is made round a city when besieged, to prevent sallies, is called *contravallation*; and that which is made to prevent any succours from without, is named *circumvallation*. Both these fortifications were used in this siege; however, for brevity's sake, I shall use only the former term.

The contravallation consisted of two walls, at sixteen feet distance one from the other. The space between the two walls being a kind of platform or terrace, seemed to be but one single building, and composed a range of cazerns or barracks, where the soldiers had their lodgings. lofty towers were built around it at proper distances, extending from one wall to the other, in order that they might be able to defend themselves at the same time against any attack from within and without. There was no going from one cazern to another without crossing those towers: and on the top of the wall was a parapet on both sides, where a guard was commonly kept; but in rainy weather, the soldiers used to shelter themselves in the towers, which served as guard-houses. Such was the contravallation, on both sides of which was a ditch, the earth of which had been employed in making the bricks of the wall.

The besieged first ascertained the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which composed it; and this they did at different times, and employed several men for that purpose, in order that they might not mistake in the calculation. This was the easier, because, as the wall stood at a small distance, every part of it was very visible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

All things being now ready for executing the design, the besieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain. After crossing the first ditch, they drew near to the wall undiscovered, through the darkness of the night; not to mention that the noise made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard. They marched at some distance from one another, to prevent the clashing of their arms, which were light, in order that those who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from sliding so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders laid them in the space between the towers, where they knew no guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the easier; and the shields were carried after them to be used in the conflict.

When most of them were got to the top of the wall, they were discovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet to keep himself steady, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole camp approached the wall without discovering the occasion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night and the violence of the storm. Besides which those who had stayed behind in the city, beat an alarm at the same time, in another quarter, to make a diversion: so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to quit their posts. But a body of reserve of 300 men, who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might

happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noise; and torches were held up towards Thebes, to show that they must run that way. But those in the city, to render that signal of no use, held up others at the same time in different quarters, having prepared them on the wall for that purpose.

In the mean time, those who had mounted first having possessed themselves of the two towers which flanked the intervals where the ladders were set, and having killed those who guarded them, posted themselves there to defend the passage, and kept off the besiegers. Then setting ladders from the top of the wall against the two towers, they caused a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by the discharge of their arrows, as well those who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as others who were hastening from the neighbouring towers. Whilst this was doing, they had time to set up several ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the rest might come up with greater ease. As fast as they came up, they went down on the other side, and drew up near the ditch on the outside, to shoot at those who appeared. After they were passed over, the men who were in the towers came down last, and made to the ditch to follow after the rest.

That instant the guard of 300, with torches, came up. However, as the Plateæans saw their enemies by this light better than they were seen by them, they took a surer aim, by which means the last crossed the ditch without being attacked in their passage: but this was not done without difficulty, because the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear, on account of the thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the storm was of great advantage to them.

After all were passed over, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat: because it was not likely that they would flee towards a city of the enemy's. And accordingly they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, pursuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that towards Thebes about six or seven stadia,² they turned short towards the mountain, and resumed the road towards Athens, whither 212 arrived out of 220 who had quitted the place; the rest having returned back through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side of the ditch of contravallation. The besiegers, after having pursued them to no purpose, returned to their camp.

In the mean time, the Plateæans who remained in the city supposing that all their companions had been killed (because those who returned, to justify themselves, affirmed they were), sent a herald to demand the dead bodies; but being told the true state of the affair, he withdrew.

About the end of the following campaign,³ which is that wherein Mitylene was taken, the Plateæans being in absolute want of provisions, and unable to make the least defence, surrendered, upon condition that they should not be punished till they had been tried by the due forms of justice. Five commissioners came for this purpose from Lacedæmon: and these, without charging them with any crime, barely asked them, whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war? The Plateæans were much surprised, as well as embarrassed by this question; and were sensible, that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies who had vowed their destruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium, and that of Plateæ; and particularly in Lacedæmonia, at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their slaves. The only reason (they declared) of their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was, to defend themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose: that if it was imputed to them for a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not how-

¹ Upwards of a quarter of a league.

² Thucyd. l. iii. p. 203-220. Diod. l. xii. p. 100

³ Thucyd. l. iii. p. 153-180.

ever entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former services. "Cast your eyes," said they, "on the monuments of your ancestors which you see here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the manes of the dead. You thought fit to intrust their bodies with us, as we were eye-witnesses of their bravery: and yet you now will give up their ashes to their murderers, in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought against them at the battle of Plateæ. Will you enslave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? Will you destroy the temples of those gods, to whom you are indebted for victory? Will you abolish the memory of their founders, who contributed so greatly to your safety? On this occasion, we may venture to say, our interest is inseparable from your glory: and you cannot deliver up your ancient friends and benefactors to the unjust hatred of the Thebans, without overwhelming yourselves with eternal infamy."

One would conclude, that these just remonstrances should have made some impression on the Lacedæmonians; but they were biassed more by the answer the Thebans made, which was expressed in the most haughty and bitter terms against the Plateæans; and besides, they had brought their instructions from Lacedæmon. They adhered therefore to their first question, *Whether the Plateæans had done them any service since the war?* and making them pass one after another, as they severally answered *No*, they were immediately butchered and not one escaped. About 200 were killed in this manner; and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the same unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken prisoners, were reduced to slavery. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Plateæ; but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this manner that the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, sacrificed the Plateæans to their animosity, ninety-three years after their first alliance with the Athenians.

In the sixth year of the war of
A. M. 3578. Peloponnesus, the plague broke out
Ant. J. C. 426. anew in Athens,¹ and again swept
away great numbers.

SECTION IV.—THE ATHENIANS POSSESS THEMSELVES OF PYLOS, AND ARE AFTERWARDS BESIEGED IN IT. THE SPARTANS ARE SHUT UP IN THE LITTLE ISLAND OF SPHACTERIA. CLEON MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF IT. ARTAXERXES DIES.

The sixth and seventh years of the War.

I PASS over several particular incidents of the succeeding campaigns, which differ very little from one another; the Lacedæmonians making regularly every year incursions into Attica, and the Athenians into Peloponnesus: I likewise omit some sieges in different places: that of Pylos,² a little

A. M. 3579. city of Messenia, only 400 furlongs³
Ant. J. C. 425. from Lacedæmon, was one of the most considerable. The Athenians,

headed by Demosthenes, had taken that city, and fortified themselves very strongly in it; this was the seventh year of the war. The Lacedæmonians left Attica immediately, in order to go and recover that place, and accordingly they attacked it both by sea and land. Brasidas, one of their leaders, signaled himself here by the most extraordinary acts of bravery. Opposite to the city was a little island called Sphacteria, from whence the besieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour shut up. They therefore threw a chosen body of Lacedæmonians into it; making, in all, 420, exclusive of the Helots. A battle was fought at sea, in which the Athenians were victorious, and accordingly erected a trophy. They surrounded the island; and set a guard over every part of it, to prevent any of the inhabitants

from going out, or any provisions being brought in to them.

The news of the defeat being come to Sparta, the magistrate thought the affair of the utmost importance and therefore came himself upon the spot, in order that he might be better able to take proper measures; when, concluding that it would be impossible for him to save those who were in the island, and that they at last must necessarily be starved out, or be taken by some other means, he proposed an accommodation. A suspension of arms was concluded, in order to give the Lacedæmonians time to send to Athens; but upon condition that in the mean time they should surrender up all their galleys, and not attack the place either by sea or land, till the return of the ambassadors: that if they complied with these conditions, the Athenians would permit them to carry provisions to those who were in the island, at the rate of so much for the master, and half for the servant; and that the whole should be done publicly, and in sight of both armies: that, on the other side, the Athenians should be allowed to keep guard round the island, to prevent any thing from going in or out of it, but should not attack it in any manner; that in case this agreement should be infringed in the least, the truce would be broken; otherwise, that it should continue in full force till the return of the ambassadors, whom the Athenians obliged themselves, by the articles, to convey and bring back; and that then the Lacedæmonians should have their ships restored, in the same condition in which they had been delivered up. Such were the articles of the treaty. The Lacedæmonians began to put it in execution, by surrendering about threescore ships; after which they sent ambassadors to Athens.

Being admitted to audience before the people, they began by saying, that they were come to the Athenians to sue for that peace which they themselves were, a little before, in a condition to grant: that it depended only upon them to acquire the glory of having restored the tranquillity of all Greece, as the Lacedæmonians consented to their being arbitrators in this treaty: that the danger to which their citizens were exposed in the island, had determined them to take such a step as could not but be very grating to Lacedæmonians: however, that their affairs were far from being desperate, and therefore, that now was the time to establish, between the two republics, a firm and solid friendship; because the affairs of both were still fluctuating, and fortune had not yet declared absolutely in favour of either: that the gods frequently abandoned those whom success makes proud, by shifting the scene, and rendering them as unfortunate as they before had been happy: that they ought to consider that the fate of arms is very uncertain; and that the means to establish a lasting peace, is not to triumph over an enemy by oppressing him, but to agree to a reconciliation on just and reasonable terms: for then, conquered by generosity and not by violence, his future thoughts being all employed, not on revenge, but on gratitude, he makes it both his pleasure and his duty to observe his engagements with inviolable fidelity.

The Athenians had now a happy opportunity for terminating the war, by a peace which would have been no less glorious to them than advantageous to all Greece. But Cleon, who had a great ascendancy over the people, prevented so important a benefit. They, therefore, answered, by his advice, that those who were in the island should first surrender at discretion; and afterwards be carried to Athens, on the condition of being sent back from it, as soon as the Lacedæmonians should have restored the cities which the Athenians had been forced to give up by the last treaty; and that these things being done, a firm and lasting peace should be concluded. The Lacedæmonians demanded that deputies should be appointed, and that the Athenians should engage to ratify what

¹ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 232.

² Ibid. l. iv. p. 253—280. *Diod. l. xli. p. 119—114.*
Twenty French leagues.

³ For the masters, two Attic chœnes of flour, making about four pounds and a half, two cotyles, or half pints of wine, and a piece of meat; with half this quantity for the servants.

they should conclude. But Cleon exclaimed against this proposal, and said, it was plain they did not deal fairly, since they would not negotiate with the people, but with individuals, whom they might easily bribe; and that, if they had any thing to offer, they should do it immediately. The Lacedæmonians, finding there was no possibility for them to treat with the people without advising with their allies, and that if any thing were to be granted by them to their prejudice they must be responsible for it, went away without concluding any thing; fully persuaded that they must not expect equitable treatment from the Athenians, in the present state of their affairs and disposition occasioned by their prosperity.

As soon as they were returned to Pylus, the suspension ceased; but when the Lacedæmonians came to demand back their ships, the Athenians refused to give them up, upon pretence that the treaty had been infringed in some particulars of little consequence. The Lacedæmonians inveighed strongly against this refusal, as being a manifest perfidy; and immediately prepared for war with greater vigour and animosity than before. A haughty carriage in success, and want of faith in the observance of treaties, never fail, at last, to involve a people in great calamities. This will appear by the sequel.

The Athenians continued to keep a strict guard round the island, to prevent any provisions from being brought into it, and hoped that they should soon be able to starve out the enemy. But the Lacedæmonians engaged the whole country in their interests by the views of gain, by affixing a high price upon provisions, and giving such slaves their freedom as should convey any into it. Provisions were therefore now brought (at the hazard of men's lives) from all parts of Peloponnesus. There were even divers who swam from the coast to the island, opposite to the harbour, and drew after them goat-skins filled with pounded linseed, and poppy-seed mixed with honey.

Those who were besieged in Pylus were reduced to almost the like extremities, being in want both of water and provisions. When advice was brought to Athens, that their countrymen, so far from reducing the enemy by famine, were themselves almost starved; it was feared, that as it would not be possible for the fleet to subsist during the winter on a desert coast which belonged to the enemy, nor to lie at anchor in so dangerous a road, the island must by that means be less securely guarded, which would give the prisoners an opportunity of escaping. But the circumstance they chiefly dreaded was, lest the Lacedæmonians after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, should refuse to hearken to any conditions of peace; so that they now repented having refused it when offered them.

Cleon saw plainly that these complaints would all fall upon him. He therefore began by asserting, that the report of the extreme want of provisions, to which the Athenians both within and without Pylus were said to be reduced, was absolutely false. He next exclaimed, in presence of the people, against the supineness and inactivity of the leaders who besieged the island, pretending, that were they to exert the east vigour and bravery, they might soon make themselves masters of it; and that had he the command, he would soon take it. Upon this he was immediately appointed to command the expedition; Nicias, who was before elected, resigning voluntarily that honour to him, either through weakness, for he was naturally timid, or out of a political view, in order that the ill success, which it was generally believed Cleon would meet with in this enterprise, might lose him the favour of the people. Cleon was greatly surprised as well as embarrassed; for he did not expect that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a finer talker than soldier, and much more able with his tongue than his sword. He for some time desired leave to waive the honour they offered him, for which he alleged several excuses; but finding that the more he declined the command the more they pressed him to accept it, he changed his note; and supplying his want of courage with rodomontade,

he declared before the whole assembly, with a firm and resolute air, that he would bring, in twenty days, those of the island prisoners, or lose his life. The whole assembly, on hearing these words, set up a laugh; for they knew the man.

Cleon, however, contrary to the expectation of every body, made good his words. He and Demosthenes (the other chief) landed in the island attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from post to post, and gaining ground perpetually, at last forced them to the extremity of the island. The Lacedæmonians had gained a fort that was thought inaccessible. There they drew up in battle-array, faced about to that side where alone they could be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had lasted the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst; the general of the Messenians, directing himself to Cleon and Demosthenes, said, that all their efforts would be to no purpose, unless they charged the enemy's rear; and promised, if they would give him but some troops armed with missile weapons, that he would by some means or other find a passage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain steep and craggy places which were not guarded, when coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a sudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble resistance: and being oppressed with numbers, attacked on all sides, and dejected through fatigue and despair, they began to give way; but the Athenians seized on all the passes to cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demosthenes, finding that should the battle continue not a man of them would escape, and being desirous of carrying them alive to Athens, they commanded their soldiers to desist; and caused proclamation to be made by a herald, for them to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. At these words, the greatest part lowered their shields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of suspension of arms was agreed upon; and their commander desired leave might be granted him to despatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coast; and after several messages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not submit to dishonourable terms. Upon this they held a conference; after which they surrendered at discretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raising a trophy, and restoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after distributing the prisoners among the several ships, and committing the guard of them to the captain of the galleys.

In this battle 128 Lacedæmonians fell, out of 420, which was their number at first; so that there survived not quite 300, 120 of whom were Spartans, that is, inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The siege of the island (computing from the beginning of it, and including the time employed in the truce) had lasted threescore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus; and Cleon's promise, though so vain and rash, was found literally fulfilled. But the most surprising circumstance was, the capitulation that had been made: for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendering their arms, would die sword in hand.

Being come to Athens, it was decreed that they should remain prisoners till a peace was concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incursions into their country, for that then they should all be put to death. They left a garrison in Pylus. The Messenians of Naupactus, who had formerly possessed it, sent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infested the Lacedæmonians by their incursions; and as these Messenians spoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of slaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, sent several deputations to Athens, but to no

purpose; the Athenians being too much elated with their prosperity, and especially their late success, to listen to any terms.

In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war,¹ Artaxerxes sent to the Lacedæmonians an ambassador named Artaphernes, with a letter written in the Assyrian language, in which he said, that he had received many embassies from them, but the purport of them all differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what it was they requested: that in this uncertainty, he had thought proper to send a Persian to acquaint them, that if they had any proposal to make, they had only to send a person in whom they could confide, along with him, from whom he might be exactly informed of what they desired. This ambassa-

¹ Thucyd. l. iv. p. 285, 286.

dor, arriving at Eion on the river Strymon in Thrace, was there taken prisoner, about the close of this year by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens. He was treated with the utmost civility and respect; the Athenians being extremely desirous of recovering the favour of the king his master.

The year following, as soon as the season would permit the Athenians to put to sea, they sent the ambassador back in one of their ships at the public expense; and appointed some of their citizens to wait upon him to the court of Persia, in quality of ambassadors. Upon landing at Ephesus, they were informed that Artaxerxes was dead; whereupon the Athenian ambassadors, thinking it not advisable to proceed farther after this news, took leave of Artaphernes, and returned to their own country.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER I.

THIS chapter contains the history of thirteen years of the Peloponnesian war, to the nineteenth inclusive.

SECTION I.—THE VERY SHORT REIGNS OF XERXES II. AND SOGDIANUS. THEY ARE SUCCEEDED BY DARIUS NOTHUS. HE PUTS A STOP TO THE INSURRECTION OF EGYPT, AND THAT OF MEDIA. HE BESTOWS ON CYRUS, HIS YOUNGEST SON, THE SUPREME COMMAND OF ALL ASIA MINOR.

ARTAXERXES died about the beginning of the forty-ninth year of his reign.¹ Xerxes, who succeeded him, was the only son which the queen his wife brought him: but he had seventeen others by his concubines, among whom was Sogdianus, who is called Secondianus by Ctesias,² Ochus, and Arsites. Sogdianus, in concert

A. M. 3579. with Pharnacius, one of Xerxes's
Ant. J. C. 425. eunuchs came insidiously, one festival day, to the new king, who, after drinking too immoderately, was retired to his chamber, in order to give the fumes of the wine he had drunk time to evaporate; where he killed him without any difficulty, after he had reigned but forty-five days; and was declared king in his stead.

He was scarce on the throne, when he put to death Bagoraxus, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. It was he who had been appointed to superintend the funeral obsequies of Artaxerxes, and of the queen, Xerxes's mother, who died the same day as her husband. After having deposited the two bodies in the mausoleum where the kings of Persia were interred, he found, at his return, Sogdianus on the throne, who did not receive him favourably, upon account of some difference with him during the lifetime of his father. But the new king did not stop

here: not long after he took an opportunity to quarrel with him, on some trifling circumstance relating to the obsequies of his fathers, and caused him to be stoned.

By these two murders, that of his brother Xerxes and of Bagoraxus, he became the horror of the army and nobility, so that he did not think himself safe on a throne, to which he had forced his way by such enormous crimes. He suspected that his brothers harboured the like design; and Ochus, to whom his father had left the government of Hyrcania, was the chief object of his suspicion. Accordingly he sent for him, with the intention of getting him murdered as soon as he arrived. However, Ochus, who saw through his design, delayed coming upon various pretences, which he continued till he advanced at the head of a strong army, which he openly declared he would employ to revenge the death of his brother Xerxes. This declaration brought over to him a great number of the nobility, and several governors of the provinces, who were justly dissatisfied at Sogdianus's cruelty and ill conduct. They put the tiara, which was the mark of regal dignity, on Ochus's head, and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself abandoned in this manner, was as mean and cowardly in the slight defence he made to maintain his crown, as he had before been unjust and barbarous in usurping it. Contrary to the advice of his best friends, and the wisest of those who still adhered to him, he concluded a treaty with his brother, who, getting him into his hands, caused him to be thrown into ashes, where he did a cruel death. This was a kind of punishment peculiar to the Persians, and exercised only on great criminals.² One of the largest towers was filled to a certain height with ashes. The criminal then was thrown headlong from the top of the tower into them; after which, the ashes were, by a wheel, turned perpetually round him till he was

¹ Ctes. c. xlvii.—li. Diod. l. xlii. p. 115.

² Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. 2 Maccab. c. xlii.

suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life and empire, which he enjoyed only six months and fifteen days.

Ochus, by the death of Sogdianus, now saw himself possessed of Ant. J. C. 423. the empire. As soon as he was well settled in it, he changed his name from Ochus to that of Darius. To distinguish him, historians add the epithet *Nabiz*, signifying basard. He reigned nineteen years.

Arsites, seeing in what manner Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and had himself been dethroned by Ochus, meditated to serve the latter in the same manner. Though he was his brother by the father's as well as the mother's side, he openly revolted against him, and was assisted in it by Artypheus, son of Megabyzus. Ochus, whom hereafter we shall always call Darius, sent Artasyras, one of his generals, against Artypheus; and himself, at the head of another army, marched against Artsites. Artypheus, with the Grecian troops in his pay, twice defeated the general sent against him. But engaging a third time, the Greeks were corrupted, and he himself was beaten, and forced to surrender, upon his being flattered with hopes that a pardon would be granted him. The king would have had him put to death, but was diverted from that resolution by queen Parysatis, Darius's sister and queen. She was also the daughter of Artaxerxes, but not by the same mother as Darius. She was an intriguing, artful woman; and the king her husband was governed by her on most occasions. The counsel she now gave was pernicious to the last degree. She advised him to exercise his clemency towards Artypheus, and show him kind usage, in order that his brother might hope, when he heard of his treating a rebellious servant with so much generosity, that he himself should meet at least with as mild treatment, and thereby be prompted to lay down his arms. She added, that when once he should have seized that prince, he might dispose of him and Artypheus as he pleased. Darius followed her counsel, which proved successful. Artsites being informed of the gentle usage which Artypheus met with, concluded that, as he was the king's brother, he should consequently meet with still more indulgent treatment, and with this hope he concluded a treaty, and surrendered himself. Darius was very much inclined to save his life: but Parysatis, by inculcating to him, that it was necessary to punish this rebel in order to secure himself, at last prevailed with him to put his brother to death, and accordingly he was suffocated in ashes with Artypheus. However, Darius had a violent struggle with himself before he could consent to this sacrifice, having a very tender affection for his brother. He afterwards put some other persons to death, whose executions did not procure him the tranquillity he had expected from them; for his reign was afterwards disturbed with such violent commotions, that he enjoyed but little repose.

One of the most dangerous was Ant. J. C. 3590. occasioned by the rebellion of Pisuthnes,¹ who, being governor of Lydia, wanted to throw off his allegiance to the Persian empire, and make himself king in his province. What flattered him with the hopes of succeeding in this attempt was, his having a considerable body of Grecian troops, which he had raised and enlisted in his service, under the command of Lycôn the Athenian. Darius sent Tissaphernes against this rebel, and gave him, with a considerable army, the commission of governor of Lydia, of which he was to dispossess Pisuthnes. Tissaphernes, who was an artful man, and capable of acting in all characters, found means of tampering with the Greeks under Pisuthnes; and by dint of presents and promises, brought over the troops with their general to his party. Pisuthnes, who was too much weakened by this desertion to carry on his designs, surrendered, upon his being flattered with the hopes of obtaining his pardon; but the instant he was brought before the king, he was sentenced to be suffocated in ashes, and

met with the same fate as the rest of the rebels who had preceded him. But his death did not entirely put an end to all trouble; for Amorges his son,² with the remainder of his army, still made head against Tisaphernes; and for two years laid waste the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, till he at last was taken by the Greeks of Peloponnesus, in Issus, a city of Ionia, and delivered up by them to Tissaphernes, who put him to death.

Darius was involved in fresh troubles by one of his eunuchs.³ This kind of officers had, for many years, acquired considerable power in the court of Persia; and we shall find, by the sequel of this history, that they always governed absolutely in it. We may form an idea of their character,⁴ and the danger to which they expose princes, by the picture which Dioctetian, after he had resigned the empire, and reduced himself to a private station of life, drew of freedmen, who had gained a like ascendancy over the Roman emperors. "Four or five persons," says he, "who are closely united, and resolutely determined to impose on a prince, may do it very easily. They never show things to him but in such a light as they are sure will please. They conceal whatever would contribute to enlighten him: and as they alone beset him continually, he cannot be informed of any thing but through their channel, and knows nothing but what they think fit to suggest to him. Hence it is, that he bestows employments on those whom he ought to exclude from them; and, on the other side, removes from offices such persons as are most worthy of filling them. In a word, the best prince is often sold by these men, though he be ever so vigilant, and in despite of his distrust and suspicion of them." *Quid multa? Ut Dioctetianus ipse dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur imperator.*

In this manner was Darius's court governed. Three eunuchs had usurped all power in it;⁵ an infallible mark that a government is bad, and the prince of little merit. But one of those three eunuchs, whose name was Artoxares, presided over and governed the rest. He had found Darius's weak side, by which he insinuated himself into his confidence. He had studied all his passions, in order to indulge them, and govern his prince by their means. He plunged him continually in pleasures and amusements, to engross his whole authority to himself. In fine, under the name and protection of queen Parysatis, to whose will and pleasure he was the most devoted of slaves, he disposed of all the affairs of the empire, and nothing was transacted but by his orders. Intoxicated by the supreme authority which the favour of his sovereign gave him, he resolved to make himself king, instead of being prime minister; and accordingly formed a design to rid himself of Darius, and afterwards ascend the throne. However, his plot being discovered, he was seized and delivered up to Parysatis, who put him to a most ignominious and cruel death.

But the greatest misfortune which happened to Darius during the whole course of his reign, was the revolt of the Egyptians.⁶ This terrible blow fell out the same year with Pisuthnes's rebellion. But Darius could not reduce Egypt as he had done that rebel. The Egyptians,⁷ weary of the Persian government, flocked from all parts to Amyrteus of Sais, who at last was come out of the fens, where he had defended himself since the suppression of the revolt of Inarus. The Persians were driven out, and Amyrteus proclaimed king of Egypt, where he reigned six years.

After having established himself securely on the throne, and entirely expelled the Persians out of Egypt, he prepared to pursue them as far as Phœnicia, and had already concerted measures with the Arabians to attack them in that country. News of this being brought the king of Persia, he recalled the fleet which he had promised the Lacedæmonians, to employ it in the defence of his own dominions.

¹ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 354—368.

² Ctes. c. lii.

³ Vopis, in vit. Aureliani, Imper.

⁴ Scis præcipuum esse indicium non magni principis magnos libertos. *Plin. ad Trajan.*

⁵ Euseb. in Chron.

⁶ Thucyd. l. i. p. 72, 73

⁷ Ctes. c. li.

Whilst Darius was carrying on the war in Egypt and Arabia, the Medes rebelled; however, they were defeated, and reduced to their allegiance by force of arms. To punish them for this revolt, their yoke (till then easy enough) was made heavier: a fate that rebellious subjects always experience, when the government which they endeavoured to throw off gains the upper hand.

Darius's arms seems to have had the like success against the Egyptians.¹ Amyrtæus dying after he had reigned six years (he probably was killed in a battle,) Herodotus observes, it was by the permission of the Persians that Pausiris his son succeeded him in the throne. To effect this, they must either have been masters of Egypt, or their party the strongest in that kingdom.

After having crushed the rebels
A. M. 3597. in Media, and restored the affairs
Ant. J. C. 407. of Egypt to their former situation.

Darius gave Cyrus, the youngest of his sons, the supreme command of all the provinces of Asia Minor; an important commission, by which he made all the provincial governors in that part of the empire dependent upon him.

I thought it necessary to anticipate events, and draw together the facts which related to the kings of Persia; to prevent my being often obliged to interrupt the history of the Greeks, to which I now return.

SECTION II.—THE ATHENIANS MAKE THEMSELVES MASTERS OF THE ISLAND OF CYTHERA. EXPEDITIONS OF BRASIDAS INTO THRACE. HE TAKES AMPHIPOLIS. THUCYDIDES THE HISTORIAN IS BANISHED. A BATTLE WAS FOUGHT NEAR DELIUM, WHERE THE ATHENIANS ARE DEFEATED.

The eighth year of the War.

THE three or four campaigns which followed the reduction of the small island of Sphacteria, were distinguished by very few considerable events.

The Athenians under Nicias took the island of Cythera,² situated on the coast of Lacedæmonia, near cape Malea, and from thence they infested the whole country.

Brasidas, on the other side, marched towards Thrace.³ The Lacedæmonians were induced by more than one motive to undertake this expedition; imagining they should oblige the Athenians, who had fallen upon them in their country, to divide their forces. The inhabitants of it invited them thither, and offered to pay the army. In fine, they were extremely glad to embrace that opportunity to rid themselves of the Helots, whom they expected to rise in rebellion, since the taking of Pylus. They had already made away with 2000 of them in a most horrid manner. Upon the specious pretence of rewarding merit even in slaves, but in reality to get rid of a body of men whose courage they dreaded, they caused proclamation to be made, that such of the Helots as had done the greatest service to the state in the last campaign, should enter their names in the public registers, in order to their being made free. Accordingly 2000 gave in their names. They were carried in procession through the temples, with chaplets of flowers on their heads, as if they were really to be set at liberty. After this ceremony they all disappeared, and were never heard of more. We have here an instance, in what manner a suspicious policy and power, when filled with jealousy and distrust, excite men to the blackest crimes, without scrupling to make even religion itself, and the authority of the gods, subservient to their dark designs.

They therefore sent 700 Helots with Brasidas, whom they had appointed to head this enterprise. This general brought over several cities, either by force or secret understanding, and still more by his wisdom and moderation. The chief of these were

Acanthus and Stagira, which were two colonies from Andros. He also marched afterwards towards Amphipolis,⁴ an Athenian colony on the river Strymon. The inhabitants immediately despatched a message to Thucydides⁵ the Athenian general, who was then in Thasus, a little island of the Ægean sea, half a day's journey from Amphipolis. He instantly set sail with seven ships that were near him, to secure the place before Brasidas could seize it; or, at worst, to get into Eion, which lay very near Amphipolis. Brasidas, who was afraid of Thucydides, from his great influence in all that country, where he was possessed of some gold mines, made all the despatch imaginable, to get thither before him; and offered such advantageous conditions to the besieged, who did not expect succours so soon, that they surrendered. Thucydides arrived the same evening at Eion; and had he failed to come that day, Brasidas would have taken possession of it the next morning by day-break. Although Thucydides had made all imaginable despatch, the Athenians however, charged him with being the cause of the taking of Amphipolis, and accordingly banished him.

The Athenians were greatly afflicted at the loss of that city, as well because they drew great revenue from it, and timber to build their ships, as because it was a door for entering Thrace. They were afraid that all their allies in that neighbourhood would revolt; especially as Brasidas discovered great moderation and justice, and continually gave out that he came with no other view than to free the country. He declared to the several nations, that at his leaving Sparta, he had taken an oath, in presence of the magistrates, to leave to all those the enjoyment of their liberties, who would conclude an alliance with him; and that he ought to be considered as the most abandoned of men, should he employ oaths to ensnare their credulity. "For," in his opinion, "a fraud cloaked with a specious pretence, reflects infinitely greater dishonour on persons in high stations, than open violence; because the latter is the effect of the power which fortune has put into our hands; and the former is founded wholly on perfidy, which is the pest of society. Now I," said he, "should do a great disservice to my country, besides dishonouring it eternally, if, by procuring it some slight advantages, I should ruin the reputation it enjoys of being just and faithful to its promises; which renders it much more powerful than all its forces united together, because this acquires it the esteem and confidence of other states." Upon such noble and equitable principles as these Brasidas always regulated his conduct: believing, that the strongest bulwark of a state is justice, moderation, integrity, and the firm persuasion which their neighbours and allies entertain, that they are incapable of harbouring a design to usurp their dominions, or deprive them of their liberty. By this conduct he brought over a great number of the enemy's allies.

The Athenians,⁶ under the command of Demosthenes and Hippocrates, had entered Boeotia, expecting that several cities would join them the moment they should appear. The Thebans marched out to meet them near Delium. A considerable engagement ensued, in which the Athenians were defeated and put to flight. Socrates was in this battle;⁷ and Laches, who accompanied that great man in it, gives the following testimony of him in Plato; that had the rest of the army behaved as gallantly as Socrates, the Athenians would not have sustained that loss before Delium. He was borne away by the crowds who fled, and was on foot: Alcibiades, who was on horseback, when he saw him, rode up to him, and did not stir from him, but defended him with the utmost bravery from the enemy who were pursuing him.

After the battle, the victors besieged the city. Among other engines employed by them to batter it, they used one of a very extraordinary kind. This was

¹ Thucyd. l. iv. p. 320—324.

² The same who wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war.

³ Thucyd. l. iv. p. 311—319.

⁴ Plut. in Lach. p. 181. In Conviv. p. 921. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

⁵ Herod. l. iii. c. 15.

⁶ Thucyd. l. iv. p. 286.

⁷ Ibid. p. 314—311. Diod. l. xii. p. 117, 118.

a long piece of timber cut into two parts, and afterwards made hollow and joined again, so that its shape resembled very much that of a flute. At one of the ends was fixed a long iron tube, to which a caldron was hung; so that by blowing a large pair of bellows at the other end of the piece of timber, the wind being carried from thence into the tube, lighted a great fire, with pitch and brimstone, that lay in the caldron. This engine being carried on carts as far as the rampart, to that part where it was lined with stakes and fascines, threw out so great a flame, that the rampart being immediately abandoned, and the palisades burned, the city was easily taken.

SECTION III.—A TWELVE-MONTHS' TRUCE IS AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE TWO STATES. DEATH OF CLEON AND BRASIDAS. A TREATY OF PEACE FOR FIFTY YEARS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS AND LACEDÆMONIANS.

Ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of the War.

THE losses and advantages on A. M. 3581. both sides had hitherto been pretty equal;¹ and the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expense, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce for a year was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The former resolved on it, in order to check the progress of Brasidas's conquests; to secure their cities and fortresses; and afterwards to conclude a general peace, in case they judged it would be of advantage to them. The latter were induced to it, in order that, by the sweets of repose, peace might become desirable to their enemy; and to get out of their hands such of their citizens as the Athenians had taken prisoners in the island of Sphacteria; and which they could never expect to do, if Brasidas extended his conquests farther. The news of this accommodation sensibly afflicted Brasidas, as it stopped him in the midst of his career, and disconcerted all his projects. He could not even prevail with himself to abandon the city of Scione, which he had taken two days after the truce, but without knowing that it had been concluded. He went still farther; and did not scruple to take Mende, a little city not far from Scione, that surrendered to him as the former had done, which was a direct violation of the treaty: but Brasidas pretended he had other infractions to object to the Athenians.

It will naturally be supposed that the latter did not patiently endure this conduct of Brasidas. Cleon, in all public assemblies, was for ever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fire of war. His great success in the expedition against Sphacteria had infinitely raised his credit with the people;² he now was grown insupportably proud, and his audaciousness was not to be restrained. He had a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of eloquence, which prevailed over the minds of his auditors, not so much by the strength of his arguments, as by the boldness and fire of his style and declamation. It was Cleon who first set the example of bawling in assemblies, where the greatest decorum and moderation had till then been observed; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to display his arms; of striking his thigh; and of running up and down the hustings while he was making his speech. In a word he first introduced among the orators, and all those who interfered in the affairs of state, an ungovernable licentiousness, and a contempt of decency; a licentiousness and contempt, which soon introduced terrible irregularities and confusion in public affairs.

Thus two men,³ each on his own side, opposed the tranquillity of Greece, and raised, but in a very different way, an invincible obstacle to its peace. These were Cleon and Brasidas; the former, because the war screened his vices and malversations; and the latter, because it added new lustre to his virtue. And, indeed, it gave Cleon an opportunity of committing en-

ormous oppressions, and Brasidas of performing great and noble actions. But their death, which happened about the same time, made way for a new accommodation.

The Athenians had appointed Cleon to command the troops which A. M. 3582. were to oppose Brasidas,⁴ and reduce Ant. J. C. 422. those cities that had revolted from their allegiance. They were solicitous for none so much as Amphipolis; and Brasidas threw himself into that city, in order to defend it. Cleon had written to Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and to the king of the Odontantes, to furnish him with as many troops as possible; and with the utmost expedition. He waited for them, and had resolved not to march immediately towards the enemy: but finding his soldiers, who had followed him involuntarily and with regret, grow weary of continuing so long inactive, and begin to compare his cowardice and inexperience with the ability and valour of Brasidas, he could no longer bear their contempt and murmurs; and imagining himself a great captain by his capture of Sphacteria, he now fancied the same good fortune would attend him at Amphipolis. He therefore approached it, merely, as he said, to take a view of the place, and till such time as all his forces should be come up; not that he thought he wanted them for carrying that city, or that he entertained any doubt of his success (for he was persuaded that no one would dare to oppose him), but only to enable him to invest the place on all sides, and afterwards to take it by storm. Accordingly he encamped before Amphipolis; viewing very leisurely its situation, and fondly supposing that it would be in his power to retire whenever he pleased, without drawing the sword: for not a man came out or appeared on the walls, and all the gates of the city were kept shut; so that Cleon began to repent his not having brought the engines, imagining that he wanted only these to make himself master of the city. Brasidas, who was perfectly well acquainted with Cleon's disposition and character, studiously affected an air of fear and reserve, as a bait to his temerity, and to increase the good opinion he had of himself: besides, he knew that Cleon had brought with him the flower of the Athenian forces, and the choicest troops of Lemnos and of Inburs. Accordingly Cleon, despising an enemy that did not dare to appear before him, but shut himself up in a cowardly manner in the city, went boldly from place to place, without precaution or observing any discipline among his soldiers. Brasidas, whose intention was to attack him on a sudden before all his forces should be come up, thought this the critical juncture. He had concerted proper measures, and given the orders necessary. Accordingly, he made a sudden sally on the Athenians, which surprised and disconcerted them exceedingly. Immediately the left wing drew off from the main body and fled. Brasidas then turned the whole force of his arms against the right wing, which gave him a warm reception. Here he was wounded and disabled, upon which his soldiers carried him off, unperceived by the Athenians. As for Cleon, not having resolved to fight, he fled, and was killed by a soldier who happened to meet him. The troops he commanded defended themselves for some time, and sustained two or three attacks without giving ground, but at last they were universally broken and routed. Brasidas was then carried into the city, where he survived his victory but a few moments.

The whole army being returned from the pursuit, stripped the dead, and afterwards set up a trophy. After which all the allies under arms solemnized the funeral obsequies of Brasidas in a public manner; and the inhabitants of Amphipolis celebrated funeral honours every year to his memory, as to a hero, with games, combats, and sacrifices. They considered him as their founder; and to secure this title the better to him, they demolished all the monuments of him who had really been so;⁵ in order that they might not appear to owe their establishment to an Athenian, and

¹ Thucyd. l. iv. p. 328—333. Diod. l. xii. p. 120

² Plut. in vit. Nicim, p. 528.

³ Ibid.

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⁴ Thucyd. l. iii. p. 432—435. Diod. l. xii. p. 121, 122.

⁵ Agnon the Athenian.

at the same time make their court to the Lacedæmonians, on whom they depended wholly for their security. The Athenians, after having carried off, with the consent of the victors, their dead, returned to Athens, during which the Lacedæmonians settled the affairs of Amphipolis.

A saying is ascribed to the mother of Brasidas,¹ which strongly marks the Spartan character. As some persons were applauding in her presence the fine qualities and exalted actions of her son, and declaring him superior to all other generals: *You are mistaken, says she: my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens braver than he.* A mother's generosity, in thus preferring the glory of the state to that of her son, was admired, and did not go unrewarded; for the Ephori paid her public honours.

After this last engagement,² in which the two persons who were the greatest obstacles to peace lost their lives, both nations seemed more inclined to an accommodation, and the war was suspended in a manner on both sides. The Athenians, since the loss of the battles of Delium and Amphipolis, which had very much brought down their haughtiness, were undeceived with regard to the high opinion they had hitherto entertained of their own strength, that had made them refuse the advantageous offers of their enemies. Besides, they were apprehensive of the revolt of their allies, who, being discouraged by their losses, might thereby be induced to abandon them, as several had already done. These reflections made them strongly repent their not having concluded a treaty, after the advantages they had gained at Pylus. The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, no longer flattered themselves with the hopes of being able to ruin the Athenians by laying waste their country; and were besides dejected and terrified by their loss in the island, the greatest they had hitherto ever sustained. They also considered that their country was ravaged by the garrison of Pylus and Cythera; that their slaves deserted; that they had reason to dread a more considerable revolt; and that as the truce they had concluded with the inhabitants of Argos was near expiring, they had reason to be apprehensive of being abandoned by some of their allies of Peloponnesus, as in fact they were. These several motives, enforced by the desire they had of recovering their prisoners, the greatest part of whom were the most considerable citizens of Sparta, made them desire a peace.

Those who were most solicitous for having it concluded, and whose interest it was chiefly to wish it, were the chiefs of the two states, viz. Plistonax, king of Lacedæmonia, and Nicias, general of the Athenians. The former was lately returned from banishment, to which he had been sentenced on account of his being suspected to have received a bribe, in order to draw off his troops from the Athenian territories; and to this precipitate retreat were ascribed several misfortunes which followed after it. He also was charged with having corrupted by gifts the priestess of Delphi, who had commanded the Spartans, in the name of the god, to recall him from his exile. Plistonax was therefore desirous of peace, in order to put an end to these reproaches, which, on account of the perpetual calamities of the war, were daily revived. As for Nicias, the most fortunate general of his age, he was afraid lest some unhappy accident should sully his glory; and he wished to enjoy the fruits of peace in ease and tranquillity, and to ensure the same happiness to his country.

Both states began by agreeing to a suspension of arms for twelve months,³ during which, being every day together, and tasting the sweets of security and repose, and the pleasure of corresponding with their friends and with foreigners, they grew passionately desirous of leading an easy, undisturbed life, remote from the alarms of war and the horrors of blood and slaughter. They heard with the utmost demonstrations of joy the choruses of their tragedies sing, 'May spiders henceforward weave their cobwebs on

our lances and shields!' And they remembered with pleasure him who said, "Those who sleep in the arms of peace, do not start from them at the sound of the trumpet; and nothing interrupts their slumbers but the peaceful crowing of the cock."

The whole winter was spent in conferences and interviews, in which each party proposed their claims and pretensions.⁴ At last, a peace was concluded and ratified for fifty years; one of the chief articles of which was, that they should reciprocally restore the prisoners on each side. This treaty was concluded ten years and some days from the first declaration of the war. The Boeotians and Corinthians were exceedingly disgusted at it, and for that reason used their utmost endeavours to excite fresh troubles. But Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to give the last hand to this peace,⁵ by concluding an alliance offensive and defensive, which would render them more formidable to those who should desire to break with them, and more assured with regard to each other. The Athenians in consequence of this treaty, at last restored the prisoners they had taken in the island of Sphacteria.

SECTION IV.—ALCIBIADES BEGINS TO APPEAR IN PUBLIC. HIS CHARACTER. HE OPPOSES NICIAS IN EVERY THING, AND BREAKS THE TREATY HE HAD CONCLUDED. THE BANISHMENT OF HYPERBOLUS PUTS AN END TO THE OSTRACISM.

Twelfth year of the War.

ALCIBIADES now began to advance himself in the state,⁶ and appear in the public assemblies. Socrates had attached himself to him for many years, and adorned his mind with a great variety of the noblest erudition.

The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the most remarkable circumstances in his life. This philosopher observing excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person, bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, lest, being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and absolutely degenerate. And, indeed, Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers; the nobility of his birth, his vast riches, the authority of his family, the influence of his guardians, his personal talents, his exquisite beauty, and, still more than these, the flattery and complaisance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, says Plutarch, that fortune had surrounded and invested him with all these pretended advantages, as with so many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inaccessible and invulnerable to all the darts of philosophy; those salutary darts which strike to the very heart, and leave in it the strongest enticements to virtue and solid glory. But those very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates.

Notwithstanding the endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from an intercourse which alone was capable of securing him from so many snares, he devoted himself entirely to it. As he had abundance of wit, he was fully sensible of Socrates's merit, and could not resist the charms of his sweet and insinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater ascendancy over him than the allurements of pleasure. He was so zealous a disciple of that great master, that he followed him wherever he went, took the utmost delight in his conversation, was extremely well pleased with his principles, received his instructions and even his reprimands with wonderful docility, and would be so moved with his discourses, as even to shed tears and abhor himself; so weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in so glaring a light did he expose the hideousness and deformity of the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himself.

Alcibiades, in those moments when he listened to Socrates, differed so much from himself, that he appeared quite another man. However, his headstrong

¹ Diod. l. xii. p. 122.

² Thucyd. l. v. p. 351–354.

³ Thucyd. .v. p. 354. Plat. in. Nic. p. 526, 529.

⁴ Diod. l. xii. p. 122.

⁵ Thucyd. l. v. p. 355, 359.

⁶ Plut. in Alcib. p. 192, 194.

very temper, and his natural fondness for pleasure, which was heightened and inflamed by the conversation of young people, soon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him, as it were, from his master; who was obliged to run after him as after a run-away slave. This vicissitude of flights and returns, of virtuous resolutions and relapses into vice, continued a long time; but still Socrates was not disheartened by his levity, and always flattered himself with the hope of bringing him back to his duty. And hence certainly arose the strong mixture of good and evil that always appeared in his conduct; the instructions which his master had given him sometimes prevailing; and at other times the impetuosity of his passions hurrying him, in a manner against his own will, into actions of a quite opposite nature.

This intimacy, which continued as long as they lived, did not pass unscathed. But some persons of great learning pretend, that these censures and suspicions, when duly examined, quite disappear; and that they ought to be considered as the effect of the malice of the enemies of both. Plato, in one of his dialogues, gives us a conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades, well calculated to display the genius and character of the latter, who henceforward will have a very great share, and play a conspicuous part in the affairs of the republic of Athens. I shall make a very short extract from it in this place, which I hope will not displease my readers.

In this dialogue Socrates is introduced conversing with Alcibiades,¹ who at that time was under the guardianship of Pericles. He was then very young, and had been educated like the rest of the Athenians; that is, he had been taught polite literature, and to play on instruments, and had practised wrestling and other bodily exercises. It does not appear that Pericles had hitherto taken much pains in Alcibiades's education (a fault too common in the greatest men,) since he had put him under the tuition of Zopyrus, a Thracian, a man far advanced in years, and who, of all Pericles's slaves, both from his torn of mind and age, was the least qualified to educate this young Athenian. And indeed Socrates told Alcibiades, that should he compare him with the youths of Lacedæmonia, who displayed a spirit of valour, a greatness of soul, a strong desire of glory, a love of labour, attended with gentleness, modesty, temperance, and a perfect obedience to the laws and discipline of Sparta, he would seem a mere child to them. Nevertheless, his high birth, his riches, the great families he was related to, and the authority of his guardian,—all these things had conspired to make him exceedingly vain and haughty. He was full of esteem for himself, and of contempt for all others. He was preparing to enter upon the administration of public affairs, and, from his conversation, it might be presumed, that he promised himself no less than to eclipse entirely the glory of Pericles, and to attack the king of Persia even upon his throne. Socrates seeing him going to mount the tribunal, in order to give the people some advice relating to the public affairs, demonstrates to him, by various questions, and by Alcibiades's answers, that he is quite ignorant of the affairs about which he is going to speak, as he had never studied them himself, nor been informed in them by others. After making Alcibiades himself confess this, he paints, in the strongest colours, the absurdity of his conduct, and makes him fully sensible of it.—What, says Socrates, would Anæstria (the mother of Artaxerxes, who then reigned in Persia) say, were she to hear, that there is a man now in Athens who is meditating war against her son, and even intends to dethrone him? She doubtless would suppose him to be some veteran general, a man of intrepid courage, of great wisdom, and consummate experience; that he is able to raise a mighty army, and march it wherever he pleases; and at the same time, that he has long before taken the proper measures for putting

so vast a design in execution. But were she to hear that this is by no means the case, and that the person in question is not twenty years old; that he is utterly ignorant of public affairs; has not the least knowledge of war, nor any authority among the citizens, or influence over the allies; would it be possible for her to refrain from laughing at the folly and extravagance of such an enterprise? This nevertheless, says Socrates, (directing himself to Alcibiades,) is your picture; and unhappily resembles most of those who thrust themselves into the public employments. Socrates, however, excepts Pericles on this occasion; his solid merit and exalted reputation being acquired by his close study, during a long course of years, of every thing capable of forming his mind, and of qualifying him for public employments. Alcibiades could not deny that this was his case; he was ashamed of his conduct, and blushing to see himself so void of merit, he asks how he must act in order to attain it. Socrates being unwilling to discourage his pupil, tells him, that as he is so young, these evils might be remedied, and afterwards continually gave him the wisest counsels. He had full leisure to profit by them; as upwards of twenty years passed between this conversation and his engaging in public affairs.

Alcibiades was of a pliant and flexible disposition that would take any impression which the difference of times and circumstances might require, still veering either to good or evil with the same facility and ardour; and shifting almost in an instant from one extreme to its opposite; so that the people applied to him what Homer observes of the land of Egypt, *That it produces a great number of very excellent medicinal drugs, and at the same time as many poisons.* It might be said of Alcibiades,² that he was not one single man, but (if so bold an expression might be used) a compound of several men; either serious or gay; austere or affable; an imperious master, or a grovelling slave; a friend to virtue and the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and vicious men; capable of supporting the most painful fatigues and toils, or insatiably desirous of voluptuous delights.

His irregularities and dissolute conduct were become the talk of the whole city;³ and Alcibiades would very willingly have put a stop to these reports, but without changing his course of life, as appears from a saying of his. He had a very handsome dog, of an uncommon size, which had cost him threescore and ten minæ,⁴ or 3500 French livres. By this we find that a fondness for dogs is of great antiquity. Alcibiades caused his tail, which was the greatest beauty he had about him, to be cut off. His friends censured him very much on that account, and said that the whole city blamed him very much for spoiling the beauty of so handsome a creature. *This is the very thing I want,* replied Alcibiades with a smile: *I would have the Athenians converse about what I have done to my dog that they may not entertain themselves with saying worse things of me.*

Among the various passions that were discovered in him,⁵ the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit to it, and could not bear a superior or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents smoothed the way to his attaining the highest employments in the republic, there was nothing however to which he was so fond of owing the influence and authority he wanted to gain over the people, as to the force of his eloquence, and the persuasive graces of his orations. To this his intimacy with Socrates might have greatly conduced.

Alcibiades,⁷ with the disposition we have here described, was not
A. M. 3584.
born for repose, and had set every Ant. J. C. 420.
engine at work to thwart the treaty
lately concluded between the two states; but not suc-

¹ *Quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos. Juvenal.*

² *Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.*

³ *About 1600 sterling. The Attic mina was worth 100 drachmas, and the drachma ten-pence, French money.*

⁴ *Τὸ κάλλιστον, καὶ τὸ φιλοπρεπότερον. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195, 196.*

⁵ *Thucyd. l. v. p. 368—378. Plut. in Alcib. p. 197, 198*

⁶ *Abbé Fraguier justifies Socrates in one of his dissertations. Mem. of the Academy of Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p. 372.*

⁷ *Plut. in Alcib. 2.*

ceeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was disgusted at the Lacedæmonians, because they directed themselves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and on the contrary seemed to take no manner of notice of him, though the rights of hospitality had subsisted between his ancestors and them.

The first thing he did to infringe the peace was this. Having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he flattered them secretly with the hopes that the Athenians would succour them, by suggesting to them that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them.

And indeed the Lacedæmonians were not very careful to observe the several conditions of it religiously, having concluded an alliance with the Bœotians, in direct opposition to the design and tenor of the treaty; and having surrendered up the fort of Panactus to the Athenians, not fortified, and in the condition it was in at the concluding of the treaty, as they had stipulated to do, but quite dismantled. Alcibiades observing the Athenians to be extremely exasperated at this breach of faith, did his utmost to increase their disgust; and taking this opportunity to embarrass Nicias, he made him odious to the people, by causing them to entertain a suspicion of his being too strongly attached to the Lacedæmonians; and by charging him with crimes which were not altogether improbable, though they were absolutely false.

This new attack quite disconcerted Nicias; but happily for him, there arrived, at that very instant, ambassadors from Lacedæmonia, who were invested with full powers to put an end to all the disputes. Being introduced into the council, or senate, they set forth their complaints, and made their demands, which every one of the members thought very just and reasonable. The people were to give them audience the next day. Alcibiades, who was afraid they would succeed with them, used his utmost endeavours to engage the ambassadors in a conference with him. He represented to them, that the council always behaved with the utmost moderation and humanity towards those who addressed them, but that the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretensions; that should the ambassadors mention full powers, the people would not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they should take it into their heads to ask. He concluded with assuring them, that he would assist them with all his credit, in order to get Pylus restored to them; to prevent the alliance with the people of Argos, and to get that with them renewed; and he confirmed all these promises with an oath. The ambassadors were extremely well pleased with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and vast abilities of Alcibiades, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary man; and, indeed, they were not mistaken in their conjecture.

On the morrow, the people being assembled, the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them, in the mildest terms, the subject of their embassy, and the purport of the powers with which they were invested. They immediately answered, that they were come to propose an accommodation, but were not empowered to conclude any thing. These words were no sooner spoken, than Alcibiades exclaims against them; declares them to be treacherous knaves; calls upon the council as witness to the speech they had made the night before; and desires the people not to believe or hear men who so impudently advanced falsehoods, and spoke and prevaricated so unaccountably, as to say one thing one day, and the very reverse on the next.

Words could never express the surprise and confusion with which the ambassadors were seized, who, gazing at one another, could not believe either their eyes or ears. Nicias, who did not know the treacherous stratagem of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this change, and tortured his brain to no purpose to find out the reason of it. The people were at that moment going to send for the ambassadors of

Argos, in order to conclude the league with them, when a great earthquake came to the assistance of Nicias, and broke up the assembly. It was with the utmost difficulty he prevailed so far in that which was held next day, as to have a stop put to the proceedings, till such time as ambassadors should be sent to Lacedæmon. Nicias was appointed to head them, but returned without having done the least good. The Athenians then repented very much their having delivered up, at his persuasion, the prisoners they had taken in the island, and who were related to the greatest families in Sparta. However, though the people were highly exasperated at Nicias, they did not proceed to any excesses against him, but only appointed Alcibiades their general; made a league with the inhabitants of Mantinea and Elis, who had quitted the party of the Lacedæmonians, in which the Argives were included, and sent troops to Pylus, to lay waste Laconia. In this manner they again involved themselves in the war which they were so lately desirous of avoiding.

Plutarch,¹ after relating the intrigue of Alcibiades, adds: "No one can approve the methods he employed to succeed in his design; however, it was a master-stroke to disunite and shake almost every part of Peloponnesus in this manner, and raise up, in one day, so many enemies against the Lacedæmonians." In my opinion, this is too mild a censure of so knavish and perfidious an action, which how successful soever it might have been, was, notwithstanding, horrid in itself, and of a nature never to be sufficiently detested.

There was in Athens a citizen,² named Hyperbolus, a very wicked man, whom the comic poets generally made the object of their raillery and invectives. He was hardened in evil, and become insensible to infamy, by renouncing all sentiments of honour, which could only be the effect of a soul abandoned entirely to vice. Hyperbolus was not agreeable to any one; and yet the people made use of him to humble those in high stations, and involve them in difficulties. Two citizens, Nicias and Alcibiades, engrossed at that time all the authority in Athens. The dissolute life of the latter shocked the Athenians, who besides, dreaded his audacity and haughtiness. On the other side, Nicias, by always opposing, without the least reserve, their unjust desires, and by obliging them to take the most useful measures, was become very odious to them. It might be expected, that as the people were thus alienated from both, they could not fail to put the ostracism in force against one of them. Of the two parties which prevailed at that time in the city, one, which consisted of the young men who were eager for war, the other of the old men who were desirous of peace; the former endeavoured to procure the banishment of Nicias, and the latter of Alcibiades. Hyperbolus, whose only merit was his impudence, in hopes of succeeding, whichever of them should be removed, declared openly against them, and was eternally exasperating the people against both. However, the two factions uniting, he himself was banished, and by that put an end to the ostracism, which seemed to have been demanded, in being employed against a man of so base a character; for hitherto there was a kind of honour and dignity annexed to this punishment. Hyperbolus was therefore the last who was sentenced by the ostracism; as Hipparchus, a near relation of Pisistratus the tyrant had been the first.

SECTION V.—ALCIBIADES ENGAGES THE ATHENIANS IN THE WAR OF SICILY.

Sixteenth and seventeenth years of the war.

I PASS over several inconsiderable events,³ to hasten to the relation of that of the greatest importance the expedition of the Athenians into Sicily, to which they were excited by Alcibiades especially. This is the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war.

A. M. 3588.
Ant. J. C. 416

¹ In Aleib. p. 196.

² Plut. in Aleib. p. 196, 197. In Nic. p. 530, 531.

³ Thueyd. l. viii. p. 350—409.

Alcibiades¹ had gained a surprising ascendancy over the minds of the people, though they were perfectly well acquainted with his character. For his great qualities were united with still greater vices, which he did not take the least pains to conceal. He passed his life in such an excess of luxury and voluptuousness, as was a scandal to the city. Nothing was seen in his house but festivals, rejoicings, and parties of pleasure and debauchery. He showed very little regard to the customs of his country, and still less to religion and the gods. All persons of sense and judgment, besides the strong aversion they had for his irregularities, dreaded exceedingly the consequences of his audacity, profusion, and utter contempt of the laws, which they considered as so many steps by which Alcibiades would rise to tyrannical power.

Aristophanes, in one of his comedies,² shows admirably well in a single verse, the disposition of the people towards him: "They hate Alcibiades," says he, "and yet cannot do without him." And, indeed, the prodigious sums he squandered on the people; the pompous games and shows he exhibited to please them; the magnificent and almost incredible presents which he made the city; the grace and beauty of his person; his eloquence, his bodily strength, joined to his courage and his experience; in a word, this assemblage of great qualities made the Athenians wink at his faults, and bear them patiently, always endeavouring to lessen and screen them under soft and favourable names; for they called them frolics and polite pastimes, and indications of his humanity and good nature.

Timon, the man-hater, morose and savage as he was, formed a better judgment of this conduct of Alcibiades. Meeting him one day as he was coming out of the assembly, vastly pleased at his having been gratified in all his demands, and at seeing the greatest honours paid him by the people in general, who were attending him in crowds to his house; so far from shunning him as he did all other men, on the contrary ran to meet him, and stretching out his hand to him in a friendly way; "Courage, my son," says he, "thou dost right in pushing thy fortune, for thy advancement will be the ruin of all these people." The war of Sicily will show that Timon was not mistaken.

The Athenians ever since the time of Pericles, had meditated the conquest of Sicily. However, that wise guide had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project. He used frequently to inculcate to them, that by living in peace, by directing their attention to naval affairs, by contenting themselves with preserving the conquests they had already gained, and by not engaging in hazardous enterprises, they would raise their city to a flourishing condition, and be always superior to their enemies. The authority he had at that time over the people, kept them from invading Sicily, though it could not surmount the desire they had to conquer it, and their eyes were continually upon that island. Some time after Pericles's death,³ the Leontines being attacked by the Syracusans, had sent a deputation to Athens, to demand aid. They were originally of Chalcis, an Athenian colony. The chief of the deputies was Gorgias, a famous rhetorician, who was reputed the most eloquent man of his time. His elegant and florid diction, heightened by shining figures, which he first employed, charmed the Athenians, who were prodigiously affected with the beauties and graces of eloquence. Accordingly the alliance was concluded, and they sent ships to Rhegium to the aid of the Leontines. The year following they sent a greater number. Two years after they sent a new fleet, something stronger than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to all their divisions, by the advice of Hermocrates, the fleet was sent back; and the Athenians, not being able to prevail with themselves to pardon their generals for not conquering Sicily, sent two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, into banish-

ment; and sentenced the third, Eurymedon, to pay a heavy fine; their prosperity having blinded them to so prodigious a degree, that they were persuaded no power was able to resist them. They made several attempts afterwards, and upon pretence of sending from time to time arms and soldiers to such cities as were unjustly treated or oppressed by the Syracusans, they by that means were preparing to invade them with a greater force.

But the person who most inflamed this ardour was Alcibiades, by feeding the people with splendid hopes, with which he himself was for ever filled, or rather intoxicated. He was every night, in his dreams, taking Carthage, subduing Africa, crossing from thence into Italy, and possessing himself of all Peloponnesus; looking upon Sicily not as the aim and the end of this war, but as the beginning and the first step of the exploits which he was revolving in his mind. All the citizens favoured his views, and, without inquiring seriously into matters, were enchanted with the mighty hopes he gave them. This expedition was the only topic of all conversations. The young men, in the places where the public exercises were performed, and the old men in their shops and elsewhere, were employed in nothing but in drawing the plan of Sicily; in discoursing on the nature and quality of the sea with which it is surrounded; on its good harbours, and flat shores towards Africa: for these people, infatuated by the speeches of Alcibiades, were (like him) persuaded that they should make Sicily only their place of arms and their arsenal, from whence they should set out for the conquest of Carthage, and make themselves masters of all Africa and the sea, as far as the pillars of Hercules.

It is related⁴ that neither Socrates, nor Meton the astronomer believed that this enterprise would be successful: the former being inspired, as he insinuated, by his familiar spirit, who always warned him of the evils with which he was threatened: and the other, directed by his reason and good sense, which, pointing out what he had to apprehend in respect to the future, induced him to act the madman on this occasion; and to demand, in consideration of the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, that the Athenians would not force away his son, and would dispense with his carrying arms.

SECTION VI.—ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO INHABITED SICILY.

BEFORE I enter on the relation of the war of Sicily,⁵ it will not be improper to give a plan of the coun-

¹ Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 539.

² [This celebrated island constitutes the southern part of the modern kingdom of Naples, and extends from $12^{\circ} 45'$ to $16^{\circ} 10'$ east longitude of Greenwich, and from $35^{\circ} 40'$ to $38^{\circ} 15'$ north latitude. It is of a triangular form, terminating in three Capes; namely, Cape Faro, towards Italy—Cape Passaro, towards Greece—and Cape Boco, towards Africa. The Faro of Messina, dividing it from Italy, is 5 miles broad. The northern side or base of the triangle, fronting the Tuscan Sea, is 215 British miles long, from Cape Boco to Cape Faro. The S. W. side, fronting Africa, is 180 miles long, from Cape Passaro to Cape Boco. The eastern side of the triangle, looking towards Greece, is the shortest, being only 120 miles in length from Cape Passaro to Cape Faro. The whole superficies of the island contains 9400 geographical square miles, or 12,533 British square miles.

This island was once the granary of Rome, its soil was so fertile, and its produce so abundant. It is now comparatively reduced to a desert, and completely dependent on foreign supply for its support. In 1811, one million of dollars were paid for imported corn. More than one-third of the population are in a state of absolute indigence and mendicity, in a land capable of supporting thrice the number of its present inhabitants—which, in the days of Timoleon and Hiero, were estimated at upwards of 5,000,000, after making every allowance for the inaccuracy of loose calculations. Two of its cities, Agrigentum and Syracuse, contained upwards of 800,000 inhabitants each, according to the testimony of a respectable native historian, Diodorus Siculus. All this misery and want has been the consequence of many ages of the grossest tyranny and misrule, and the baneful influence of the feudal system. The descendants of the Norman barons, who under Roger conquered Sicily from the Saracens, are complete masters of both the people and the soil; and

³ Plut. in Alcib. p. 198—200. In Nic. p. 531.

⁴ The Frogs. Act v. scene 4.

⁵ Diod. l. xii. p. 99.

try and of the nations who inhabited it: Thucydides begins in the same manner.

It was first inhabited by the Lestrygonæ and the Cyclopes,¹ of whom we know nothing but what we are told by the poets. The most ancient, after these, were the Sicani, who called themselves the original inhabitants of this country, though they are thought to have come into it from the neighbourhood of a river in Spain, called Scianus, whose name they gave to the island, which before was called Trinacria: these people were afterwards confined to the western part of the island. Some Trojans, after the burning of their city, came and settled near them, and built Eryx and Egesta,² who all assumed the name of Elymæi; and were afterwards joined by some inhabitants of Phocis, at their return from the siege of Troy. Those who are properly called Sicilians came from Italy in very great numbers; and having gained a considerable victory over the Sicani, confined them to a corner of their island, about 300 years before the arrival of the Greeks; and in Thucydides's time they still inhabited the middle part of the island and the northern coast. From them the island was called Sicily. The Phœnicians also spread themselves along the coast, and in the little islands which border upon it, for the convenience of trade; but after the Greeks began to settle there, they retired into the country of the Elymæi, in order to be nearer Carthage, and abandoned the rest. It was in this manner the Barbarians first settled in Sicily.

With regard to the Greeks, the
A. M. 3294. first of them who crossed into Sicily were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, under Theocles who founded Naxos. The year after—which, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, was the third of the seventh Olympiad—Archias the Corinthian laid the foundations of Syracuse. Seven years after, the Chalcidians founded Leontium and Catana, after having driven out the inhabitants of the country, who were Sicilians. Other Greeks, who came from Megara, a city of Archaia, about the same time founded Megara, called Hyblæ, or simply Hybla, from Hyblon a Sicilian king, by whose permission they had settled in his dominions. It is well known that the Hyblæan honey was very famous among the ancients. A hundred years after, the inhabitants of that city built Selinus. Gela, built on a river of the same name, forty-five years after the founding of Syracuse, founded Agrigentum about 108 years after. Zancle, called afterwards Messina or Messene by Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, who was a native of Messene a city of Peloponnesus, had several founders, and at different periods. The Zancleans built the city of Himera; the Syracusans built Acra, Casmenæ, and Canarina. These are most of the nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who settled in Sicily.

SECTION VII.—THE PEOPLE OF EGESTA IM-PLORE AID OF THE ATHENIANS. NICIAS OPPOSES, BUT TO NO PURPOSE, THE WAR OF SICILY. AL-CIBIADES CARRIES THAT POINT. THEY ARE BOTH APPOINTED GENERALS WITH LAMACHUS.

ATHENS was in the disposition
A. M. 3588. above related,³ when ambassadors Ant. J. C. 416. arrived from the people of Egesta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid against the inhabitants of Selinus, who were assisted by the Syracusans. It was the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. They represented, among other things, that should they be abandoned, the Syracusans, after seizing their city, as

they had done that of Leontium, would possess themselves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponnesians, who were their founders; and, that they might put them to as little charge as possible, they offered to pay the troops that should be sent to succour them. The Athenians, who had long waited for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves, sent deputies to Egesta, to inquire into the state of affairs, and to see whether there was money enough in the treasury to defray the expenses of so great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been so artful, as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and silver vases, worth an immense sum of money; and of these they made a show when the Athenians arrived. The deputies returned with those
A. M. 3589. of Egesta, who carried threescore talents in ingots, as a month's pay Ant. J. C. 415. for the sixty galleys which they demanded; and a promise of larger sums, which, they said, were ready both in the public treasury and in the temples. The people, struck with these fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themselves the leisure to examine; and seduced by the advantageous reports which their deputies made, with the view of pleasing them; immediately granted the Egestans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to command the fleet; with full power, not only to succour Egesta, and restore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city, but also to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in such a manner as might best suit the interests of the republic.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals to his very great regret; for, besides other motives which made him dread the command, he shunned it, because Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the Athenians promised themselves greater success from this war, should they not resign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coolness and wisdom of Nicias.

Five days after,⁴ to hasten the execution of the decree, and make the necessary preparations, a second assembly was held. Nicias, who had had time enough to reflect deliberately on the affair proposed, and was more and more convinced of the difficulties and dangers which would ensue from it, thought himself obliged to speak with some vehemence against a project, the consequences of which he foresaw might be very fatal to the republic. He said, "That it was surprising so important an affair should have been determined almost as soon as it was taken into deliberation; that without once inquiring into matters, they had given credit to whatever was told them by foreigners, who were very lavish of the most splendid promises as costing them nothing; and whose interest it was to offer mighty things, in order to extricate themselves from their imminent danger. After all, what advantage," says he, "can accrue from thence to the republic? Have we so few enemies at our doors, that we need go in search of others at a distance from us? Will you act wisely, to hazard your present possessions, on the vain hopes of an uncertain advantage? to meditate new conquests before you have secured your ancient ones? to study nothing but the aggrandizing of your state, and quite neglect your own safety? Can you place any dependence on a truce, which you yourselves know is very precarious; which you are sensible has been infringed more than once; and which the least defeat on our side may suddenly change into an open war? You are not ignorant how the Lacedæmonians have always been, and still continue, disposed towards us. They detest our government as different from theirs; it is with grief and disdain they see us possessed of the empire of Greece; they consider our glory as their shame and confusion; and there is nothing they would not attempt, to humble a power which excites their jealousy, and keeps them perpetually in fear. These are our real enemies, and these are they whom we ought to guard against. Will it be a proper time to make these reflections, when (after having divided our troops, and while our arms will be employed elsewhere, and we

the Catholic clergy possess full one third of all the landed property in the island, so that the peasantry are in a state of absolute vassalage to the nobles and the clergy. Its population in 1716 was only 1,123,163 persons. Sicily at this moment presents a picture of the greatest misery, poverty, and want, in the midst of an earthly paradise, that is to be found in the civilized world.]

¹ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 410—413.

² It is called Segesta by the Romans.

³ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 413—415. Diod. l. xii. p. 109, 120. Plat. in Alcib. p. 200. Is Nic p. 531.

⁴ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415—428.

shall be unable to resist them) we shall be attacked at once by all the forces of Peloponnesus? We do but just begin to breathe after the calamities in which war and the plague had plunged us; and we are now going without the least necessity to plunge ourselves into greater danger. If we are ambitious of carrying our arms into distant countries, would it not be more expedient to march and reduce the rebels of Thrace, and other nations who are still wavering and unfixed in their allegiance, than to fly to the succour of the inhabitants of Egæta, about whose welfare we ought to be very indifferent? And will it suit our interest to attempt to revenge their injuries, at a time that we do not discover the least resentment for those we ourselves receive? Let us leave the Sirilians to themselves, and not engage in their quarrels, which it is their business to decide. As the inhabitants of Egæta undertook the war without us, let them extricate themselves from it without our interference. Should any of our generals advise you to this enterprise, from an ambitious or self-interested view; merely to make a vain parade of his splendid equipages, or to raise money to support his extravagance; he not guilty of so much imprudence as to sacrifice the interest of the republic to his, or permit him to involve it in the same ruin with himself. An enterprise of so much importance ought not to be committed wholly to the conduct of a young man. Remember it is prudence, not prejudice and passion, that gives success to affairs." Nicias concluded with declaring it his opinion, that it would be proper to deliberate again on the affair, in order to prevent the fatal consequences with which their taking rash resolutions might be attended.

It was plain he had Alcibiades in view, and that his enormous luxury was the object of his censure. And indeed he carried it to an incredible height; and lavished prodigious sums of money on horses, equipages and furniture; not to mention the delicacy and sumptuousness of his table. He disputed the prize in the Olympic games with seven sets of chariot horses, which no private man had ever done before him; and he was crowned more than once on that occasion. Extraordinary resources were necessary for supporting such luxury; and as avarice often serves as a resource to ambition, there were some grounds to believe, that Alcibiades was no less solicitous for the conquest of Sicily, and that of Carthage (which he pretended would immediately follow,) to enrich his family, than to render it glorious. It is natural to suppose that Alcibiades did not let this speech of Nicias go unanswered.

"This," says Alcibiades, "is not the first time that merit has excited jealousy, and glory been made the object of envy. That very thing which is imputed to me for a crime, reflects, I will presume to say it, honour on my country, and ought to gain me applause. The splendour in which I live; the great sums I expend, particularly in the public assemblies; besides their being just and lawful, at the same time give foreigners a greater idea of the glory of Athens; and show, that it is not in such want of money as our enemies imagine. But this is not our present business. Let the world form a judgment of me not from passion and prejudice, but from my actions. Was it an inconsiderable service I did the republic, in bringing over (in one day) to its alliance, the people of Elis, of Mantinea, and of Argos, that is, the chief strength of Peloponnesus? Make use, therefore, to aggrandize your empire, of Alcibiades's youth and folly (since his enemies give it that name,) as well as of the wisdom and experience of Nicias; and do not repent from vain and idle fears, your engaging in an enterprise publicly resolved upon, which may redound infinitely both to your glory and advantage. The cities of Sicily, weary of the unjust and cruel government of their princes, and still more of the tyrannical authority which Syracuse exercises over them, wait only for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves; and are ready to open their gates to any one who shall offer to break the yoke under which they have so long groaned. Though the citizens of Egæta, as being your allies, should not have a right to your protec-

tion; yet the glory of Athens ought to engage you to support them. States aggrandize themselves by succouring the oppressed, and not by continuing inactive. In the present state of your affairs, the only way to dispirit your enemies, and show that you are not afraid of them, will be, to harass one nation, to check the progress of another, to keep them all employed, and carry your arms into distant countries. Athens was not formed for ease; and it was not by inactivity that your ancestors raised it to the height in which we now see it. For the rest, what hazards will you run by engaging in the enterprise in question? If it should be crowned with success, you will then possess yourselves of all Greece; and should it not answer your expectations, your fleet will give you an opportunity of retiring whenever you please. The Lacedæmonians indeed may make an incursion into our country; but, besides that it would not be in our power to prevent it, though we should not invade Sicily, we still shall preserve the empire of the sea, in spite of them; a circumstance which makes our enemies entirely despair of ever being able to conquer us. Be not therefore binned by Nicias's reasons. The only tendency of them is to sow the seeds of discord between the old and young men, who can do nothing without one another; since it is wisdom and courage, counsel and execution, that gives success to all enterprises: and this in which we are going to embark, cannot but turn to your glory and advantage."

The Athenians,¹ flattered and pleased with Alcibiades's speech, persisted in their first opinion; Nicias, on the other side, did not depart from his; but at the same time did not dare to oppose Alcibiades any farther. Nicias was naturally of a mild and timid disposition. He was not like Pericles, master of that lively and vehement eloquence, which, like a torrent, bears down all things in its way. And indeed, the latter, on several occasions and at several times, had never failed to check the impetuosity of the populace, who, even then, meditated the expedition into Sicily; because he was always inflexible, and never slackened the reins of that authority, and kind of sovereignty which he had acquired over the minds of the people; whereas Nicias,² both by acting and speaking in an easy, gentle manner, so far from winning over the people, suffered himself to be forcibly and involuntarily carried away: and accordingly he at last yielded to the people, and accepted the command in a war which he plainly foresaw would be attended with the most fatal consequences.

Plutarch makes this reflection in his excellent treatise, where, speaking of the qualities requisite in a statesman, he shows how very necessary eloquence and inflexible constancy and perseverance are to him.

Nicias, not daring to oppose Alcibiades any longer openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by starting a great number of difficulties, drawn especially from the great expense requisite for this expedition. He declared that, since they were resolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in such a manner as should be consistent with the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained; that a fleet was not sufficient to oppose so formidable a power as that of the Syracusans and their allies; that they must raise an army composed of good horse and foot, if they desired to act in a manner worthy of so grand a design: that, besides their fleet, which was to make them masters at sea, they must have a great number of transports, to carry provisions perpetually to the army, which otherwise could not possibly subsist in an enemy's country: that they must carry vast sums of money with them, without waiting for that promised them by the citizens of Egæta, who perhaps, were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promise; that they ought to weigh and examine the disparity there was between themselves and their enemies with regard to the conveniences and wants of the army; the Syracusans being in their own country, in the midst of

¹ Plut. in præf. de ger. rep. p. 609.

² Καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλοι χαλῶν τοῦ λόγου περιέμινον ἀποστρέφειν τὸν δῆμον, οὐ κατέστην.

powerful allies, disposed by inclination, as well as engaged by interest, to assist them with men, arms, horses and provisions; whereas, the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country possessed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in less than four months' time; a country, where all things would oppose the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms: that it would reflect the greatest ignominy on the Athenians, should they be forced to abandon their enterprise, and thereby become the scorn and contempt of their enemies, by having neglected to take all the precautions which so important a design required: that as for himself, he was determined not to go, unless he was provided with all things necessary for the expedition, because the safety of the whole army depended on that circumstance; and he would not suffer it to depend upon the caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies.

Nicias had flattered himself,¹ that this speech would cool the ardour of the people, whereas it only inflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raise as many troops, and fit out as many galleys as they should judge necessary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens and other places with inexpressible activity.

SECTION VIII.—THE ATHENIANS PREPARE TO SET SAIL. SINISTER OMENS. THE STATUES OF MERCURY ARE MUTILATED. ALICIBIADES IS ACCUSED, AND INSISTS UPON HIS BEING TRIED, BUT HIS REQUEST IS NOT GRANTED. TRIUMPHANT DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET.

WHEN all things were ready for A. M. 3589. their departure,² and they were Ant. J. C. 415. preparing to sail, there happened several bad omens, which filled the minds of the people with trouble and disquietude. The women were at that time celebrating the festival of Adonis,³ during which the whole city was in mourning, and full of images representing dead persons and funeral processions; and every part echoed with the cries and groans of the women who followed those statues with lamentations. Whence it was feared, that this gay and magnificent armament, would soon lose all its splendour and wither away like a flower.⁴

The general anxiety was increased by another accident. The statues of Mercury, which stood at the entrance of private houses and temples, were all mutilated in one night, and particularly in the face; and although a great reward was promised to any person who should discover the authors of so audacious a crime, no one was detected. The citizens could not forbear considering this uncommon event, not only as an unlucky omen, but as a contrivance of some factious men, who harboured very ill designs. Some young people had already been accused of committing a nearly similar crime in the midst of a drunken frolic; and particularly of having wantonly mimicked the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, with Alcibiades, who represented the high-priest, at their head. It highly concerns all those in exalted stations,⁵ to be extremely careful of every step they take, and not to give the least opportunity to the most inveterate malice to censure them. They ought to call to mind, says Plutarch, that the eyes of all men are upon their conduct, and that they are ever eye-eyed on these occasions; that not only their outward actions pass the most severe scrutiny, but that they penetrate to their most private apartments, and there take the strictest

notice of their conversation, their diversions, and their most secret transactions. It was this dread of the piercing eye of the people, that kept Themistocles and Pericles perpetually on their guard, and obliged them to refrain from most of those pleasures in which others indulged themselves.

As for Alcibiades, he did not know what it was to lay himself under any restraints; and accordingly, as his character was so notorious, people were easily persuaded that he very probably had been concerned in what had happened. His luxury, libertinism, and irreligion, gave an air of probability to this charge; and the accuser was not afraid of mentioning his name. This attack staggered the constancy and resolution of Alcibiades; but hearing the soldiers and sailors declare that they were induced to engage in this distant expedition beyond sea, by no other motive than their affection for Alcibiades; and that, should the least injury be done him, they would all immediately leave the service; he took heart, and appeared at his trial on the day appointed for that purpose. His enemies, upon pretence that it was necessary for the fleet to set sail, got the judgment postponed. It was to no purpose for Alcibiades to insist upon being tried, in case he was guilty, without waiting for his absence in order to ruin him; and to represent, that it would be the most shocking and barbarous injustice to oblige him to embark for so important an expedition, without first making due inquiry into the accusations and horrid slanders which were cast upon him, the bare thoughts of which would keep him in perpetual fear and anxiety. However, none of these remonstrances proved effectual, and the fleet was ordered to set out.

They accordingly prepared to set sail,⁶ after having appointed Corcyra as the rendezvous for most of the allies, and such ships as were to carry the provisions and baggage. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Piræus. The former attended their children, relations, friends, or companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow, upon their bidding adieu to persons that were as dear to them as life, who were setting out on a far distant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they ever would return, though they flattered themselves with the hopes that the enterprise would be successful. The foreigners came thither to feed their eyes with a sight which was highly worthy their curiosity; for no single city in the world had ever fitted out so gallant a fleet. Those indeed which had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as considerable with regard to the number of the soldiers and ships; but then they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprise so important. Here were seen a land and naval army, equipped with the utmost care, and at the expense of private individuals as well as of the public, with all things necessary, on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furnished 100 empty galleys; that is, threescore light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, or ten-pence (French) for his pay, exclusively of what the captains of ships individually gave the rowers of the first bench.⁷ Add to this the pomp and magnificence of the equipment; every one striving to eclipse the rest, and each captain endeavouring to make his ship the lightest, and at the same time the gayest of the whole fleet. I shall not take notice of the choice in the soldiers and seamen, who were the flower of the Athenians; nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatness of their arms and equipage; any more than that of their officers, who had laid out considerable sums purely to distinguish themselves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their persons and circumstances; so that this sight had the air of a tournament, in which the utmost magnificence is displayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the

¹ Diod. l. xiii. p. 134.

² Thucyd. l. vi. p. 423. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200, 201.

³ This superstitious rite had extended even to God's people. *And behold these sad women weeping for Tammuz.* Ezek. viii. 14. N. B. The Latin version of the Bible, which M. Rollin follows, says *weeping for Adonis*; which is the same as Tammuz, the Hebrews calling Adonis by that name.

⁴ The historian alludes to the plants and flowers that were carried in that ceremony, and which went by the name of Adonis's gardens.

⁵ Plut. n. præc. de rep. p. 800.

⁶ Thucyd. p. 430—432. Diod. l. xiii. p. 135.

⁷ They were called *ῥοῦνται*. They had longer oars than the rest, and consequently more trouble in rowing.

boldness and greatness of the design still exceeded expense and splendour.

When the ships were loaded, and the troops got on board, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition; gold and silver cups were filled every where with wine, and the accustomed libations were poured out; the people who lined the shore shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and success. And now, the hymn being sung, and the ceremonies ended, the ships sailed one after another out of the harbour; after which they strove to out sail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made to Corcyra, where the army of the allies were assembling with the rest of the fleet.

SECTION IX.—SYRACUSE IS ALARMED. THE ATHENIAN FLEET ARRIVES IN SICILY.

ADVICE of this expedition having been brought to Syracuse from all quarters,¹ it was thought so improbable, that at first nobody would believe it. But as it was more and more confirmed every day, the Syracusans began to think seriously of making the necessary preparations; and sent deputations to every part of the island, to ask assistance of some, and send succours to others. They garrisoned all the castles and forts in the country; reviewed all the soldiers and horses; examined the arms in the magazines, and settled and prepared all things, as if the enemy had been in their country.

In the mean time the fleet sailed in three squadrons, each under the command of its particular general. It consisted of 136 ships, 100 whereof belonged to Athens, and the rest to the allies. On board these ships were 5000 heavy armed soldiers, 2200 of whom were Athenian citizens, viz. 1500 of those who had estates, and 700² who had none, but were equally citizens; the rest consisted of allies. With regard to the light infantry, there were eighty archers of Crete, and 400 of other countries; 700 Rhodian slingers, and 120 exiles of Megara. There was but one company of horse, consisting of thirty troopers, who had embarked on board a vessel proper for transporting cavalry. Both the fleet and the land forces were afterwards increased considerably. Thirty vessels carried the provisions and utensils, with masons, carpenters, and their several tools; the whole followed by 100 small vessels for the service, exclusive of merchant ships, of which there were great numbers. All this fleet had sailed together from Corcyra. Having met with but an indifferent reception from the people of Tarentum and Locri, they sailed with a favourable wind for Rhegium, where they made some stay. The Athenians were very urgent with the inhabitants of Rhegium to succour those of Leontium, who came originally from Chalcis as well as themselves; but these answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the rest of Italy. Here they debated on the manner in which it was necessary to carry on the war, and waited for the coming up of those ships that had been sent out to make discoveries of a proper place for landing, and to inquire whether the citizens of Egesta had got their money ready. Upon their return they brought advice that they had but thirty talents in the treasury. This Nicias had foreseen, but no regard had been paid to his salutary counsels.

He did not fail,³ the instant this news was brought, to expatiate on the counsel he had given in Athens; to show the wrong step they had taken in engaging in this war; and to exaggerate the fatal consequences which might be expected from it: in all which he acted very imprudently. It was extremely judicious in Nicias to oppose it in the beginning, and to set very engine at work to crush if possible this ill-fated project. But as the expedition was resolved, and he himself had accepted of the command, he ought not to have been perpetually looking backward, nor to

have repeated incessantly, that this war had been undertaken in opposition to all the maxims of prudence and by that means to cool the ardour of his two colleagues in the command, to dispirit the soldiers, and blunt that edge of confidence and ardour, which assures the success of great enterprises. He ought, on the contrary, to have advanced boldly towards the enemy: should have attacked them with vigour, and have spread a universal terror, by a sudden and unexpected descent.

But Nicias acted in a quite different manner. His opinion, in the council of war, was that they should sail for Selinus, which had been the first occasion of this expedition; and then, if the citizens of Egesta performed their promise, and gave a month's pay to the army, to proceed forward; or otherwise, to oblige them to furnish provisions for the sixty galleys they had demanded, and continue in that road till they should have concluded a peace with the citizens of Selinus, either by force of arms or some other way. He said, that they afterwards should return to Athens, after having thus made a parade of their forces, and the assistance they gave their allies; unless they should have an opportunity of making some attempt in favour of the Leontines, or of bringing over some city into their alliance.

Alcibiades answered, that it would be inglorious after sailing out with so noble a fleet, to return without doing any thing; and that they should first endeavour to conclude an alliance with the Greeks and Barbarians, in order to detach them from the Syracusans; and procure troops and provisions from them; and especially to send a deputation to Messina, which was as it were the key of Sicily, and its harbour capacious enough to hold all the fleet. He declared farther, that after seeing who were their friends and enemies, and strengthening themselves by the addition of a new reinforcement, they then should attack either Selinus or Syracuse; in case the one should refuse to conclude a peace with Egesta, and the other not permit the Leontines to return to their city.

Lamachus offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the most prudent; that was to sail directly for Syracuse, before its citizens had time to recover from their surprise, or prepare for their defence. He observed, that the sudden arrival of an armed force always strikes the greatest terror; and that when enemies are allowed time to reflect and make preparations, it also revives their courage; whereas, when they are suddenly attacked, while still in confusion, they are generally overcome: that as they would be masters of the open country, they would not be in want of any thing, but, on the contrary, would oblige the Sicilians to declare for them: that at last they should settle in Megara, which was quite a desert, and a near neighbour to Syracuse, and there lay up their fleet in safety. However, his counsel not being followed, he agreed to that of Alcibiades: accordingly they sailed for Sicily, where Alcibiades took Catania by surprise.

SECTION X.—ALCIBIADES IS RECALLED. HE FLIES, AND IS SENTENCED TO DIE FOR CONTUMACY. HE RETIRES TO SPARTA. FLEXIBILITY OF HIS GENIUS AND DISPOSITION.

THIS was the first and last exploit performed by Alcibiades in this expedition,⁴ he being immediately recalled by the Athenians, in order to be tried upon the accusation laid against him. For, since the departure of the fleet, his enemies, who had no regard to the welfare of their country; and who, under the specious pretence of religion, which is often made a cloak to cover the darkest designs, meditated nothing but satiating their hatred and revenge: his enemies, I say, taking advantage of his absence, had proceeded in the affair with greater rigour than ever. All those against whom informations were lodged, were thrown into prison, without so much as being suffered to be heard, and that too on the evidence of the most profligate and abandoned citizens; as if, says Thucydides, it was not as great a crime to punish the innocent, as

¹ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 432—445.

² These were called *Strati*.

³ Plut. in Nic. p. 532.

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Diod. l. xiii. p. 135, 136.

⁴ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446—450. Plut. in Alcib. p. 302.

to suffer the guilty to escape. One of the informers was proved to be perjured by his own words; having declared that he saw and knew one of the accused by moonlight; whereas it appeared, that there was no moon at that time. But notwithstanding this manifest perjury, the populace were as furious as ever. The remembrance of the tyranny of the Pisistratide made them apprehensive of a similar attempt; and, strongly possessed with this fear, they would not give ear to any thing.

At last they sent out the Salaminian galley,¹ ordering the captain not to carry off Alcibiades by force, for fear of raising a tumult in the army; but only to order him to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his presence. Alcibiades obeyed the order, and went immediately on board his galley; but the instant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on shore, he disappeared, and eluded the pursuit of those who sought after him. Being asked, whether he would not rely on his country, with regard to the judgment it might pass on him: *I would not, says he, rely on my mother, for fear she should inadvertently mistake a black bean for a white one.*² The galley of Salamis returned back without the commander, who was ashamed of his having suffered his prey to escape him in that manner. Alcibiades was condemned to die for his contumacy. His whole estate was confiscated, and all the priests and priestesses were commanded to curse him. Among the latter was one, named Theano, who alone had the courage to oppose this decree, saying, *That she had been appointed priestess, not to curse but to bless.* Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to die, *I shall make them sensible,* said he, *that I am alive.*

Much about this time Diagoras the Melian was prosecuted at Athens.⁴ He had settled himself in that city, where he taught atheism, and was brought to a trial for his poisonous doctrine. Diagoras escaped the punishment which would have been inflicted on him,⁵ by flying from the city; but he could not wipe off the ignominy of the sentence which condemned him to death. The Athenians had so great an abhorrence for the iniquitous principles inculcated by him, that they even set a price upon his head, and promised a reward of a talent to any man who should deliver him up dead or alive.

About twenty years before a similar process had been instituted against Protagoras,⁶ for having only treated the same question by way of problem. He had said in the beginning of one of his books: "Whether the gods do or do not exist, is a question which I know not whether I ought to affirm or deny: for our understandings are too much clouded, and the life of man is too short, for the solution of so nice and difficult a point." But the Athenians could not bear to have a subject of this nature made a doubt; and for this reason they ordered proclamation to be made by the public crier, for all persons who had any copies of this book, to bring them to the magistrates: after which they were burnt as infamous and impious pieces, and the author was banished for ever, from all the territories of the Athenians.

Diagoras and Protagoras had been the disciples of Democritus, who first invented the philosophy of atoms.

Since the departure of Alcibiades,⁷ Nicias had possessed the whole authority; for Lamachus his colleague, though a man of bravery and experience, possessed little influence, because of his extreme poverty, for which he was despised by the soldiers. But the Athenians were not always of this way of thinking; for we have seen that Aristides, poor as he was, was not less esteemed and respected on that account: but in this last expedition, the people in general had

imbibed a passion for luxury and magnificence; the natural consequence of which is, a love of riches. As Nicias, therefore, governed solely, all his actions were of the same cast with his disposition, that is, timid and dilatory: he suffered every thing to languish, sometimes, either by lying still and undertaking nothing, sometimes by only sailing along the coast, or losing time in consulting or deliberating: all which soon suppressed, on one side, the ardour and confidence the troops expressed at first; and on the other the fear and terror with which the enemy had been seized, at the sight of so formidable an armament. He besieged Hybla; and though it was but a small city, he was however obliged to raise the siege some days after, which brought him into the highest contempt. He retired at last to Catana, after having performed but one exploit, viz. the ruining of Hycara, a small town inhabited by Barbarians, from which place, it is said that Lais the courtesan, at that time very young, was sold with the rest of the captives, and carried to Peloponnesus.

In the mean time,⁸ Alcibiades having left Thurium, arrived at Argos; and as he quite despaired of ever being recalled home, he sent a messenger to the Spartans, desiring leave to reside among them, under their guard and protection. He promised, in the most solemn manner, that if they would consider him as their friend, he would render greater services to their state, than he before had done injuries to it. The Spartans received him with open arms; and soon after his arrival in their city, he gained the love and esteem of all its inhabitants. He charmed, and ever enchanted them, by conforming in all respects to their way of living. Such people as saw Alcibiades shave himself to the skin, bathe in cold water, eat of the coarse, heavy cakes, which were their usual food, and be so well satisfied with their black broth, could not persuade themselves, that a man, who submitted so cheerfully to this kind of life, had ever kept cooks in his palace; had used essences and perfumes; had worn the fine stuffs of Miletus; in a word, had hitherto lived in the midst of voluptuousness and profusion. But flexibility was the characteristic that chiefly distinguished Alcibiades. Camelon-like, he could assume all shapes and colours, to win the favour of those among whom he resided. He immediately assumed their manners, and adapted himself to their taste, as if they had been natural in him; and though he inwardly had an aversion to them, he could however cover his disgust with an easy, simple, and unconstrained air. With some he had all the graces and vivacity of the gayest youth, and with others all the gravity of old age. In Sparta, he was laborious, frugal, and austere; in Ionia, enjoyment, idleness, and pleasure, made up his whole life; in Thrace, he was always on horseback or carousing; and when he resided with Tissaphernes, the satrap, he exceeded all the magnificence of the Persians in luxury and profusion.

But he was not barely satisfied with gaining the esteem of the Lacedæmonians. He insinuated himself so far into the affection of Timæa, the wife of king Agis, that he had a son by her, who, in public, went by the name of Leotychides; though his mother, in private, and among her women and female friends, did not blush to call him Alcibiades; so violent was her passion for that Athenian. Agis was informed of this intrigue, and therefore refused to own Leotychides for his son; for which reason he was afterwards excluded the throne.

SECTION XI.—DESCRIPTION OF SYRACUSE.

As the siege of Syracuse is one of the most considerable in the Grecian history, the particular circumstances of which I thought proper to relate for that reason, in order to give my readers an idea of the manner in which the ancients formed the siege of a place, I judge it necessary, before I enter into that detail, to give the reader a description and plan of the city of Syracuse; in which he will also find the

¹ This was a sacred vessel, appointed to fetch criminals.

² The judges made use of beans, in giving their suffrages, and the black bean denoted condemnation.

³ Θεοκρούς ἐξ ὧν οὐ καταγινώσκω ἡλικίαν γυναικός.

⁴ Joseph, contra. App. Diocl. l. xlii. p. 137.

⁵ Diocl. Laert. in Protag. Joseph. contra. App. Cic. l. i. de nat. deor. n. 62.

⁶ Thueyd. p. 452, 453. Plut. in Nic. p. 533.

⁸ Plut. in Alcib. p. 230.

different fortifications, both of the Athenians and Syracusans, mentioned in the siege.

Syracuse stood on the eastern coast of Sicily.¹ Its vast extent, its advantageous situation, the convenience of its double harbour, its fortifications built with the utmost care and labour, and the multitude and wealth of its inhabitants, made it one of the greatest, the most beautiful, and most powerful among the Grecian cities. We are told,² its air was so pure and serene, that there was no day in the year, how cloudy soever it might be, in which the sun did not display its beams.

It was built by Archias the Corinthian,³ a year after Naxos and Ant. J. C. 709. Megara had been founded on the same coast.

When the Athenians besieged the city, it was divided into three parts, viz. the Island, Achradina, and Tyche. Thucydides mentions only these three divisions. Two more, viz. Neapolis and Epipolæ, were afterwards added.

The Island, situated to the south, was called *Naxos* (Naxos), signifying, in Greek, an Island, but pronounced according to the Doric dialect; and Ortygia. It was joined to the continent by a bridge. It was in this island that the Syracusans afterwards built the citadel and the palace for their kings.⁴ This quarter of the city was of very great importance, because it might render those who possessed it masters of the two ports which surrounded it. It was for this reason that the Romans, when they took Syracuse, would not suffer any Syracusans to inhabit the Island.

There was in this Island a very famous fountain,⁵ called Arethusa. The ancients, or rather the poets, from reasons which have not the least shadow of probability, supposed that the Alpheus, a river of Elis in Peloponnesus, rolled its waters either through or under the waves of the sea, without ever mixing with them, as far as the fountain of Arethusa. It was this fiction which gave occasion to the following lines of Virgil:

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.—

Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,

Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.

Virg. Eclog. 10.

Thy sacred succour, Arethusa bring,

To crown my labour: 'tis the last I sing.—

So may thy silver streams beneath the tide,

Unmix'd with briny seas securely glide.

Dryden.

ACHRADINA, situated entirely on the sea-side, towards the east, was the most spacious, the most beautiful, and best fortified quarter of the city.

TYCHE, so called from the temple of Fortune (Tyche) which embellished that part of the city, extended along Achradina westward from the north towards the south, and was very well inhabited. It had a famous gate, called Hexapylum, which led into the country, and was situated to the north of the city.

EPIPOLE was a hill without the city, which it commanded. It was situated between Hexapylum and the point of Euryelus, towards the north and west. It was exceedingly steep in several places, and for that reason of very difficult access. At the time of the siege in question it was not surrounded with walls; and the Syracusans defended it with a body of troops, against the attacks of the enemy. Euryelus was the pass or entrance which led to Epipolæ. On the same hill of Epipolæ was a fort called Labdalon, or Labdaulum.

It was not till long after (under Dionysius the tyrant) that Epipolæ was surrounded with walls, and inclosed within the city, of which it formed a fifth part, but was thinly inhabited. A fourth division had

been added before, called Neapolis, that is, the New City, which covered Tyche.

The river Anapus ran at almost half a league distance from the city.⁶ The space between them was a large and beautiful plain, terminated by two fens, the one called Syraco, whence the city was named, and the other Lysimelia. This river emptied itself into the great harbour.—Near its mouth, southward, was a kind of castle called Olympia, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius standing there, and in which were great riches. It was 500 paces from the city.

Syracuse had two harbours, very near one another, and separated only by the Isle, viz. the great harbour, and the small one, called otherwise Lactus. According to the description which the Roman orator gives of them,⁷ both were surrounded with the buildings of the city.

The great harbour was a little above 5000 paces,⁸ or two leagues in circumference. It had a gulf called Dascon. The entrance of this port was but 500 paces wide. It was formed, on one side, by the point of the island Ortygia; and on the other by the little island and cape of Plennyrium, which was commanded by a castle of the same name.

Above Achradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilius.

SECTION XII.—NICIAS, AFTER SOME ENGAGEMENTS, BESIEGES SYRACUSE. LAMACHUS IS KILLED IN A BATTLE. THE CITY IS REDUCED TO THE GREATEST EXTREMITIES.

Eighteenth year of the War.

AT the end of the summer,⁹ news was brought Nicias that the Syracusans having resumed courage, intended to march against him. Already their cavalry advanced with an air of insolence to insult him even in his camp; and asked with a loud laugh whether he was come into Sicily to settle in Catana. These severe reproaches roused him a little, so that he resolved to sail for Syracuse. The enterprise was bold and dangerous. Nicias could not, without running the utmost hazard, attempt to land in the presence of an enemy who waited for him with the greatest resolution; and would not fail to charge him, the instant he should offer to make a descent. Nor was it safer for him to march his troops by land, because, as he had no cavalry, that of the Syracusans, which was very numerous, upon the first advice they should have of his march, would fall upon him, and overpower him by the superiority of forces.

To extricate himself from this perplexity, and enable himself to seize without opposition upon an advantageous post, which a Syracusan exile had discovered to him, Nicias had recourse to stratagem. He caused a false piece of information to be given to the enemy, viz. that by means of a conspiracy, which was to take effect on a certain day, they might seize on his camp, and possess themselves of all the arms and baggage. The Syracusans, on this assurance, marched towards Catana, and pitched their camp near Leontium. The moment the Athenians had advice of this, they embarked with all their troops and ammunition, and in the evening steered for Syracuse. They arrived by day-break in the great harbour; landed near Olympia, in the place which had been pointed out to them, and there fortified themselves. The enemy, finding themselves shamefully over-reached, returned immediately to Syracuse; and, in the greatest rage, drew up in battle array, some days after, before the walls of the city. Nicias marched out of the trenches, and a battle was fought. Victory was a long time doubtful; but a very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, coming unexpectedly, the Syracusans, who were inexperienced, the greatest part

¹ Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117—119.

² Urbsm Syracusan eleganter, cujus hic situs atque hæc natura esse loci cœlique dicitur. ut nullus unquam dies tam magna turbulentaque tempestate fuerit, quin aliquo tempore ejus dici homines viderent. Cic. Verr. 1. n. 26.

³ Strab. l. vi. p. 269.

⁴ Cic. Verr. 7. n. 97.

⁵ Strab. l. vi. p. 270. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. iii. c. 26.

⁶ Plut. in Dionys. vit. p. 970.

⁷ Portus habet præ se in edificatione aspectoque urbis inclusos. Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117.

⁸ According to Strabo, it is eighty stadia in circumference, which is twice its real extent; a plain proof that this passage of Strabo is corrupt. Cluver. p. 167.

⁹ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 453—461. Plut. in Nic. p. 533, 534. Diod. l. xiii. p. 137, 138.

of them having never carried arms before, were frightened at the tempest, whilst their enemies laughed at it, as the mere effect of the season; and regarded nothing but the enemy, who were much more to be dreaded than the storm. The Syracusans, after making a long and vigorous resistance, were forced to give way. The Athenians could not pursue them far, because their horse, which was still in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. The Syracusans retreated in good order, into the city, after having thrown a body of troops into the temple of Olympia, to prevent its being plundered.

This temple stood pretty near the camp of the Athenians, who were very desirous of taking it, because it abounded with gold and silver offerings, which the piety of kings and nations had consecrated. Nicias having delayed sending troops to seize it, lost the opportunity, and gave the Syracusans time to throw into it, as was before observed, a detachment for its defence. It was thought he did this on purpose, and out of reverence to the gods; because, had the soldiers plundered this temple, the public would not have reaped any benefit by it, and himself alone would have been accused of this sacrilege.

After the battle, the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuse, retired with their fleet to Naxos and Catana, to winter there, with design to return in the beginning of the next spring, and lay siege to the city. For this they wanted money, provisions, and particularly horse, of which they were absolutely destitute. The Athenians depended upon obtaining part of the succours from the people of Sicily; who they supposed would join them, the instant they should hear of their victory; and at the same time they sent an express to Athens, to solicit the like aid. They also addressed the Carthaginians for their alliance; and sent deputies to some cities of Italy, situated on the coast of the Tuscan sea, which had promised to assist them.

The Syracusans were far from desponding. Hermocrates, who, of all their leaders, was most distinguished for his valour, his judgment, and experience, represented to them, in order to raise their hopes, that they had not been wanting in courage, but in conduct; that the enemies, though very brave, owed their victory to their good fortune rather than to their merit; that the having a multitude of leaders (they were fifteen in number,) from which confusion and disobedience were inseparable, had done them prejudice; that it would be absolutely necessary for them to choose experienced generals, to keep the rest in their duty, and exercise their forces continually during the winter season. This advice being followed, Hermocrates and two more were elected generals; after which they sent deputies to Corinth and Lacedæmon to renew the alliance, and at the same time to engage them to make a diversion, in order to oblige, if possible, the Athenians to recall their troops out of Sicily, or at least to prevent their sending a reinforcement thither. The fortifying of Syracuse was the chief object of their care. Accordingly they took into the city, by a wall, all the tract of land towards Epipole, from the northern extremity of Tyche, descending westward towards the quarter of the city called afterwards Neapolis, in order to remove the enemy to a greater distance, and to give them more trouble in making their contravallation, by obliging them to give a larger extent to it. This part, in all probability, had been neglected, because it seemed to be sufficiently defended by its rugged and steep situation. They also garrisoned Megara and Olympia, and drove stakes into all those parts of the sea-shore, where the enemy might easily make a descent. Hearing afterwards that the Athenians were at Naxos, they went and burnt the camp of Catana, and retired, after laying waste the adjacent country.

The ambassadors of Syracuse being arrived among the Corinthians, asked succour of them as having been their founders, which was immediately granted; and at the same time they sent an embassy to the

Lacedæmonians, to invite them to declare in their favour. Alcibiades enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence, to which his resentment against Athens added new vigour. He advised and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to appoint Gylippus their general, and send him into Sicily; and at the same time to invade the Athenians, in order to make a powerful diversion. In the third place, he induced them to fortify Decelia in Attica, which quite completed the ruin of the city of Athens, it not being able ever to recover that blow: for by this fort, the Lacedæmonians made themselves masters of the country, by which the Athenians were deprived of their silver mines of Laurium, and of the revenues of their lands: nor could they be succoured by their neighbours, Decelia becoming the asylum of all the malcontents and partisans of Sparta.

Nicias had received some succours from Athens. These consisted A. M. 3590.
of 250 troopers, who the Athenians Ant. J. C. 414.
supposed would be furnished with
horses in Sicily (the troops bringing only the furniture,) and of 30 horse-archers, with 300 talents, that is, 300,000 French crowns.² Nicias now began to prepare for action. He was accused of often letting slip opportunities, by his losing time in deliberating, arguing, and concerting measures; however, when once he entered upon action, he was bold and vigorous in execution, as he before had been slow and timorous in undertaking, as he showed on the present occasion.

The Syracusans hearing that the Athenians had received a reinforcement of cavalry, and would soon march and lay siege to the city; and knowing they could not possibly approach it, or make a contravallation, unless they should possess themselves of the heights of Epipole, which commanded Syracuse, they resolved to guard the avenue to it, which was the only pass by which the enemy could get up to it, every other part being rugged and inaccessible. Marching therefore down into the meadow, bordered by the river Anapus, and reviewing their troops there, they appointed 700 foot, under the command of Diomilus, to guard that important post: with orders to repair to it, at the first signal which should be given for that purpose. But Nicias conducted his design with so much prudence, expedition, and secrecy, that they had not time to do this. He sailed from Catana with all his fleet, without the enemy's having the least suspicion of his design. Being arrived at the port of Troglus, near Leontium, which is but a quarter of a league (six or seven furlongs) from Epipole, he put his land forces on shore, after which he retired with his fleet to Thapsus, a small peninsula near Syracuse, the entrance to which he shut up with a stacado.

The land forces marched with the utmost expedition to seize on Epipole, by the pass of Euryelus, before the enemy who were in the plains of Anapus, at above a league's distance, had the least notice of their arrival. At the first news of this, the 700 soldiers, under the command of Diomilus, advanced forward in confusion, but were easily defeated, and 300 of them with their leader, left dead in the field. The Athenians, after setting up a trophy, built a fort in Labdalou, on the summit of Epipole, in order to secure their baggage and most valuable effects in it, whenever they should be forced to fight, or work at the contravallation.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Eggesta sent the Athenians 300 horse, to which some of their Sicilian allies added 100 more, which with the 250 sent before by the Athenians, and who had furnished themselves with horses in Sicily, made a body of 650 horse.

The plan laid down by Nicias for taking Syracuse, was to surround all the city on the land side with a strong contravallation, in order to cut off all communication with the place from without, in hopes, no doubt, that his fleet would afterwards enable him to prevent the Syracusans from receiving any succour or provisions by sea.

¹ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 471—482. Plut. in Alcib. p. 203. In Sic. p. 334, 335. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138.

² About 67,000*l* sterling.

Having left a garrison in Labdalon, he came down the hill, advanced towards the northern extremity of Tyche, and halting there, he employed the whole army in throwing up a line of contravallation, to shut up the city northward from Tyche as far as Trogilius, situate on the sea-side. This work was carried on with such a rapidity, as terrified the Syracusans. They thought it absolutely necessary to prevent the carrying on of this work, and accordingly made some sallies and attacks, but always with disadvantage, and even their cavalry was routed. The day after the action, the contravallation (northward) was continued by part of the army, during which the rest carried stones and other materials towards Trogilius in order to finish it.

The besieged, by the advice of Hermocrates, thought it advisable not to venture a second battle with the Athenians; and only endeavoured to put a stop to their works, or at least to render them useless, by raising a wall to cut the line of that carried on by the Athenians. They imagined that in case they should be suffered to complete their wall, it would be impossible for the Athenians to make any farther progress in their work: or that, should they endeavour to prevent it, it would be sufficient for the Syracusans to oppose them with a part of their forces, after having shut up such avenues as were most accessible, with strong palisades; and that the Athenians, on the contrary, would be obliged to send for all their forces, and entirely abandon their works.

Accordingly they came out of their city, and working with inexpressible ardour, they began to raise a wall; and, in order to carry it on with less molestation, they covered it with strong palisades, and flanked it with wooden towers at proper distances, to defend it. The Athenians suffered the Syracusans to carry on their works undisturbed, because, had they marched only part of their troops against them, they would have been too weak; and if they had brought them all, they then must have been obliged to discontinue their works, which they had resolved not to do. The work being completed, the Syracusans left a body of troops to defend the palisade and guard the wall, and then returned into the city.

In the mean time the Athenians cut off the canals by which water was conveyed into the city; and observing that the Syracusan soldiers, who had been left to guard the wall, were very negligent in their duty—some returning at noon either into their city or their tents, and the rest not keeping a proper guard—they detached 300 chosen soldiers, and some light infantry, to attack this post; during which the rest of the army marched towards the city, to prevent any succours from coming out of it. Accordingly, the 300 soldiers having forced the palisade, pursued those who guarded it as far as that part of the city wall which covered Temeaites, where, pouring in indiscriminately with them, they were repulsed by the inhabitants with loss. The whole army afterwards demolished the wall, pulled down the palisades of the intrenchment, and carried them off.

After the success whereby the Athenians were masters of the northern parts, they began, the very next day, a still more important work, and which would quite finish their inclosure of the city: viz. to carry a wall from the hills of Epipolæ, westward, through the plain and the fens, as far as the great harbour. To prevent this, the besieged, beginning the same kind of work as they had carried on on the other side, ran a trench, lined with palisades, from the city through the fens, to prevent the Athenians from carrying their contravallation as far as the sea: but the latter, after finishing the first part of the wall on the hills of Epipolæ, resolved to attack this new work. For this purpose, they ordered their fleet to sail from Thapsus to the great harbour of Syracuse; for it had hitherto continued in that road; and the besieged had always the sea open to them, by which the besiegers were obliged to get their provisions from Thapsus by land. The Athenians came down therefore from Epipolæ into the plain before day-break, when throwing planks and beams in that part where the fens were only slimy and more firm than in other places, they immediately

carried the greatest part of the fosse lined with palisades, and then the rest, after having beaten the Syracusans, who gave way and retired; such as were on the right towards the city, and the rest towards the river. Three hundred chosen Athenians having attempted to cut off the passage of the latter, flew towards the bridge; but the enemy's cavalry, the greatest part of which were drawn up in battle, repulsed them; and afterwards charged the right wing of the Athenians, and put the first battalions into disorder. Lamachus, perceiving this from the left wing, where he commanded, ran thither with the Argives and some archers; but having passed a trench, and being abandoned by his soldiers, he was killed with five or six who had followed him. The enemy immediately passed the river, and seeing the rest of the army come up, they retired.

At the same time their right wing, which had returned towards the city, resumed courage from this success, and drew up in order of battle before the Athenians; after having detached some troops to attack the fort on the hills of Epipolæ, which served as a magazine to the enemy, and was thought to be unguarded. They forced an intrenchment that covered the fort, but Nicias saved it. He had remained in this fort, in consequence of illness, and was at that time in his bed, with only his domestics about him. Animated by the danger and the presence of the enemy he struggles with his indisposition; rises up, and commands his servants to set fire immediately to all the timber lying between the intrenchment and the fort for the military engines, and to the engines themselves. This unexpected conflagration stopped the Syracusans, saved Nicias, the fort, and all the rich effects of the Athenians, who made haste to the relief of that general. At the same time, the fleet was seen sailing into the great harbour, according to the orders given for that purpose. The Syracusans having perceived this from the hill, and fearing they should be attacked from behind, and overpowered by the troops which were about to land, retired, and returned to the city with all their forces; now no longer expecting, after having lost their fosse lined with palisades, that it would be possible for them to prevent the enemy from carrying on their contravallation as far as the sea.

In the mean time the Athenians, who had contented themselves with building a single wall on the hills of Epipolæ, and through such places as were craggy and of difficult access, being come down into the plain, began to build, at the foot of the hills, a double wall, intending to carry it as far as the sea; viz. a wall of contravallation against the besieged, and another of circunvallation against those Syracusan troops which were out of the city, and such allies as might come to its aid.

From thenceforward Nicias, who was now sole general, conceived great hopes: for several cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either side came and joined him: and there arrived from all quarters vessels laden with provisions for his army, all parties being eager to go over to him because he had acquired the superiority, and been exceedingly successful in all his undertakings. The Syracusans, seeing themselves blocked up both by sea and land, and losing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already proposed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their assistance, having heard, on his passage, the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole island as lost, sailed forward nevertheless; not with the view of defending Sicily, but only of preserving to the nations of Italy such cities as were subject to them in that island, if it were not too late, and if this could be done. For fame had declared, in all places that the Athenians had already possessed themselves of the whole island; and were headed by a general, whose wisdom and good fortune rendered him invincible. Nicias himself, now (contrary to his natural disposition) confiding in his own strength, and elate from his success, persuaded also by the secret advices which were brought him daily from Syracuse, and the messengers who were sent to him, that the

city would immediately capitulate, did not regard Gylippus's approach, and in consequence took no precautions to prevent his landing, especially when he heard that he brought but very few vessels; terming him a trifling pirate, not worthy, in any manner, of his notice. But a general ought to be extremely careful not to abate his cares and vigilance upon account of success, because the least negligence may ruin every thing. Had Nicias sent the smallest detachment to oppose Gylippus's landing, he would have taken Syracuse, and the whole affair had been ended.

SECTION XIII.—THE SYRACUSANS RESOLVE TO CAPITULATE, BUT GYLIPPUS'S ARRIVAL CHANGES THE FACE OF AFFAIRS. NICIAS IS FORCED BY HIS COLLEAGUES TO ENGAGE IN A SEA-FIGHT, AND IS OVERCOME. HIS LAND-FORCES ARE ALSO DEFEATED.

Nineteenth year of the War.

THE fortifications of the Athenians were now almost completed;¹ and they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almost reached it. There now remained, on the side towards Trogilius, only a small part of the wall to be finished. The Syracusans were therefore on the brink of ruin, and had no hopes left, as they were no longer able to defend themselves, and did not expect any succours. For this reason they resolved to surrender. Accordingly, a council was held to settle articles of capitulation, in order to present them to Nicias; and several were of opinion, that it would be proper to capitulate soon, before the city should be entirely invested.

It was at that very instant, and in the most critical juncture, that an officer, Gongylus by name, arrived from Corinth on board a ship with three benches of oars. At his arrival, all the citizens flocked round him. He informed them, that Gylippus would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other galleys, which were coming to their aid. The Syracusans, astonished, or rather stupified, as it were, with this news, could scarce believe what they heard. Whilst they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and order them to march out all their troops to meet him. He himself, after having taken a fort in his way,² marched in order of battle directly for Epipolæ; and ascending by Euryelus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, whilst the Syracusans should charge them, on their side, with the forces of Syracuse and his. The Athenians, exceedingly surprised at his arrival, drew up hastily, and without order, under the walls. With regard to himself, laying down his arms when he approached, he sent word by a herald, that he would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not not condescend to make the least answer to this proposal; and some of his soldiers bursting out a laughing, asked the herald, "Whether the presence of a Lacedæmonian cloak, and a trifling wand, could make any change in the present state of the city?" Both sides therefore prepared for battle.

Gylippus stormed the fort of Lebdaion, and cut to pieces all who were found in it. The same day an Athenian galley was taken, as it sailed into the harbour. The besieged afterwards drew a wall from the city, towards Epipolæ, in order to cut (about the extremity of it) the single wall of the Athenians; and to deprive them of all communication with the troops that were posted in the intrenchments which surrounded the city on the north side towards Tyche and Trogilius. The Athenians, after having finished the wall, which extended as far as the sea towards the great harbour, were returned to the hills. Gylippus perceiving, in the single wall which the Athenians had built on the hills of Epipolæ, one part that was weaker and lower than the rest, marched thither in

the night with his troops; but being discovered by the Athenians, who were encamped without, he was forced to retire, upon seeing them advance directly towards him. They raised the wall higher, and themselves undertook the guard of it, after having fixed their allies in the several posts of the remainder of the intrenchment.

Nicias, on the other side, thought proper to fortify the cape of Plemmyrium, which, by its running into the sea, straitened the mouth of the great harbour; and his design thereby was, to procure provisions, and all other things he might want, the more easily; because the Athenians, by possessing themselves of that post, drew near the little port, wherein lay the chief naval forces of the Syracusans, and were the better able to observe their various motions; and that besides, by having the sea open, they would not be forced to have all their provisions from the bottom of the great harbour; as they must have been, should the enemy, by seizing on the mouth of it, oblige them to keep close in the harbour, in the manner they then did. For Nicias, since the arrival of Gylippus, had had no hopes left but from the side next the sea. Sending therefore his fleet and part of his troops thither, he built three forts, sheltered by which his ships were enabled to lie at anchor; he also secured there a great part of the baggage and ammunition. It was then that the troops on board the fleet suffered very much; for as they were obliged to go a great way to fetch wood and water, they were surrounded by the enemy's horse, the third part of which were posted at Olympia, to prevent the garrison of Plemmyrium from sallying, and were masters of the open country. Advice being brought to Nicias, that the Corinthian fleet was advancing, he sent twenty galleys against it; ordering them to observe the enemy towards Locris, Rhegium, and the rest of the avenues of Sicily.

In the mean time, Gylippus employing those very stones which the Athenians had got together for their own use, went on with the wall which the Syracusans had begun to carry through Epipolæ; and drew up daily in battle array before it, as did the Athenians. When he saw it was a proper time for engaging, he began the battle in the spot lying between the two walls. The narrowness of it having rendered his cavalry and archers useless, he came off with loss, and the Athenians set up a trophy. Gylippus, to reanimate his soldiers by doing them justice, had the courage to reproach himself for the ill success they had met with: and to declare publicly, that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat; because he had made them fight in too confined a spot of ground. However, he promised to give them soon an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and accordingly the very next day he led them against the enemy, after having exhorted them in the strongest terms, to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient glory. Nicias perceiving, that though he should not desire to come to a battle, it would however be absolutely necessary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their wall beyond the wall of contravallation, to which they were already very near (because otherwise this would be granting them a certain victory;) he therefore marched against the Syracusans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond the spot where the walls terminated on both sides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle; when charging the enemy's left wing with his horse, he put it to flight, and soon after defeated the right. We see here what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing; for Gylippus, with the same men, the same arms, the same horses, and the same ground, by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night, the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to surround them.

After this success,³ the Syracusans, to whose aid

¹ Thucyd. l. vii. p. 485—489. Plat. in Nic. p. 535, 536. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138, 139.

² Jeges

³ Thucyd. l. vii. p. 490—494. Plat. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. l. xiii. p. 139.

the Corinthian fleet was arrived unperceived by that of the Athenians, resumed courage, armed several galleys; and marching into the plains with their cavalry and other forces, took a great number of prisoners. They sent deputies to Lacedæmonia and Corinth, to desire a reinforcement; Gylippus went in person through all the cities of Sicily, to solicit them to join him; and brought over the greatest part of them, who accordingly sent him powerful succours. Nicias, finding his troops lessen and those of the enemy increase daily, began to be discouraged; and not only sent expresses to the Athenians, to acquaint them with the situation of affairs, but likewise wrote to them in the strongest terms. I shall repeat his whole letter, both as it gives a clear and exact account of the state of things at that time in Syracuse, and may serve as a model for such kind of relations.

"Athenians: I have already informed you, by several expresses, of what was passing here: but it is necessary you should know the present situation of affairs, that you may resolve accordingly. After we had been victorious in several engagements, and had almost completed our contravallation, Gylippus arrived in Syracuse with a body of Lacedæmonians and Sicilian troops; and, having been defeated the first time, he was victorious the second, by means of his cavalry and archers. We are in consequence shut up in our intrenchments, without daring to make any attempt, and unable to complete our works, through the superiority of the enemy's forces; for part of our soldiers are employed in guarding our forts, and consequently we have not an opportunity of employing all our forces in battle. Besides, as the Syracusans have cut our lines, by a wall, in that part where they were not complete, it will no longer be possible for us to surround the city, unless we should force their intrenchments; so that instead of besieging, we ourselves are besieged, and dare not stir out, for fear of their horse.

"Not contented with these advantages, they are bringing new succours from Peloponnesus, and have sent Gylippus to force all the neutral cities of Sicily to declare for them; and the rest to furnish them with men and ships, to attack us both by sea and land. I say by sea, which, though very surprising, is however but too true. For our fleet, which before was considerable, from the good condition of the galleys and mariners, is now very deficient in those very circumstances, and prodigiously weakened.

"Our galleys leak every where; because we cannot draw them on shore to careen them, for fear, lest those of the enemy, which are more numerous and in better condition than ours, should attack us on a sudden, which they seem to threaten every moment. Besides, we are under a necessity of sending many backwards and forwards, to guard the convoys which we are forced to fetch from a great distance, and bring along in the sight of the enemy; so that should we be ever so little negligent in this point, our army would be starved.

"With regard to the ships' crews, they decrease sensibly every day; for as great numbers of them disperse to maraud, or to fetch wood and water, they are often cut to pieces by the enemy's horse. Our slaves, allured by the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp, desert very fast to it. The foreigners whom we forced into the service, disband daily; and such as have been raised with money, who came for plunder rather than fighting, finding themselves balked, go over to the enemy, who are so near us, or else hide themselves in Sicily, which they may easily do in so large an island. A great number of citizens, though long used to, and well skilled in, working of ships, by bribing the captains, have put others in their room, who are wholly unexperienced, and incapable of serving, and by that means have subverted all discipline. I am now writing to men perfectly well versed in naval affairs; and who are very sensible, that, when order is neglected, every thing grows worse and worse, and a fleet must inevitably be ruined.

"But, the most unhappy circumstance is, that, though I am invested with the authority of general, I cannot put a stop to these disorders. For (Atheni-

ans) you are very sensible, that such is your disposition, that you do not easily brook restraint; besides, I do not know where to furnish myself with seamen, whilst the enemy get numbers from all quarters. It is not in the power of our Sicilian allies to aid us; and should the cities of Italy, from whence we have our provisions (hearing the extremity to which we are reduced, and that you do not take the least care to send us any succour,) join the Syracusans, we are undone; and the enemy will have no occasion to fight us.

"I could write of things which would be more agreeable, but of none that could be more proper to give you a just idea of the subjects on which you are to deliberate. I am sensible that you love to have such advices only sent you as are pleasing; but then I know on the other side, that when affairs turn out otherwise than you expected and hoped for, you accuse those who deceived you; which has induced me to give you a sincere and genuine account of things, without concealing a single circumstance. By the way, I am to inform you, that no complaints can be justly made either against the officers or common soldiers, both having done their duty very well.

"But now that the Sicilians are joining all their forces against us, and expect a new army from Peloponnesus; you may lay this down as the foundation for your deliberations, that our present troops are not sufficient; and, therefore, we either must be recalled, or else a land and naval force, equal to the first, must be sent us, with money in proportion. You must also think of appointing a person to succeed me; it being impossible for me, through my nephritic disorder, to sustain any longer the weight of the command. I imagine that I deserve this favour at your hands, on account of the services I have done you, in the several commands conferred upon me, so long as my health would permit me to act.

"To conclude: whatever resolutions you may come to, the request I have to make, is, that you would execute it speedily, and in the very beginning of the spring. The succours which our enemies meet with in Sicily, are all ready; but those which they expect from Peloponnesus may be longer in coming. However, fix this in your minds, that if you do not exert yourselves, the Lacedæmonians will not fail, as they have already done, to be beforehand with you."

The Athenians were strongly affected with this letter, which made as great an impression on them as Nicias expected. However, they did not think proper to appoint him a successor; and only nominated two officers who were under him, viz. Menander and Euthydemus, to assist him till other generals should be sent. Eurymedon and Demosthenes were chosen to succeed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former set out immediately with ten galleys, and some money,¹ about the winter solstice, to assure Nicias that a speedy succour should be sent him: during which, the latter was raising troops and contributions, in order to set sail early in the spring.

The Lacedæmonians,² on the other side, being supported by the A. M. 3591. Corinthians, were very industrious Ant. J. C. 413. in preparing reinforcements to send into Sicily, and enter Attica, in order to keep the Athenian fleet from sailing to that island. Accordingly they entered Attica early, under the command of king Agis; and after having laid waste the country, they fortified Decelia: having divided the work among all the forces, to make the greater despatch. This post is about 120 furlongs from Athens, that is, about six French leagues, and the same distance from Boeotia. Alcibiades was perpetually soliciting the Lacedæmonians; and could not be easy, till he had prevailed with them to begin that work. This annoyed the Athenians most of all: for as hitherto the enemy had been accustomed to retire after they had laid waste the Athenian territories, the latter were unmolested all the rest of the year; but since the fortifying of Decelia, the garrison left in it was continu-

¹ One hundred and twenty talents.

² Thucyd. l. vii. p. 494—496, and 502—504. Diod. l. xiii p. 140.

ally making incursions, and alarming the Athenians, Athens being now become a kind of frontier town; for in the day-time a guard was mounted at all the gates; and in the night, all the citizens were either on the wall, or under arms. Such vessels as brought provisions from the island of Eubœa, and which before had a much shorter passage by Decelia, were forced to go round about, in order to double the cape of Sunium; by which means, provisions, as well as goods imported, grew much dearer. To heighten the calamity upwards of 20,000 slaves, the greatest part of whom were artificers, went over to the enemy, to fly from the extreme misery with which the city was afflicted. The cattle of all kinds died. Most of the horses were lamed, being continually upon guard, or upon parties. Every thing being laid waste in this manner, and the Athenians enjoying no longer the revenues which arose from the produce of their lands, there was a prodigious scarcity of money; so that they were forced to take the twentieth part of all the imports, to supply their usual subsidies.

In the mean time,¹ Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned with as many men as he could raise in the whole island; and prevailed with the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, upon the presumption that the success would answer the greatness of the enterprise. This advice was strongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracusans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the seas. He observed, that the Athenians themselves had not received it from their ancestors, nor been always possessed of it: that the Persian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithstanding two great obstacles, their natural disposition, and the situation of their city, which stood at a considerable distance from the sea: that they had made themselves formidable to other nations, not so much by their real strength, as by their courage and intrepidity: that they ought to copy them; and since they had to do with enemies who were so enterprising, it was fit they should be daring.

This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land forces in the night-time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five Syracusan galleys which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the lesser, where was an arsenal for ships, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to amaze the Athenians, who would see themselves attacked both by sea and land at the same time. The Athenians, at this news, went on board also; and, with twenty-five ships, sailed to fight the thirty-five Syracusan vessels which were sailing out against them from the great harbour; and opposed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy, which were come out of the little port. A sharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour; one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Those who defended the forts of Plemmyrium having flocked to the shore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and having carried the greatest of them by storm, the soldiers who defended the other two were so terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage the Syracusans sustained a considerable loss: for such of their vessels as fought at the entrance of the harbour (after having forced the Athenians) ran foul of one another with much violence, as they entered it in disorder; and by this means transferred the victory to their enemies, who were not contented with pursuing, but also gave chase to those who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracusan galleys were sunk, and great numbers of the sailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewise lost three, and after towing off those of the enemy, they raised a trophy in a little island that lay before Plemmyrium, and retired to the shelter of their camp.

The Syracusans also raised three trophies for their

taking of the three forts; and after raising one of the smaller, they repaired the fortifications of the other two, and put garrisons into them. Several Athenians had been either killed or made prisoners there; and great sums of money were taken, the property of the public, as well as of merchants and captains of galleys, besides a large quantity of ammunition; this being a kind of magazine for the whole army. They likewise lost the stores and rigging of forty galleys, with three ships that lay in the dock. But a more considerable circumstance was, Gylippus thereby prevented Nicias from getting provisions and ammunitions so easily; for, whilst the latter was possessed of Plemmyrium, these were procured securely and expeditiously; whereas, after that place was lost, it was equally difficult and hazardous, because they could not bring in any thing without fighting; the enemy lying at anchor just off their fort. Thus the Athenians could have no provisions but from the point of their swords; which dispirited the soldiers very much, and threw the whole army into a great consternation.

There afterwards was a little skirmish in defending a staccado which the inhabitants had made in the sea,² at the entrance of the old harbour to secure the shipping. The Athenians having raised towers and parapets on a large ship, made it advance as near as possible to the staccado, in order that it might serve as a bulwark to some ships which carried military engines, with which they drew up the stakes by the help of pulleys and ropes, exclusive of those which the divers sawed in two; the besieged defending themselves from their harbour, and the enemies from their tower. Such stakes as had been driven in, level with the surface of the water, in order to strand those vessels that should come near them, were the hardest to force away. The divers, however, being induced by large sums of money, succeeded in removing these also, and most of the stakes were torn up; out then others were immediately driven in their places. The utmost efforts were used on both sides, in the attack as well as the defence.

One circumstance which the besieged considered of the greatest importance,³ was to attempt a second engagement both by sea and land, before the fleet, and other succours sent by the Athenians, should arrive. They had concerted fresh measures for a battle at sea, profiting by the errors they had committed in the last engagement. The change made in the galleys was, their prows were now shorter, and at the same time stronger and more solid than before. For this purpose, they fixed great pieces of timber, projecting forward, on each side of the prows; and to these pieces they joined beams by way of props. These beams extended to the length of six cubits on each side of the vessel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain the advantage over the galleys of the Athenians, which did not dare, because of the weakness of their prows, to attack an enemy in front but only in flank; not to mention that should the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to spread themselves nor pass between two galleys, in which lay their greatest art; nor to tack about, after they should have been repulsed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracusans, by their being masters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all these advantages and might reciprocally assist one another. On these circumstances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

Gylippus therefore first drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city; whilst the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their galleys set sail.

Nicias was unwilling to venture a second battle, saying, that as he expected a fresh fleet every moment, and a strong reinforcement under Demosthenes, it would betray the greatest want of judgement should he, as his troops were inferior in number to those of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle with

¹ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 497—500. Plat. in Nic. p. 536. Dioid. p. 140

² Thucyd. l. vii. p. 500, 501.

³ Ibid. p. 509—513. Plat. in Nic. p. 536. Dioid. p. 140, 141

not being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had just before been appointed to share the command with Nicias till the arrival of Demosthenes, fired with ambition, and jealous of those generals, were eager to perform some great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and, if possible, eclipse that of the other. The pretence they alleged on this occasion, was, the fame and reputation of Athens; and they asserted with so much vehemence, that it would be entirely destroyed should they shun the battle, as the Syracusans offered it them, that they at last forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had seventy-five galleys, and the Syracusans eighty.

The first day the fleets continued in sight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging: and only a few skirmishes passed, after which both parties retired; and it was just the same with the land-forces. The Syracusans did not make the least movement the second day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, caused the transports to draw up in a line, at some distance from one another, in order that his galleys might retire behind them with safety, in case of a defeat. On the morrow, the Syracusans came up sooner than usual, when a great part of the day was spent in skirmishing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not suppose they would return, but imagined that fear had made them fly: but having refreshed themselves with great diligence, and returning on board their galleys, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ships, they entered them in great disorder, so that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle, and most of the sailors were fasting. Victory did not long continue in suspense. The Athenians, after making a short and slight resistance, retired behind their line of transports. The enemy pursued them thither, and were stopped by the sails of those ships, to which were fixed dolphins of lead, which, being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's galleys, would have sunk them at once. The Athenians lost seven galleys in this engagement, and a great number of soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners.

This loss threw Nicias into the utmost consternation.² All the misfortunes he had met with, ever since the time he had first enjoyed the supreme command, came into his mind; and he now is involved in a greater than any of them, by his complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilst he was revolving these gloomy ideas, Demosthenes's fleet was seen coming forward in great pomp, and with such an air as must fill the enemy with dread: it was now the day after the battle. This fleet consisted of seventy-three galleys, on board of which were 5000 fighting men, and about 3000 archers, slingers, and rowmen. All these galleys were richly trimmed; their prows being adorned with shining streamers, manned with stout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the sound of clarions and trumpets. Demosthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph, purposely to strike terror into the enemy.

This gallant sight alarmed them indeed beyond expression. They did not see any end, or even the least suspension of their calamities; all they had hitherto done or suffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, since, though a hostile camp was entrenched in the middle of Attica, they were however able to send a second army into Sicily, as considerable as the former; and their power, as well as their courage, seemed, notwithstanding all their losses, instead of diminishing, to increase daily?

Demosthenes having made an exact inquiry into the state of things, imagined that it would not be

proper for him to lose time as Nicias had done, who, having spread a universal terror at his first arrival, became afterwards the object of contempt, for having wintered in Catana, instead of going directly to Syracuse; and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it. He flattered himself with the hopes, that he should be able to carry the city at the first attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would spread in every part of it, and by that means should immediately put an end to the war: otherwise he intended to raise the siege, and no longer harass and lessen the troops by fighting battles never decisive; nor quite exhaust the city of Athens, by employing its treasures in needless expenses.

Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate resolution of Demosthenes, conjured him not to be so hasty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cause to repent of what he should do. He observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their provisions as well as money were entirely exhausted; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they must soon be reduced to such extremity, for want of provisions, as would force them to surrender, as they had before resolved; for there were certain persons in Syracuse who held a secret correspondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, because the Syracusans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that should the necessity to which they were reduced be ever so little increased, they would surrender at discretion.

As Nicias did not explain himself clearly, and would not declare in express terms, that sure and certain advices were sent him of whatever was transacted in the city, his remonstrances were considered as an effect of the timidity and slowness with which he had always been reproached. "Such," said they, "are his usual protraction, delays, distrusts, and fearful precaution, whereby he has denuded all the vivacity and extinguished all the ardour of the troops, in not marching them immediately against the enemy; but, on the contrary, by deferring to attack them, till his own forces were weakened and despised." This made the rest of the generals and all the officers come over to Demosthenes's opinion, and Nicias himself was at last forced to acquiesce with it.

Demosthenes, after having attacked to no purpose the wall which cut the contravallation of the besiegers, confined himself to the attack of Epipolæ, from a supposition that should he once be master of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He therefore took provisions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing necessary for him to defend that post after he should possess himself of it. As there was no going up to it in the day-time undiscovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias staying behind to guard the camp. They went up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the sentinels; attack the first entrenchment, and storm it, after killing part of those who defended it. Demosthenes, not satisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his soldiers from cooling, and not delay the execution of his designs, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, sustained by Gylippus, march under arms out of the intrenchments. Being seized with astonishment, which the darkness of the night increased, they were immediately repulsed and put to flight. But as the Athenians advanced in disorder, to force whatever might resist their arms, lest the enemy might rally again, should time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their surprise, they are stopped on a sudden by the Boeotians, who make a vigorous stand, and marching against the Athenians with their pikes presented, repulse them with great shouts, and make a dreadful slaughter. This spreads a universal terror through the rest of the army. Those who fled either force along such as were advancing to their assistance, or else, mistaking them for enemies, turn their arms against them. They now were all mixed indiscriminately, it being impossible to discriminate objects in the horrors of the night, which was not so gloomy as entirely to make them imper-

¹ This engine, so violent was its motion, broke through a pier from the deck to the hold.

² Thucyd. l. vii. p. 513—518. Plut. in Nic. p. 537. Diod. 141. 142.

ceptible, nor yet light enough to distinguish those which were seen. The Athenians sought for one another to no purpose; and from their often asking the word, by which only they were able to know one another, a strange confusion of sounds was heard; which occasioned no little disorder; not to mention that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; because, by their being together and in a body, they had no occasion to repeat it. In the mean time, those who were pursued, threw themselves from the top of the rocks, and many were dashed to pieces by the fall; and as most of those who had escaped straggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horse, who pursued them. Two thousand Athenians were slain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; those who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to escape over the precipices.

SECTION XIV.—THE CONSTERNATION WITH WHICH THE ATHENIANS ARE SEIZED. THEY AGAIN HAZARD A SEA-FIGHT, AND ARE DEFEATED. THEY RESOLVE TO RETIRE BY LAND, BEING CLOSE PURSUED BY THE SYRACUSANS, THEY SURRENDER. NICIAS AND DEMOSTHENES ARE SENTENCED TO DIE, AND EXECUTED. THE EFFECT WHICH THE NEWS OF THE DEFEAT OF THE ARMY PRODUCES IN ATHENS.

THE Athenian generals,¹ after sustaining so great a loss, were greatly perplexed, and did not know how to act in the present discouragement and despair of the troops, who died daily, either by the diseases of the autumn, or by the bad air of the fens near which they were encamped. Demosthenes was of opinion, that it would be proper for them to leave the country immediately, since they had been so unsuccessful in so important an enterprise; especially as the season was not too far advanced for sailing; and that they had ships enough to force a passage, in case the enemy should dispute it with them. He declared, that it would be of much greater advantage to oblige the enemy to raise their blockade of Athens, than for them to continue that of Syracuse, by which they exhausted themselves to no purpose; that he was certain they would not be reinforced by a new army; and that they could not hope to overcome the enemy with the weak one under their command.

Nicias was sensible that the arguments his colleague used were very just, and he himself was of his opinion: but at the same time he was afraid, lest so public a confession of the weak condition to which they were reduced, and their resolution to leave Sicily (the report of which would certainly reach the enemy,) should complete the ruin of their affairs, and perhaps make them unable to execute their resolution when they should attempt it. Besides, they had some little hopes left that the besieged, being themselves reduced to great extremity, by their absolute want of provisions and money, would at last be inclined to surrender upon honourable terms. Thus, although he was in reality uncertain and wavering, he insinuated, that he would not quit Sicily till the Athenians should have first sent orders for that purpose; as he well knew that otherwise they would be highly displeased: that as those who were to judge them had not been eye-witnesses of the state of things, they would be of a different opinion; and, at the instigation of some orator, certainly condemn them: that most of those men, who now exclaimed with the greatest vehemence against the difficulties they laboured under, would then change their note, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege: that knowing so well as he did the disposition and character of the Athenians, he chose to die gloriously by the enemy's sword, rather than be ignominiously condemned by his fellow-citizens.

These reasons, though they appeared very strong, were not yet able to convince Demosthenes; and it was still his opinion, that the only good choice they

could make would be to retire. However, as he had been unsuccessful in his former project, he was afraid of insisting upon this; and he was the more inclined to accede to that of Nicias, from imagining, with many others, that this general might have some secret resource, as he was so firmly resolved to stay.

Gylippus,² after having made the tour of Sicily, had brought a great body of troops with him. This new reinforcement terrified the Athenians exceedingly whose army diminished daily by sickness; and they now began to repent their not having raised the siege especially as the besieged were preparing to attack them both by sea and land. Besides, Nicias no longer opposed this resolution, and only desired to have it kept secret. Orders were therefore given, as privately as possible, for the fleet to prepare for setting sail with the utmost expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to set sail (wholly unsuspected by the enemy, who were far from surmising they would leave Sicily so soon,) the moon was suddenly eclipsed in the middle of the night, and lost all its splendour; which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and superstition, were astonished at so sudden a change, the causes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the consequences of it. They then consulted the soothsayers; who, being equally unacquainted with the reasons of this phenomenon, only augmented their consternation. It was the custom, after such accidents had happened, to suspend their enterprise but for three days. The soothsayers pronounced, that he must not set sail till three times nine days were past (these are Thucydides's words,) which doubtless was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias, scrupulous to a fault, and full of a mistaken veneration for these blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the same day of the next month; as if he had not seen the planet very clearly the instant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interposition of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians being soon spread over the city, a resolution was taken to attack the besiegers both by sea and land. The Syracuseans began the first day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a slight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a second attack; and at the same time sailed, with seventy-six galleys, against eighty-six of the Athenians. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having spread along the shore to surround them, this movement proved fatal to him; for as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracuseans, after forcing the centre, attacked him; drove him vigorously into the gulf called Dascon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon lost his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chase to the rest of the galleys, and run them on shore. Gylippus, who commanded the land army, seeing the Athenian galleys were forced aground, and not able to return into their staccado, came down with part of his troops, in order to charge the soldiers, in case they should be forced to run ashore; and to give his friends the more room to tow such galleys as they should have taken. However, he was repulsed by the Tyrrhenians, who were posted on that side; and obliged by the Athenians who flew to sustain them, to retire with some loss as far as the marsh called Lysimelia, which lay near it. The latter saved most of their ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracuseans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, resolving to burn the rest, they filled an old vessel with combustible materials; and having set fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind against the Athenians, who nevertheless extinguished the fire and drove off the ship.

Each side erected trophies; the Syracuseans for the defeat of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had

¹ Thucyd. l. vii. c. 518—520. Plut. in Nic. p. 338—342. Diad. p. 161.

² Thucyd. l. vii. p. 321—348. Plut. in Nic. p. 338. Diad. l. xiii. p. 142—161.

gained the day before; and the Athenians, for their having driven part of the enemy into the marsh, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently disposed. The Syracusans, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation at the arrival of Demosthenes with his fleet, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, resumed fresh hope, and assured themselves of a complete victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, frustrated of their only resource, and overcome by sea, so contrary to their expectations, entirely lost courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all resource and prevent their escaping, shut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about 500 paces wide, with galleys placed across, and other vessels fixed with anchors and iron chains, and at the same time made the requisite preparations for the battle in case they should have courage to engage again. When the Athenians saw themselves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers assembled, in order to deliberate on the present state of affairs. They were in absolute want of provisions, which was owing to their having forbidden the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire; and they could not procure any from other places, unless they were masters of the sea. This made them resolve to venture a sea-fight. With this view, they determined to leave their old camp and their walls, which extended to the temple of Hercules; and to entrench themselves on the shore, near their ships, in the smallest compass possible. Their design was, to leave some forces in that place to guard their baggage and the sick; and to fight with the rest on board all the ships they had remaining. They intended to retire to Catana, in case they should be victorious; otherwise, to set fire to their ships, and to march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies.

This resolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled 110 galleys (the others having lost their oars) with the flower of his infantry; and drew up the rest of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the shore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracusan galleys, Nicias had provided harping-irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to close fight, as on shore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered their prows and upper part of their galleys with leather, to prevent their being so easily laid hold of. The commanders on both sides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men; and none could ever have prompted them from stronger motives; for the battle which was going to be fought, was to determine, not only their lives and liberties, but also the fate of their country.

The battle was very obstinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, easily took those ships which defended the entrance of it; but when they attempted to break the chain of the rest to widen the passage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near 200 galleys came rushing on each side, towards one narrow place, there must necessarily be a very great confusion; and the vessels could not easily advance forward, or retire, nor turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the galleys, for this reason, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent discharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed with a shower of stones, which always did execution from what place soever they were thrown; whereas they defended themselves only by shooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ships from the agitation of the sea, could not be well aimed, and by that means the greatest part of them did little execution. Ariston the pilot had given the Syracusans this counsel. These discharges being over, the soldiers, heavily armed, attempted to enter the enemy's ships in order to fight hand to hand; and it often happened, that whilst they were climbing up one side, their own ships were entered on the other; and two or three ships would be grappled to one, which occasioned a great perplexity and confusion. Farther, the noise of the ships that dashed one against the other, together with the

different cries of the victors and vanquished, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a passage, whatever might be the consequence, to secure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmost efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more complete and more glorious victory. The two land armies, which were drawn up on the highest part of the shore, and the inhabitants of the city who were there, ran to the walls; whilst the rest, kneeling in the temples, were imploring Heaven to give success to their citizens: all these saw clearly, because of their little distance from the fleets, every thing that passed; and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. Attentive to, and shuddering at, every movement, and the several changes which happened, they discovered the interest they took in the battle, by their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different gestures; stretching out their hands, sometimes towards the combatants to animate them, and at other times towards heaven, to implore the succour and protection of the gods. At last, the Athenian fleet, after sustaining a long battle and a vigorous resistance, was put to flight and driven against the shore. The Syracusans, who were spectators of this victory, conveyed to the whole city, by a universal shout, the news of this victory. The victors, now masters of the sea, and sailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuse, erected a trophy: whilst the Athenians, who were quite dejected and overpowered, did not do so much as request that their dead soldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the last sad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to choose; either to attempt the passage a second time, for which they had ships and soldiers sufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demosthenes proposed the former; but the sailors, in the deepest affliction, refused to obey, fully persuaded that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. The second method was therefore resolved upon, and accordingly they prepared to set out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who suspected their design, was very sensible that it was of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to escape; since they otherwise might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and renew the war. The Syracusans were at that time in the midst of their festivity and rejoicings; and thinking of nothing but how they might best divert themselves, after the toils they had sustained in fight. They were then solemnizing the festival of Hercules, which happened on that very day. To desire the Syracusans to take up arms again, in order to pursue the enemy; and to attempt to draw them from their diversions either by force or persuasion, would have been to no purpose; for which reason another expedient was employed. Hermocrates sent out a few horsemen, who were to pass for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud, *Tell Nicias not to retire till day-light, for the Syracusans lie in ambush for him, and have seized on the passes.* This false advice stopped Nicias at once, and he did not even set out the next day, in order that the soldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure; and carry off what might be necessary for their subsistence, and abandon the rest.

The enemy had time enough for seizing the advantages. The next morning early they possessed themselves of the most difficult passes, fortified those places where the river was fordable, broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse up and down the plain; so that there was not one place through which the Athenians could pass without fighting. They set out upon their march the third day after the battle, with the design to retire to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpressible consternation, at the sight of the dead or dying, some of whom were left exposed to wild beasts, and the rest to the cruelty of the enemy. Those who were sick and wounded conjured them with tears to take them along with the army, and held

by their clothes when they were going; or else, dragging themselves after them, followed them as far as their strength would permit; and, when this failed, they had recourse to tears, sighs, imprecations; and sending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans they called upon the gods as well as men to avenge their cruelty, whilst every place echoed with lamentations.

The whole army was in as deplorable a condition. All men were seized with the deepest melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguish, when they represented to themselves the greatness from which they were fallen, the extreme misery to which they were reduced, and the still greater evils from which they foresaw it would be impossible for them to escape. They could not bear the comparison, for ever present in their thoughts, of the triumphant state in which they had left Athens, in the midst of the good wishes and acclamations of the people; with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and that which most deserved compassion, was Nicias. Dejected and worn out by a tedious illness; deprived of the most necessary things, at a time when his age and infirmities required them most: pierced, not only with his private grief, but still more with that of others, all which preyed upon his heart; this great man, superior to all his misfortunes, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that matters were not yet desperate, and that other armies had escaped from greater dangers; that they ought not to accuse themselves, or grieve immoderately, for misfortunes which they had not occasioned; that if they had offended some god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of persecuting them; that their bravery and their numbers made them still formidable (being still near 40,000 strong): that no city in Sicily would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do but to take care severally of themselves, and march in good order; that by a prudent and good retreat, which was now become their only resource, they would not only save themselves, but also their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the first being commanded by Nicias, and the second by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the centre. Being come to the river Anaps, they forced the passage, and afterwards were attacked by all the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who discharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during several days' march; every one of the passes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to dispute every inch of their way. The enemy were unwilling to hazard a battle against an army which despair alone might render invincible; and the instant the Athenians presented the Syracusans battle, the latter retired; but whenever the former proceeded on their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demosthenes and Nicias, seeing the miserable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of provisions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it advisable to retire towards the sea, by a quite contrary way to that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, instead of proceeding to Catana, as they first intended. They set out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confusion and disorder, as generally happens to great armies during the gloomy horrors of the night, especially when the enemy is not far off. However, the van-guard, commanded by Nicias, went forward in good order; but above half the rear-guard, with Demosthenes at their head, quitted the main body, and lost their way. On the next day the Syracusans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with extraordinary diligence, came up with him about noon; and having surrounded him with their horse, they

drove him into a narrow place enclosed with a wall where his soldiers fought like lions. Perceiving, at the close of the day, that they were oppressed with fatigue and covered with wounds, they gave the islanders leave to retire, which some of them accepted; and afterwards spared the lives of the rest, who surrendered at discretion with Demosthenes, after having stipulated that they should not be put to death, nor sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. About 6000 soldiers surrendered on these conditions.

Nicias arrived on the same evening at the river Erineus, and passing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender at discretion, as Demosthenes had done. Nicias could not persuade himself at first that what they told him concerning that general was true, and therefore desired leave to send some horse for information. Upon their returning with the news that Demosthenes had really surrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expenses of the war, upon condition that they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hostages as he should be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this proposal with disdain and insolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in absolute want of all things, nevertheless sustained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Asinaros. When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracusans coming up with them, drove most of them into the stream; the rest having already voluntarily plunged into it to quench their thirst. Here the greatest and most bloody carnage was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the least pity as they were drinking. Nicias finding all lost, and unable to bear this dismal spectacle, surrendered at discretion; upon condition that Gylippus should discontinue the fight, and spare the rest of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken prisoners, so that all Sicily was filled with them. The Athenians seem to have been displeased with their general, for surrendering in this manner at discretion; and for this reason his name was omitted in a public monument, on which were engraved the names of those commanders who had lost their lives in fighting for their country.

The victors adorned, with the arms taken from the prisoners, the finest and largest trees on the banks of the river, and made a kind of trophies of those trees; and crowning themselves with chaplets of flowers, dressing their horses in the richest caparisons, and cropping the manes of those of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuse, after having happily terminated the most considerable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks; and won, by their strength and valour, a most signal and complete victory. The next day a council was held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the prisoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of the greatest authority among the people, proposed, that all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all such Sicilians as had joined with them, should be imprisoned in the quarries, and only two measures of flour, and one of water, given them daily; that the slaves and all the allies should be publicly sold; and that the two Athenian generals should be first scourged with rods and afterwards put to death.

This last article was exceedingly disliked by all wise and moderate Syracusans.² Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and justice, attempted to make some remonstrances to the people, but they would not hear him; and the shouts which echoed on all sides, prevented him from continuing his speech. At that instant, an ancient man,³ venerable for his age and gravity, who in this war had lost two sons, the only heirs to his name and estate, made his servants carry him to the tribunal, and the instant he appeared a profound silence ensued. "You here behold," says he, "an unfortunate father, who has felt more than any other Syracusan the fatal effects of this war, by the death of two sons, who formed all the

¹ Pausan. l. i. p. 36.

² Nicolaus.

³ Diod. l. xiii. p. 149-161

consolation, and were the only supports of my old age. I cannot indeed forbear admiring their courage and felicity, in sacrificing to their country's welfare, a life which they would one day have been deprived of by the common course of nature: but then I cannot but be strongly affected with the cruel wound which their death has made in my heart; nor forbear hating and detesting the Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the murderers of my children. But, however, I cannot conceal one circumstance, which is, that I am less sensible to my private affliction, than to the honour of my country. and I see it ready to expose itself to eternal infamy, by the barbarous advice which is now given you. The Athenians indeed merit the worst treatment, and every kind of punishment that can be inflicted on them, for so unjustly declaring war against us; but have not the gods, the avengers of crimes, punished them and revenged us sufficiently? When their generals laid down their arms and surrendered, did they not do this in the hopes of having their lives spared? And if we put them to death, will it be possible for us to avoid the just reproach, of our having violated the law of nations, and dishonoured our victory by the most barbarous cruelty? What! will you suffer your glory to be thus sullied in the face of the whole world; and have it said, that a nation, who first dedicated a temple in their city to Clemency, found not any in yours? Surely victories and triumphs do not give immortal glory to a city; but the exercising mercy towards a vanquished enemy, the using moderation in the greatest prosperity, and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and insolent pride. You doubtless have not forgotten that this Nicias, whose fate you are going to pronounce, was the very man who pleaded your cause in the assembly of the Athenians; and employed all his credit, and the whole power of his eloquence, to dissuade his country from embarking in this war. Should you therefore pronounce sentence of death on this worthy general, would it be a just reward for the zeal he showed for your interests? With regard to myself, death would be less grievous to me than the sight of so horrid an injustice, committed by my countrymen and fellow-citizens."

The people seemed moved to compassion at this speech, especially as, when this venerable old man first ascended the tribunal, they expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on those who had brought all his calamities upon him, instead of suing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians having expatiated, with vehemence, on the unheard-of cruelties which their republic had exercised on several cities belonging to their enemies, and even to their ancient allies: the inveteracy which their commanders had shown against Syracuse, and the evils they would have made it suffer, had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracusans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whose names could be appeased no other way than by the blood of their murderers; on these representations, the people returned to their sanguinary resolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every respect. Gylippus used his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demosthenes given up to him (especially as he had taken them,) in order to carry them to Lacedæmon. But his demand was rejected with a haughty scorn, and the two generals were put to death.

All wise and moderate men could not forbear shedding tears at the tragical fate of these two illustrious personages; and particularly for Nicias, who, of all men of his time, seemed least to merit so ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the speeches and remonstrances he had made to prevent this war; and, on the other side, when they considered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion; the greatest part of them were tempted to exclaim against Providence, when they saw a man, who had ever shown the highest reverence for the gods, and had always exerted himself to the utmost for their honour and worship, so ill rewarded by them, and meeting with no better fate than the most abandoned wretches. But it is no wonder that

the calamities of good men should inspire the heathens with such thoughts, and make them murmur and despond; since they did not know the holiness of the Divine Being, nor the corruption of human nature.

The prisoners were shut up in the quarries (*the public prisons of Syracuse*;) where, crowded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torments for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, scorched in the daytime by the burning rays of the sun, or frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrements, by the carcases of those who died of their wounds and of sickness; in fine, worn out by hunger and thirst: for the daily allowance to each was but a small measure of water, and two of meal. Those who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be sold as slaves (many of whom were citizens who had concealed their condition,) found a less rigorous fate. Their wisdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modesty, were of great advantage to them; for they were either soon restored to their liberty, or met with the kindest and most generous treatment from their masters. Several of them even owed the good usage they met with to Euripides, the finest scenes of whose tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them; so that when they returned to their own country, they went and saluted that poet as their deliverer; and informed him of the admirable effect wrought in their favour by his verses.

The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens would not believe it at first; and were so far from giving credit to it, that they sentenced that man to death who had first published it. But when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were seized with the utmost consternation; and, as if themselves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and resentment against the orators who had promoted the enterprise, as well as against the soothsayers, who, by their oracles of fictitious prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of success. They had never been reduced to so deplorable a condition as at present, having neither horse, foot, money, galleys, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepest despair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elate with so great a victory, and strengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens both by sea and land, with all the forces of Peloponnesus. Cicero had reason to observe,² speaking of the battles in the harbour of Syracuse, that it was there that the troops of Athens, as well as their galleys, were ruined and sunk; and that, in this harbour, the power and glory of the Athenians were miserably shipwrecked.

The Athenians, however, did not suffer themselves to be wholly dejected, and resumed courage. They now resolved to raise money on all sides, and to import timber for building of ships, in order to save the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the island of Eubœa. They retrenched all superfluous expenses, and established a new council of ancient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they should be proposed to the people. In fine they omitted nothing which might be of service in the present conjuncture; the alarm in which they were, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the necessities of the state, and docile to all advice that might promote its interests.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEFEAT OF THE ATHENIANS IN SICILY. REVOLT OF THE ALLIES. ALCIHADES GROWS INTO GREAT POWER WITH TISSAPHERNES.

Nineteenth and twentieth years of the War.

THE defeat of the Athenians³ before Syracuse was the cause of great movements throughout all Greece.

A. M. 3591.

Ant. J. C. 413.

¹ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 531—533. Plut. de Garrulit. p. 509.
² The primus omnes illius civitatis victis, comminatus, depressaque sunt: in hoc portu Atheniensium, nobilitatis imperii, glorie naufragium factum existimatur. Cic. de Ferr. 7. n. 27.
³ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 333

The states, who had not yet joined either side, and waited to be determined by the event, resolved to declare against them. The allies of the Lacedæmonians believed, that the time was come to deliver them for ever from the expenses of a war which lay very heavy upon them, by the speedy and final ruin of Athens. Those of the Athenians, who followed them only out of constraint, seeing no appearance of any future resource for that republic, after the dreadful blow it had received, thought it best to take advantage of so favourable a conjuncture for throwing off the yoke of dependence, and resuming their liberty. Dispositions of this kind inspired the Lacedæmonians with great views, which were supported by the hopes they had conceived, that their Sicilian allies would join them in the spring with a naval army, augmented by the ruin of the Athenian fleet.

In fact,¹ the people of Eubœa, Chio, and Lesbos, with several others, gave the Lacedæmonians to understand, that they were ready to quit the party of the Athenians if they would take them under their protection. At the same time came deputies from Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. The first was governor of Lydia and Ionia, the other of the Hellespont. Those viceroys of Darius wanted neither application nor zeal for the interest of their master. Tissaphernes, promising to furnish the Lacedæmonians, with all the necessary expenses for their troops, pressed them to arm directly, and to join him; because the Athenian fleet prevented him from levying the usual contributions in his province; and had put it out of his power to remit those of the preceding years to the king. He hoped besides that that powerful aid to get into his hands with more ease a certain nobleman who had revolted in Caria, and whom he had the king's orders to send him dead or alive. This was Amorges, a bastard of Pisuthnes. Pharnabazus at the same time demanded ships to draw off the cities of the Hellespont from their subjection to the Athenians; who prevented him also from levying the tributes of his government.

The Lacedæmonians thought it proper to begin by satisfying Tissaphernes; and the influence of Alcibiades contributed very much to the taking that resolution. He embarked with Chalcideus for Chio, which took up arms upon their arrival, and declared for the Lacedæmonians. Upon the news of this revolt, the Athenians resolved to take the 1000 talents out of the treasury,² which had been deposited there from the beginning of the war, after having repealed the decree which prohibited it. Miletus also revolted soon after. Tissaphernes, having joined his troops with those of Sparta, attacked and took the city of Issus, in which Amorges had shut himself up,³ who was taken alive and sent into Persia. That governor gave a month's pay to the whole army, at a drachma, or ten-pence, a day to each soldier, observing that he had orders to give them only half that sum for the future.

It was at this time that Chalcideus made a treaty with Tissaphernes in the name of the Lacedæmonians,⁴ of which one of the principal articles was, that all the country which had been subject to the king or his predecessors should remain in his hands. It was renewed some time after by Theramenes, another general of the Lacedæmonians, with some small alterations. But when this treaty came to be examined at Sparta, it was found, that too great concessions had been made to the king of Persia, in giving up all the places held by himself or his ancestors, as this was to make him master of the greatest part of Greece, of Thessaly, Locris, and the whole country as far as Bœotia, without mentioning the islands; from whence the Lacedæmonians would appear rather to have enslaved Greece, than re-established its liberty. It was therefore necessary to make farther alterations in it, with which Tissaphernes and the other governors made great difficulties to comply. A new treaty was however concluded, as we shall see in the sequel.

In the mean time, several cities of Ionia declared for Lacedæmon, to which Alcibiades contributed very

much. Agis,⁵ who was already his enemy in consequence of the injury he had received from him, could not endure the glory he had acquired; for nothing was done without the advice of Alcibiades, and it was generally said, that the success of all enterprises was owing to him. The most powerful and ambitious of the Spartans, from the same sentiments of jealousy, looked upon him with an evil eye, and at length, by their intrigues, obliged the principal magistrates to send orders into Ionia for putting him to death. Alcibiades being secretly apprised of this order, did not discontinue his services to the Lacedæmonians, but kept himself so well upon his guard, that he avoided all the snares which were laid for him.

For his better security he threw himself into the protection of A. M. 3593.
Tissaphernes, the great king's governor Ant. J. C. 411.
at Sardis, and was not long without

seeing himself in the highest degree of credit and authority in the court of the barbarian. For this Persian, who was full of fraud and artifice, a great friend to knaves and bad men, and set no value upon simplicity and integrity, infinitely admired the versatility of Alcibiades, the ease with which he assumed all kind of manners and characters, and his great ability in the conduct of affairs. And indeed there was no heart so hard, or temper so untractable, as to hold out against the graces and charms of his conversation and intimacy. Even those who feared and envied him most enchanted in a manner by his affable and engaging behaviour, could not dissemble the infinite satisfaction they felt in seeing and conversing with him.

Tissaphernes therefore, though otherwise very haughty and brutal, and the man who of all the Persians most hated the Greeks, was so much taken with the complaisance and insinuations of Alcibiades, that he gave himself wholly up to him, and flattered him more than he was flattered by him: insomuch that he gave the name of Alcibiades to the finest and most delightful of his gardens, as well from the abundance of its fountains and canals, and the verdure of its groves, as the surprising beauty of its retreats and solitudes, which art and nature seemed to vie with each other in embellishing, and wherein a more than royal magnificence was displayed.

Alcibiades, who found there was no longer any safety for him in the party of the Spartans, and who always apprehended the resentment of Agis, began to do them ill offices with Tissaphernes, to prevent his aiding them with all his forces, and ruining the Athenians entirely. He had no difficulty in bringing the Persian into his views, which were conformable to his master's interests, and to the orders he had received from him. For, ever since the famous treaty concluded under Cléon, the kings of Persia, not daring to attack the Greeks with open force, took other measures to ruin them. They endeavoured covertly to excite divisions amongst them, and to foment troubles by considerable sums of money, which they found means to convey sometimes to Athens, and sometimes to Sparta. They applied themselves so successfully to keep up a balance of power between those two republics, that the one could never entirely reduce the other. They granted them only slight aids, that could effect nothing decisive, in order to undermine them insensibly, and exhaust both parties gradually, by weakening them by the means of one another.

It is in this kind of conduct that policy makes the ability of ministers consist; who from the recess of their cabinets, without noise or commotion, without any great expenses, or setting numerous armies on foot, succeed in weakening the states whose power gives them umbrage, either by sowing domestic divisions among them, or by promoting the jealousy of their neighbours, in order to set them at variance with each other.

We must confess, however, that this kind of policy gives us no very favourable idea of the kings of Persia. To reduce themselves, powerful as they were, to such mean, obscure, and indirect measures, was to

¹ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 555—558. ² Three millions of livres.

³ Thucyd. l. viii p. 568. ⁴ Idem. p. 561—571, 572—570.

⁵ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 577—579 Plut. in Alcib. p. 294. Diad. p. 164, 165.

conscious their weakness, and their inability, as they believed, to attack their enemies with open force, and to reduce them by honourable means. Besides, is it consistent with justice to employ such methods towards states, against whom there is no foundation of complaint, who live in peace under the faith of treaties, and whose sole crime is the apprehension of their being one day in a condition to do hurt? Is it lawful to secret bribes to lay snares to the fidelity of subjects, and to be the accomplice of their treasons, by putting arms into their hands against their native country?

What glory and renown would not the kings of Persia have acquired, if, content with the vast and rich dominions which Providence had given them, they had employed their good offices, power, and even treasures, to reconcile the neighbouring states with each other; to remove their jealousies, to prevent injustice and oppression; and if, feared and honoured by them all, they had made themselves the mediators of their differences, the security of their peace, and the guarantee of their treaties. Can any conquest, however great, be compared with such glory?

Tissaphernes acted upon other principles, and had no thought but of preventing the Greeks from being in a condition to attack the Persians, their common enemy. He therefore entered freely into the views of Alcibiades, and at the same time that he declared himself openly for the Lacedæmonians, did not fail to assist the Athenians underhand, and by a thousand secret methods; deferring the payment of the Lacedæmonian fleet, and retarding the arrival of the Phœnician ships, of which he had long kept them in hopes. He omitted no occasion of giving Alcibiades new marks of his friendship and esteem, which rendered that general equally considerable to both parties. The Athenians, who had sadly experienced the effects of having drawn his anger upon them, were not now to repent their passing sentence of condemnation upon him. Alcibiades also on his side extremely sorry to see the Athenians in so mournful a situation, began to fear that if the city of Athens were to be entirely ruined, he might fall into the hands of the Spartans, who mortally hated him.

SECTION II.—THE RETURN OF ALCI BI ADES TO ATHENS NEGOTIATED UPON CONDITION OF ESTABLISHING THE ARISTOCRATICAL, IN THE ROOM OF THE DEMOCRATICAL GOVERNMENT. TISSAPHERNES CONCLUDES A NEW TREATY WITH THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

THE Athenians were intent upon nothing so much as Samos, where they had all their forces. From thence with their fleet they reduced all the cities that had abandoned them under their obedience, kept the rest in their duty, and found themselves still in a condition to make head against their enemies, over whom they had obtained several advantages. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the 150 Phœnician ships which he hourly expected; and rightly perceived that, if so powerful a fleet should join the enemy, there was no longer any safety for their city. Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that passed among the Athenians, sent secretly to the principal of them at Samos, to sound their sentiments, and to let them know, that he was not averse to returning to Athens, provided the administration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with design to concert with him the proper measures for the success of that undertaking. He promised to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tissaphernes, but of the king himself, upon condition they would abolish the democracy or popular government; because the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon those of the inconstant and capricious multitude.

The deputies lent a willing ear to these proposals, and conceived great hopes of exonerating themselves

from part of the public impositions, because as they were the richest of the people, the burden lay heaviest upon them, and of making their country triumph after having possessed themselves of the government. At their return, they began by bringing over such as were most proper to share in their design; after which they caused a report to be spread amongst the troops, that the king was inclined to declare in favour of the Athenians, and to pay the army, upon condition that Alcibiades were reinstated, and the popular government abolished. That proposal surprised the soldiers, and was generally rejected at first; but the charm of gain, and the hope of change to their advantage, soon softened what was harsh and offensive in it, and even made them ardently desire the recall of Alcibiades.

Phrynicius, one of their generals, rightly judging that Alcibiades cared as little for an oligarchy as he did for the democracy, and that in decrying the people's conduct, he had no other view than to acquire the favour and confidence of the nobility for his own re-establishment, had the boldness to oppose the resolutions, which were about to take place. He represented, that the change they meditated might very probably excite a civil war to the ruin of the state; that it was very unlikely that the king of Persia would prefer the alliance of the Athenians to that of the Spartans, which was so much more advantageous to him; that this change would not retain the allies in their duty, nor bring over those who had renounced it, as they would persist in preferring their liberty; that the government of a small number of rich and powerful persons would not be more favourable to either the citizens or allies than that of the people, because ambition was the great cause of all misfortunes in a republic, and the rich were the sole promoters of all troubles for the aggrandizing of themselves; that a state suffered more oppressions and violences under the rule of the nobility than under that of the people, whose authority kept the former within due bounds, and was the asylum of such as they desired to oppress; that the allies were too well acquainted with these truths from their own experience, to want any lessons upon the subject.

These remonstrances, wise as they were, had no effect. Pisander was sent to Athens with some of the same faction, to propose the return of Alcibiades, an alliance with Tissaphernes, and the abolition of the democracy. They represented that, by changing the government, and recalling Alcibiades, Athens might obtain a powerful aid from the king of Persia, which would be a certain means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this proposal great numbers exclaimed against it, and especially the enemies of Alcibiades. They alleged, amongst other reasons, the imprecations pronounced by the priests, and all the other ministers of religion against him, and even against such as should propose to recall him. But Pisander, advancing into the midst of the assembly, demanded, whether they knew any other means to save the republic in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced: and as it was admitted there were none, he added that the preservation of the state was the question, and not the authority of the laws, which might be provided for in the sequel; but at present there was no other method for the attainment of the king's friendship and that of Tissaphernes. Though this change was very offensive to the people, they gave their consent to it at length, with the hope of re-establishing the democracy hereafter, as Pisander had promised; and they decreed that he should go with ten more deputies to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, and that in the mean time Phrynicius should be recalled, and another general appointed to command the fleet in his stead.

The deputies did not find Tissaphernes in so good a disposition as they had been made to hope. He was afraid of the Lacedæmonians, but was unwilling to render the Athenians too powerful. It was his policy, by the advice of Alcibiades, to leave the two parties always at war, in order to weaken and consume them by each other. He therefore made great difficulties. He demanded at first, that the Athenians should abandon all Ionia to him, and afterwards insisted upon their adding the neighbouring islands.

Those demands being complied with, he farther required, in a third interview, permission to fit out a fleet and to cruise in the Grecian seas, which had been expressly provided against in the celebrated treaty concluded with Artaxerxes. The deputies thereupon broke up the conferences with indignation, and perceived that Alcibiades had imposed upon them.

Tissaphernes, without loss of time, concluded a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians; in which, what had displeased in the two preceding treaties was retrenched. The article, which yielded to Persia the countries in general, that had been in the actual possession of the reigning king Darius, or his predecessors, was limited to the provinces of Asia. The king engaged to defray all expenses of the Lacedæmonian fleet, in the condition it then was, till the arrival of that of Persia; after which they were to support it themselves; unless they should choose that the king should pay it, to be reimbursed after the conclusion of the war. It was farther agreed, that they should unite their forces, and continue the war, or make peace, by common consent. Tissaphernes, to keep his promise, sent for the fleet of Phœnicia. This treaty was made in the eleventh year of Darius, and the twentieth of the Peloponnesian war.

SECTION III.—THE WHOLE AUTHORITY OF THE ATHENIAN GOVERNMENT HAVING BEEN VESTED IN 400 PERSONS, THEY MAKE A TYRANNICAL ABUSE OF THEIR POWER, AND ARE DEPOSED. ALCI BI ADES IS RECALLED. AFTER VARIOUS ACCIDENTS, AND SEVERAL CONSIDERABLE VICTORIES, HE RETURNS IN TRIUMPH TO ATHENS, AND IS APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO. HE CAUSES THE GREAT MYSTERIES TO BE CELEBRATED, AND DEPARTS WITH THE FLEET.

From the twenty-first to the twenty-fifth year of the War.

PISANDER,¹ at his return to Athens, found the change he had proposed at his setting out much forwarded, to which he soon after put the last hand. To give a form of this new government, he caused ten commissioners with absolute power to be appointed, who were however at a certain fixed time to give the people an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that term, the general assembly was summoned, wherein their first resolution was, that every one should be admitted to make such proposals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accusation of infringing the law, or to any penalty in consequence. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council should be formed, with full power to administer the public affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose five presidents were established, who nominated 100 persons, including themselves. Each of these chose and associated three more at his own pleasure, which made in all 400, in whom an absolute power was lodged. But to amuse the people, and to console them with a shadow of popular government, whilst they instituted a real oligarchy, it was said that the Four Hundred should call a council of 5000 citizens, to assist them when they should judge it necessary. The council and assemblies of the people were held as usual: nothing was done however but by the order of the Four Hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almost a hundred years, after having abolished the tyranny of the Pisistratide.

This decree being passed without opposition, after the separation of the assembly, the Four Hundred armed with daggers, and attended by 120 young men, whom they made use of when any execution required it, entered the senate, and compelled the senators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their salaries. They elected new magistrates out of their own body, observing the usual ceremonies upon such occasions. They did not think proper to recall those who were banished, lest they should be obliged

to authorize the return of Alcibiades, of whose untrollable spirit they were apprehensive, and who would soon have made himself master of the people. Abusing their power in a tyrannical manner, some they put to death, others they banished, confiscating their estates with impunity. All who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon false pretexes; and those would have met with a bad reception who demanded justice of the murderers. The Four Hundred, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to Samos to gain the concurrence of the army.

All that had passed at Athens was already known there,² and the news had enraged the soldiers to the highest degree. They deposed immediately several of their chiefs, whom they suspected, and put others into their places, of whom Thrasybulus and Thrasybulus were the principal, and in highest credit. Alcibiades was recalled, and chosen generalissimo by the whole army. They were desirous to sail directly for the Piræus to attack the tyrants. But he opposed it, representing that it was necessary he should first have an interview with Tissaphernes, and that as they had chosen him general, they might rely upon him for the care of the war. He set out immediately for Miletus. His principal design was to show himself to that governor with all the power with which he had been invested, and to let him see that he was in a condition to do him much good or much harm. The consequence of which was, that as he had kept the Athenians in awe by Tissaphernes, he now awed Tissaphernes no less by the Athenians; and we shall see in the sequel that this interview was not unnecessary.

Alcibiades, upon his return to Samos, found the army more inflamed than at first. The deputies of the Four Hundred had arrived there during his absence, and had endeavoured in vain to justify the alteration made at Athens to the soldiery. Their discourses, which were often interrupted by tumultuous cries, served only to exasperate them more, and they earnestly demanded to be led against the tyrants directly. Alcibiades did not act on this occasion, as every body else would have done in consequence of having been raised to so high a dignity by the favour of the people: for he did not think himself obliged to an absolute and implicit compliance with their inclinations in every thing, though from an exile and fugitive, they had made him general of so great a fleet, and so numerous and formidable an army: but, as a statesman and great politician, he believed it his duty to oppose the blind fury that hurried them on into evident danger, and to prevent them from committing a fault which must have been attended with their utter ruin. This wise steadiness preserved the city of Athens. For had they sailed thither at first, the enemy would have made themselves masters of Ionia, the Hellespont, and all the islands, without resistance; whilst the Athenians, by carrying the war into their own city, would have exhausted their whole forces against one another. He prevented the deputies from being ill-treated, and dismissed them; saying, that he did not object to the 5000 citizens having the supreme authority in the republic, but that it was necessary to depose the Four Hundred, and to re-establish the senate.

During these commotions,³ the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians impatiently expected, approached, and news came that it was arrived at Aspendus.⁴ Tissaphernes went to meet it; nobody being able to divine the true cause of that journey. He had sent for that fleet at first to flatter the Lacedæmonians with the hopes of so powerful an aid, and to put a stop to their progress by making them wait its arrival. It was believed that his journey had the same motive; to prevent their doing any thing in his absence, and that their soldiers and mariners might disband for want of pay. However this might be, he did not bring the fleet with him, from the view, no doubt, of keeping the balance equal, which was the

¹ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 530, 534. Plat. in Alcib. p. 303

² Thucyd. l. viii. p. 595—604. Plat. in Alcib. p. 303
Diod. p. 165.

³ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 604, 606.

⁴ A city of Pamphylia

king, of Persia's interest, and of exhausting both parties of the length of the war. For it would have been very easy for him to have put an end to it by the assistance of this additional fleet, as the Lacedæmonians were already as strong at sea as the Athenians. His frivolous excuse, of its not being complete, which he alleged as the reason for not bringing it with him, sufficiently shows that he had other motives for his conduct.

The return of the deputies without success,¹ who had been sent to Samos, and the answer of Alcibiades, excited new troubles in the city, and gave a mortal wound to the authority of the Four Hundred. The tumult increased exceedingly, when news was brought that the enemy, after having beaten the fleet which had been sent by the Four Hundred to the aid of Eubœa, had made themselves masters of the island. Athens was in the highest terror and consternation on this account. For neither the defeat in Sicily, nor any other preceding it, were of such importance as the loss of this island, from whence the city received considerable supplies, and almost all its provisions. If in the confusion in which Athens was at that time between two factions, the victorious fleet had fallen upon the port, as it might have done, the army of Samos would have been indispensably obliged to have flown to the defence of their country; and then the republic would have had only the city of Athens remaining of all its dominions. For the Hellespont, Ionia, and all the islands, seeing themselves abandoned, would have been reduced to choose a side, and go over to the Peloponnesians. But the enemy were not capable of such great designs; and this was not the first time that the Lacedæmonians had been observed to have lost their advantages by their natural slowness and procrastination.

Athens without delay deposed the Four Hundred, as the authors of all the troubles and divisions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous consent, and earnestly solicited to make all possible haste to the assistance of the city. But judging, that if he returned immediately to Athens, he should owe his recall to the compassion and favour of the people, he resolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deserve it by some considerable exploit. For this purpose,

A. M. 3595. leaving Samos with a small number
Ant. J. C. 409. of ships, he cruised about the islands of Cos and Cnidos; and having learned that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailing towards the Hellespont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in pursuit of him, he steered that way with the utmost diligence to support them, and arrived happily with his eighteen vessels, at the time that the fleets were engaged near Abydos in a battle, which lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at first, who believed him still their friend, and dispirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades, hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon the Lacedæmonians who were strongest, and were vigorously pursuing the Athenians, put them to flight, drove them ashore; and, animated by his success, sunk the vessels, and made a great slaughter of the soldiers, who had thrown themselves into the sea to save themselves by swimming; though Pharnabazus spared no pains to assist them, and had advanced at the head of his troops to the coast, to favour their flight, and to save their ships. The Athenians after having taken thirty of their galleys, and retaken those they had lost, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades, vain of his success,
A. M. 3596. had the ambition to desire to appear
Ant. J. C. 408. before Tissaphernes in his triumphant equipage, and to make him rich presents, as well in his own, as in the name of the people of Athens. He went to him therefore with a magnificent retinue, worthy of the general of the Athenians. But he did not meet with that favourable reception he expected. For Tissaphernes, who knew

he was accused by the Lacedæmonians, and feared that the king would punish him at length for not having executed his orders, found Alcibiades presenting himself very opportunely, and caused him to be seized and sent prisoner to Sardis; to shelter himself by that injustice from the representations of the Lacedæmonians.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades, having found means to get a horse, escaped from his guards, and fled to Clazomene, where, to revenge himself on Tissaphernes, he gave out that he had set him at liberty. From Clazomene, he repaired to the Athenian fleet, where he was joined by Tharmonas with twenty ships from Macedonia, and by Thrasylus with twenty more from Thasos. He sailed from thence to Parium in the Propontia. All those ships, to the number of four-score and six, being come together, he left that place in the night, and arrived the next morning at Proconnesus, a small isle near Cyzicum. He heard there, that Mindarus was at Cyzicum with Pharnabazus and his land army. He rested that whole day at Proconnesus. On the morrow he harangued his soldiers, and represented to them the necessity there was for attacking the enemy by sea and land, and for making themselves masters of Cyzicum; demonstrating, at the same time, that without a complete and absolute victory, they could have neither provisions nor money. He had taken great care that the enemy should not be apprized of his approach. Fortunately for him, a great storm of rain and thunder, followed by a thick gloom, helped him to conceal his enterprize so successfully, that not only the enemy were prevented from perceiving that he advanced, but the Athenians themselves, whom he had caused to embark with precipitation, did not know that he had weighed anchor and put to sea.

When the gloom was dispersed, the Lacedæmonian fleet appeared exercising at some distance before the port. Alcibiades, who was apprehensive that the enemy, upon the sight of so great a number of ships, would make for the harbour, ordered the captains to keep back a little, and to follow him at a good distance; and taking only forty vessels, he advanced towards the enemy, to offer them battle. The enemy, deceived by this stratagem, and despising his small number, advanced against him, and began the fight. But when they saw the rest of the Athenian fleet come up, they immediately lost courage, and fled. Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, pursued them to the shore, landed, and killed a great number of them in the fight. Mindarus and Pharnabazus opposed his efforts in vain; the first, who fought with astonishing valour, he killed, and put the other to flight.

The Athenians by this victory, which made them masters of the slain, the arms, spoils, and whole fleet of the enemy, and by the taking of Cyzicum, not only possessed themselves of the Hellespont, but drove the Spartans entirely out of that sea. Letters were intercepted, in which the latter, with a consciousness truly laconic, informed the Ephori of the blow they had received, in terms to this effect: "The flower of your army is cut off; Mindarus is dead; the rest of the troops are dying with hunger; and we neither know what to do, nor what will become of us."

The news of this victory occasioned no less joy at Athens than consternation at Sparta. They despatched ambassadors immediately to demand,² that an end should be put to a war equally destructive to both people, and that a peace should be concluded upon reasonable conditions, for the re-establishment of their ancient concord and amity, of which they had for many years experienced the salutary effects. The wisest and most judicious of the citizens of Athens were unanimously of opinion, that it was proper to take the advantage of so favourable a conjuncture for the concluding of a treaty, which might put an end to all jealousies, appease all animosities, and remove all distrusts. But those who found their advantage in the troubles of the state, prevented so happy a disposition from taking effect. Cleophon,³ amongst others

¹ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 607—614. Plut. in Alcib. p. 206—210. Diod. p. 171, 172, & 175, 177, and 180—192.
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² Diod. l. xlii. p. 177—179. ³ Esch. in Orat. de fals. legat.

the orator in greatest repute at that time, animated the people from the tribunal, by a violent and seditious discourse, insinuating, that their interests were betrayed by some who kept up a secret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, which aimed at depriving them of all the advantages of the important victory they had lately gained, and at making them lose for ever the opportunity of being fully avenged for all the wrongs and misfortunes Sparta had caused them to suffer. This Cleophon was a worthless fellow, a musical instrument maker. It was reported also that he had been a slave, and had got himself fraudulently enrolled in the register of the citizens. He carried his audacity and fury so far as to threaten to plunge his dagger into the throat of any one who should talk of peace. The Athenians, puffed up with their present prosperity, forgetting their past misfortunes, and promising themselves all things from the valour and good fortune of Alcibiades, haughtily rejected all proposals of accommodation, without reflecting, that there is nothing so fluctuating and precarious as the success of war. The ambassadors retired without being able to effect any thing. Such infatuation and irrational pride are generally the forerunners of some great misfortune.

Alcibiades knew well how to take advantage of the victory he had gained, and presently after besieged Chalcædon, which had revolted from the Athenians and received a Lacedæmonian garrison. During this siege, he took another town, called Selymbria. Pharnabazus, terrified by the rapidity of his conquests, made a treaty with the Athenians to this effect; "That Pharnabazus should pay them a certain sum of money; that the Chalcædonians should return to their obedience and dependence upon the Athenians, and pay them tribute; and that the Athenians should commit no hostilities in the province of Pharnabazus, who engaged for the safe conduct of their ambassadors to the great king." Byzantium and several other cities submitted to the Athenians.

Alcibiades, who desired with the
A. M. 3597. utmost passion to see his country
Ant. J. C. 407. again, or rather to be seen by his country, after so many victories over their enemies, set out for Athens. The sides of his ships were covered with bucklers and all sorts of spoils, in form of trophies; and causing a great number of vessels to be towed after him by way of triumph, he displayed also the ensigns and ornaments of those he had burnt, which were more in number than the others; the whole amounting to about 200 ships. It is said, that reflecting on what had been done against him, upon approaching the port, he was struck with some terror, and was afraid to quit his vessel, till he saw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the shore to receive him, and earnestly entreated him to land.

The people came out of the city in crowds to meet him, and at his appearance set up incredible shouts of joy. In the midst of an infinite number of officers and soldiers, all eyes were fixed solely on him, whom they considered as Victory itself, descended from the skies: all thronging around him, caressed, blessed, and crowned him in emulation of each other. Those, who could not approach him, were never tired with contemplating him at a distance, whilst the old men showed him to their children. They repeated with the highest praises all the great actions he had done for his country; nor could they refuse their admiration even to those which he had done against it during his banishment, of which they imputed the fault to themselves alone. This public joy was mingled with tears and regret, from the remembrance of past misfortunes, which they could not avoid comparing with their present felicity. "We could not have failed," said they, "of the conquest of Sicily; our other hopes could never have proved abortive, if we had intrusted all our affairs and forces to the disposal of Alcibiades alone. In what a condition was Athens when he took upon him our protection and defence! We had not only almost entirely lost our power at sea, but were scarce possessed of the suburbs of our city, and, to add to our misfortunes, were torn to pieces by a horrid civil war. He notwithstanding has raised the republic

from its ruins; and not content with having reinstated it in the possession of the sovereignty of the sea, has rendered it universally victorious by land; as if the fate of Athens had been in his hands alone, either to ruin or restore it, and victory was annexed to his person, and obeyed his orders."

This favourable reception of Alcibiades did not prevent his demanding an assembly of the people, in order to his justification before them; well knowing how necessary it was for his safety to be absolved in due form. He appeared therefore and after having deplored his misfortunes, which he imputed very little to the people, and entirely ascribed to his ill fortune, and some demon envious of his prosperity, he represented to them the designs of the enemy, and exhorted them not to conceive other than great hopes. The Athenians, transported with hearing him speak, decreed him crowns of gold, appointed him general by sea and land with unlimited power, restored him all his fortunes, and ordered the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces¹ to absolve him from the curses they had pronounced against him by the order of the people; doing their utmost to make him amends for the injury and shame of his banishment by the glory of his recall, and to efface the remembrance the imprecations themselves had decreed, by the vows and prayers which they made in his favour. Whilst all the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces were employed in revoking these imprecations, Theodorus, the principal of them, had the courage to say: *As for me, I have not cursed him, if he has done no evil to his country*; insinuating by that bold expression, that the maledictions, being conditional, could not fall on the head of the innocent, nor be averted from the guilty.

In the midst of this glory and shining prosperity of Alcibiades, the majority of the people could not help being concerned, when they considered the time of his return. For it happened precisely upon the day when the Athenians celebrated a festival in honour of Minerva, adored under the name of Agraulis. The priests took off all the ornaments from the goddess's statue to wash it—from whence that feast was called Πλυντήρια—and afterwards covered it; and that day was accounted one of the most ominous and unfortunate. It was the 25th of the month Thargelion which answers to the 2d of July. This circumstance displeased that superstitious people, because it seemed to imply that the goddess, patroness and protectress of Athens, did not receive Alcibiades agreeably and with a benign aspect, since she covered and concealed herself, as if she would keep him off and remove him from her.

All things having however succeeded according to his wish,² and the 100 ships he was to command being ready, he deferred his departure out of a laudable ambition to celebrate the great mysteries; for from the time the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelia, and taken possession of all the ways from Athens to Eleusis, the feast had not been solemnized in all its pomp, and the procession had been obliged to go by sea.

Alcibiades believed it would be a most glorious action, and draw down upon him the blessings of the gods and the praises of men, if he restored all its lustre and solemnity to this feast, in making the procession go by land escorted by his troops to defend it against the attacks of the enemy. For either Agis would suffer it to pass quietly, notwithstanding the numerous troops he had at Decelia, which would considerably lessen the reputation of that king, and sully his glory; or, if he should choose to attack it, and oppose the march he should then have the satisfaction to fight a sacred battle—a battle grateful to the gods, for the greatest and most venerable of all their mysteries, in the sight of his country and citizens, who would be witnesses of his valour and regard for religion. It is very likely, that by this public and ostentatious act of piety, which

¹ The Eumolpidæ and Ceryces were two families at Athens who had different functions in the mysteries of Ceres. They took their names from Eumolpus and Ceryx, the first who had exercised those offices. Perhaps the employment of the latter had some relation to that of heralds *ἑρμῆες*.

² Plat. in Alcibi. p. 210

struck the people's view in so sensible a manner, and was so extremely to their taste, Alcibiades's principal design was to efface entirely from their minds the suspicions of impiety, to which the mutilation of the statues, and profanation of the mysteries, had given birth.

Having taken that resolution, he gave notice to the Eunolpidæ and Ceryces to hold themselves in readiness, posted sentinels upon the hills, sent out scouts at the break of day, and taking with him the priests, the initiated, and the probationers, with those who initiated them, he covered them with his army, and conducted the whole pomp with wonderful order and profound silence. Never was show, says Plutarch, more august, nor more worthy the majesty of the gods, than this warlike procession, and religious expedition; in which even those who envied the glory of Alcibiades were obliged to own, that he was no less happy in discharging the functions of a high priest than those of a general. No enemy dared to appear, or disturb that pompous march, and Alcibiades reconducted the sacred troop to Athens with entire safety. This success gave him new courage, and raised the valour and boldness of his army to such a degree, that they looked upon themselves as invincible whilst he commanded them.

He acquired the affection of the poor, and the lower sort of people so much that they most ardently desired to have him for their king. Many of them openly declared themselves to that effect; and there were some who addressed themselves to him, and exhorted him to set himself above envy, and not to trouble himself about laws, decrees, or suffrages; to put down those wordy impertinent orators that disturbed the state with their vain harangues, to make himself absolute master of affairs, and to govern with entire authority, without fearing accusers. For him, what his thoughts of the tyranny and his designs were, are unknown; but the most powerful citizens, apprehending the breaking out of a fire, of which they already saw the sparks, pressed him to depart without delay; granting whatever he demanded, and giving him for colleagues, the generals most agreeable to him. He set sail accordingly with 100 ships, and steered for the island of Andros, that had revolted. His high reputation, and the good fortune that had attended him in all his enterprises, made nothing but what was great and extraordinary to be expected from him.

SECTION IV. THE LACEDÆMONIANS APPOINT LYSANDER ADMIRAL. HE ACQUIRES GREAT INFLUENCE WITH THE YOUNGER CYRUS, WHO COMMANDED IN ASIA. HE BEATS THE ATHENIAN FLEET NEAR EPHEBUS IN THE ABSENCE OF ALCIBIADES, WHO IS DEPRIVED OF THE COMMAND. TEN GENERALS ARE CHOSEN IN HIS STEAD. CALLICRATIDAS SUCCEEDS LYSANDER.

Twenty-sixth year of the War.

THE Lacedæmonians,¹ justly alarmed at the return and success of Alcibiades, sufficiently perceived that such an enemy required to be opposed by an able general, capable of making head against him. For this reason they made choice of Lysander, and gave him the command of the fleet. When he arrived at Ephesus, he found the city very well disposed towards himself, and well affected to Sparta; but otherwise in a very unhappy situation. For it was in danger of becoming barbarous, by assuming the manners and customs of the Persians, who had great intercourse with it, as well as from the neighbourhood of Lydia, as because the king's generals commonly took up their winter quarters there. An idle and voluptuous life, filled up with luxury and empty show, could not fail of disgusting infinitely a man like Lysander, who had been bred from his birth in the simplicity, poverty, and severe discipline of Sparta. Having brought his army to Ephesus, he gave orders for assembling ships of burden there from all parts, erecting an arsenal for building of galleys, made the ports free for merchants,

gave up the squares and public places to artificers, put all the arts in motion, and held them in honour, and by these means filled the city with riches, and laid the foundations of that grandeur and magnificence to which it afterwards attained. So great a change can the application and ability of a single person occasion in a state!

Whilst he was making these dispositions, he received advice, that Cyrus, the king's youngest son, was arrived at Sardis. That prince could not be above sixteen years old at that time, being born after his father's accession to the throne, who was now in the seventeenth year of his reign. Parysatis, his mother, loved him to idolatry, and she had the entire ascendancy over her husband. It was she that occasioned his having the command in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor given him—a command that subjected all the provincial governors of the most important part of the empire to his authority. The view of Parysatis was, without doubt, to put this young prince into a condition to dispute the throne with his brother after the king's death, as we shall see he actually did. One of the principal instructions given him by his father, upon sending him to his government, was to give effectual aid to the Lacedæmonians against Athens—an order very contrary to the measures observed till then by Tissaphernes, and the other governors of those provinces. It had always been their maxim, sometimes to assist one party, sometimes the other, in order to hold their power in such a balance that the one might never be able to crush the other entirely: from whence it followed, that both parties were kept weak by the war, and neither were in a condition to form any enterprises against the Persian empire.

Upon Lysander's being apprized, therefore, of the arrival of Cyrus at Sardis, he set out from Ephesus to make him a visit, and to complain of the delays and breach of faith of Tissaphernes, who, notwithstanding the orders he had received to support the Lacedæmonians, and to drive the Athenians from the sea, had always covertly favoured the latter, out of regard for Alcibiades, to whom he was entirely devoted, and had been the sole cause of the loss of the fleet, by not supplying it with the necessary quantity of provisions. This discourse pleased Cyrus, who looked upon Tissaphernes as a very bad man, and his particular enemy. And he answered, that the king had given him orders to support the Lacedæmonians powerfully, and that he had received 500 talents for that purpose.² Lysander, contrary to the common character of the Spartans, was submissive and condescending, full of complaisance to the great, always ready to pay his court to them, and supporting, for the good of the service, all the weight of their haughtiness and vanity with incredible patience; in which behaviour some people make the chief address and principal merit of a courtier to consist.

He did not forget himself on this occasion, and setting at work all that the industry and art of a complete courtier could suggest of flattery and insinuation, he perfectly gained the young prince's favour and good opinion. After having praised his generosity, magnificence, and zeal for the Lacedæmonians, he desired him to give each soldier and mariner a drachma³ per day; in order to corrupt those of the enemy by that means, and thereby terminate the war the sooner. Cyrus very much approved the project; but said, he could make no change in the king's order, and that the treaty with them expressly settled only half a talent⁴ to be paid monthly for each galley. The prince, however, at the end of the banquet which he gave him before his departure, drinking to his health, and pressing him to ask something of him, Lysander desired that an obolus⁵ a day might be added to the seamen's pay. This was granted, and he gave them

¹ Five hundred thousand crowns, about 112,500*l.* sterling.
² Ten-pence.

³ One thousand five hundred livres, about 112*l.* sterling.

⁴ The drachma was six oboli, or ten pence French; each obolus being something above three half-pence; so that the four oboli was six-pence half-penny a day, instead of five-pence, or three oboli.

⁵ Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 440—442. Plut. in Lysand. p. 634, 435. Dioid. l. xiii. p. 192—197.

four oboli, instead of three, which they received before, and paid them all the arrears due to them, with a month's advance; giving Lysander 10,000 daricks¹ for that purpose; that is 100,000 livres, or about 5000l. sterling.

This largess filled the whole fleet with ardour and alacrity, and almost unmanned the enemy's galleys; the greatest part of the mariners deserting to that side where the pay was best. The Athenians in despair upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interposition of Tissaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithstanding that satrap represented, that it was not for the king's interest to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to balance the power of one side with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own divisions.

Though Lysander had considerably weakened the enemy, by augmenting the mariners' pay, and thereby very much hurt their naval power, he dared not however hazard a battle with them, particularly dreading Alcibiades, who was a man of execution, had the greater number of ships, and had never been overthrown in any battle, either by sea or land. But after Alcibiades had left Samos to go into Phœcia and Ionia, to raise money of which he was in want, for the payment of his troops, and had given the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with express order not to fight or attack the enemy in his absence; the new commander, to make a show of his courage, and to brave Lysander, entered the port of Ephesus, with two galleys, and after having made a great noise, retired with loud laughter, and an air of contempt and insult. Lysander, enraged at that affront, immediately detached some galleys, and went himself in pursuit of him. But as the Athenians advanced to support Antiochus, he ordered other galleys of his side to come, till the whole fleet arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both sides. Lysander gained the victory, and having taken fifteen of the Athenian galleys, he erected a trophy. Alcibiades, on his return to Samos, sailed even into the port to offer him battle; but Lysander was contented with his victory, and did not think proper to accept it; so that he retired without doing any thing.

Thersylbulas at the same time, A. M. 3598. the most dangerous enemy he had Ant. J. C. 406. in his army, left the camp, and went to Athens to accuse him. To inflame his enemies in the city the more, he told the people in a full assembly, that Alcibiades had entirely ruined their affairs, and the navy, by the licence he had introduced; that he had given himself up to the most notorious debauches and drunkards,² who, from having been common seamen, were now the only persons in credit about him; that he abandoned his whole authority to them, to be at leisure to enrich himself in the provinces, and to plunge himself there into intemperance and all other infamous excesses, to the disgrace of Athens, whilst his fleet was left neglected in the face of that of the enemy.

Another article of accusation against him was taken from the forts he had built near the city of Byzantium, for an asylum and retreat for himself; as neither being able nor willing to return any more to his country. The Athenians, a envious, inconstant people, gave credit to all these imputations. The loss of the last battle, and his little success since his departure from Athens, instead of the great and wonderful actions expected from him, entirely sunk him in their opinions; and his own glory and reputation may be said to have occasioned his ruin. For he was suspected of not having been desirous to do what was not done, which they could not believe out of his power, because they were fully persuaded, that nothing he desired to do was impossible to him. They made it a crime in Alcibiades, that the rapidity of his conquests did not correspond with that of their imaginations; not considering that he made war without money upon a

people who had the great king for their treasurer, and that he was often obliged to quit his camp, in quest of what was necessary for the payment and subsistence of his troops. However, Alcibiades was deposed, and ten generals nominated in his stead, of which when he received advice, he retired to his gally to some castles which he had in the Thracian Chersonesus.

About this time died Plistonax, one of the kings of Lacedæmonia, and was succeeded by Pausanias who reigned fourteen years. The latter made a fine answer to one who asked, why it was not permitted to make any change in the ancient customs of Sparta: *Because, says he, at Sparta the laws command men, and not men the laws.*³

Lysander, who intended to establish the government of the nobility in all the cities in the dependence of Sparta, that the governors of his choosing might be always at his disposal, from his having rendered them independent of the people, caused such persons as he knew to be the boldest, and most enterprising and ambitious among the principal men of the cities, to come to Ephesus. These he placed at the head of affairs, promoted to the greatest honours, and raised to the first employments of the army, thereby rendering himself, says Plutarch, the accomplice of all the crimes and oppressions they committed to advance and enrich themselves. For this reason they were always extremely attached to him, and regretted him infinitely, when Callicratidas came to succeed him, and took upon him the command of the fleet. He was not inferior to Lysander either in valour or military knowledge, and was infinitely above him in point of moral virtue. Alike severe to himself and others, inaccessible to flattery and sloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modesty, temperance, and austerity of the ancient Spartans; virtues that began to distinguish him particularly, as they were not too common in his time. His probity and justice were proof against all things; his simplicity and integrity abhorred all falsehood and fraud, to which were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul. The great and powerful could not refrain from admiring his virtue; but they were better pleased with the affability and condescension of his predecessor, who was blind to the injustice and violence of their actions.

It was not without mortification and jealousy, that Lysander saw him arrive at Ephesus to take upon him the command, and out of a criminal baseness and treachery, not unconform with those who hearken more to their private ambition than the good of the public, he did him all the ill offices in his power. Of the 10,000 daricks, which Cyrus had given him for the augmentation of the mariners' pay, he returned the remainder to that prince; telling Callicratidas, that he might apply to the king for the money, and that it depended on him to find means for the subsistence of the army. This conduct gave him great trouble, and distressed him exceedingly. For he had brought no money with him from Sparta, and could not resolve to extort any from the cities, as he found them sufficiently rifled already.

In this urgent necessity,⁴ a person having offered him fifty talents (that is to say, 50,000 crowns) to obtain a favour which he could not grant with justice, he refused them. Upon which Cleander, one of his officers, said, *I would accept them, were I in your place. And so would I,* replied the general, *were I in yours.*

He had no other resource therefore than to go, as Lysander had done, to ask money at the gates of the king's generals and lieutenants, for which he was the least proper of all mankind. Nurtured and educated in the love of liberty, full of great and noble sentiments, and infinitely remote from all flattery and baseness, he was convinced at heart, that it was a less evil and dishonour for Greeks to be overcome by

¹ Diad. p. 106.

² Οὐ τοὺς εὐνοῦς τῶν ἄνδρων, οὐ τοὺς ἄνδρας τῶν νομῶν κρυπτοὺς αἰ νῆς δις. Plut. in Apophth. p. 230.

³ Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 442-444. Plut. in Lysand. p. 435, 438. Diad. p. 197, 198.

⁴ Plut. in Acoph. p. 292.

¹ A darick is about a pistole.

² Antiochus is painted at in this place, a mean, debauched man, who had acquired the favour of Alcibiades by catching a quail for him, which he had let fly.

Greeks, than infamously to make their court, and beg at the gates of barbarians, whose only merit consisted in their gold and silver. The whole nation were indeed disgraced by so mean a prostitution.

Cicero, in his Offices, draws two very different characters of persons employed in the administration of government, and makes the application of them to the two generals of whom we speak. The one, says he,¹ zealous lovers of truth, and declared enemies of all fraud, pique themselves upon their simplicity and candour, and do not believe, that it ever can be consistent with honour, to lay snares or use artifice. The others, prepared to do or suffer every thing, and not ashamed of the meanest actions, provided from those unworthy methods they have reason to expect the success of their designs. Cicero places Callicratidas amongst the former, and Lysander amongst the latter, to whom he gives two epithets, not much to his honour, and hardly consistent with the Spartan character, when he calls him *very artful, and very patient, or rather very complainant*.

Callicratidas, however, forced by necessity, went to Lydia, and repaired immediately to the palace of Cyrus, where he desired that prince might be told that the admiral of the Grecian fleet was come to speak with him. He was answered, that Cyrus was then at table, engaged in a party of pleasure;² to which he replied with a modest tone and air, that he was in no haste, and would wait till the prince came forth. The guards set up a laugh, wondering at the honest stranger's simplicity, who seemed so little acquainted with the world; and he was obliged to retire. He came thither the second time, and was again denied admittance. Upon which he returned to Ephesus, loaded those with curses and imprecations, who had first made their court to Barbarians, and by their flattery and submissions had taught them to make their riches a title and pretence for insulting the rest of mankind. Addressing himself at the same time to those about him, he swore that as soon as he returned to Sparta, he would use his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Greeks amongst themselves, that for the future they might become formidable to the Barbarians, and have no farther occasion for their aid to invade and ruin each other. But that generous Spartan, whose thoughts were so noble, and so worthy the Lacedæmonian name, and whose justice, magnanimity, and valour, might rank him with all that Greece had ever produced of the most excellent and most consummate, had not the good fortune to return to his country, nor to apply himself to a work so great, and so worthy of him.

SECTION V. CALLICRATIDAS IS DEFEATED BY THE ATHENIANS NEAR THE ARGINUSÆ. THE ATHENIANS PASS SENTENCE OF DEATH UPON SEVERAL OF THEIR GENERALS FOR NOT HAVING BROUGHT OFF THE BODIES OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN SLAIN IN BATTLE. SOCRATES ALONE HAS THE COURAGE TO OPPOSE SO UNJUST A SENTENCE.

CALICRATIDAS,³ after having gained several victories over the Athenians, had at last pursued Conon, one of their generals, into the port of Mitylene, where he kept him blocked up. This was in the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. Conon seeing himself besieged by sea and land, without hope of aid, and in want of provisions, found means to appropriate Athens of the extreme danger he was in. Extraordinary efforts were made to relieve him, and in less than a month's time a fleet of 110 sail were fitted

out, on board of which were embarked all that were capable of bearing arms, as well slaves as freemen, with some horse. At Samos they were joined by the allies with forty galleys, and the collected armament steered for the Arginusæ, islands situate between Cumæ and Mitylene. Callicratidas, being informed of their course, left Eteonius to continue the siege with fifty ships, and put to sea with 120 sail, with design to face the enemy, and prevent their relieving Conon. The right wing of the Athenians was commanded by Protomachus and Thrasylus, who had each fifteen galleys. They were supported by a second line with a like number of ships, commanded by Lysias and Aristogenes. The left wing, like the other, drawn up in two lines, was under Aristocrates and Dionædon, supported by Erasimides and Pericles.⁴ The main body, consisting of near thirty galleys, amongst which were the three Athenian admirals, was disposed in one line. They had strengthened each of their wings with a second line; because their galleys were neither so swift, nor so easy to manage as those of the enemy; so that there was reason to fear their getting between two, and being charged on both sides at the same time. The Lacedæmonians and their allies, who perceived they were inferior in number to the enemy, contented themselves with drawing up in one line, in order to equal their front, and for the greater facility of running between the Athenian galleys, and turning nimbly round them. Callicratidas's pilot, daunted at the inequality, advised him not to hazard the battle, and to retire: but he replied, that he could not fly without shame, and that his death was of small importance to the republic. "Sparta," said he, "does not depend upon one man." He commanded the right wing, and Thrasondas the Theban the left.

It was a grand and awful sight to behold the sea covered with 300 galleys ready to engage. Never had more numerous naval armies of the Greeks fought against each other before. The ability, experience, and valour of the generals who commanded, left nothing to desire; so that there was reason to believe this battle would decide the fate of both people, and put an end to a war that had endured so long. When the signals were given, the two armies raised great shouts, and began to fight. Callicratidas, who from the answer of the augurs expected to fall in the battle, did amazing actions of valour. He attacked the enemy with incredible courage and boldness, sunk some of their ships, disabled others by breaking their oars and piercing their sides with the prow or beak of his galley. At length he attacked that of Pericles, and made a thousand holes in it; but the latter having hooked him fast with a grappling-iron, he found it impossible to disengage himself, and was surrounded in an instant by several of the Athenian vessels. His own was immediately filled with the enemy, and after a dreadful slaughter, he fell dead, rather overwhelmed by their numbers than vanquished. The right wing which he commanded, having lost its admiral, was put to flight. The left, composed of Boeotians and Eubœans, still made a long and vigorous resistance, from the urgent concern they were in, lest they should fall into the hands of the Athenians, against whom they had revolted; but they were at length obliged to give way, and retire in disorder. The Athenians erected a trophy in the Arginusæ. They lost twenty-five galleys in this battle, and the enemy more than seventy, of which number were nine of the ten furnished by the Lacedæmonians.

Plutarch⁵ equals Callicratidas, the Lacedæmonian general, for his justice, valour, and magnanimity, with all who had ever rendered themselves most worthy of admiration amongst the Greeks.

He blames him however exceedingly, for hazarding the battle at the Arginusæ,⁶ and observes, that to avoid the reproach of having retired out of fear, he had, through a mistaken sense of honour, failed in the essential duty of his function. For, says Plutarch, if (to use the comparison of Iphicrates⁷) the light-armed

¹ Senti his alii multum dispares, simplices et aperti; qui nihil ex occulto, nihil ex insidiis agendum putant; veritatis cultores, fraudis inimici: itemque alii, qui quidvis perpetrantur, cuius deserviant, dum, quod velint, consequuntur. Quo in genere verissimum et patissimum Lacedæmonium Lysandrum accepimus, contrarium Callicratidam. *Cicero*, l. i. c. 103.

² The Greek says literally that he was drinking, *πίνειν*. The Persians valued themselves upon drinking a great deal, as an instance of their merit, as we shall see in Cyrus's letter to the Lacedæmonians.

³ Xenoph. *Pelop.* l. p. 444-452. Diod. l. xiii. p. 198 and 201 and 217-222.

⁴ He was the son of the great Pericles.

⁵ Plut. in Lysand. p. 436.

⁶ Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

⁷ He was a famous general of the Athenians.

infantry resemble the hands, the horse the feet, the main body the breast, and the general the head; the general who abandons himself rashly to the impetuosity of his valour, does not so much neglect or expose his own life, as the lives of those whose safety depends upon his. Our Lacedæmonian chief was therefore in the wrong, continues Plutarch, to answer the pilot, who advised him to retire, *Sparta does not depend upon one man*. For though it be true that Callicratidas, fighting under the orders of another by sea or land, was no more than one man, yet, when commanding an army, all that obeyed his orders were collected in his person; and he, in whom so many thousands might be lost, was no longer one man. Cicero¹ had passed the same judgment upon him before Plutarch. After having said, that there were many persons to be found, who were ready to sacrifice their fortunes and even lives for their country, but who out of a false delicacy in point of glory would not hazard their reputation for it in the least; he cites the example of Callicratidas, who answered those that advised him to retreat from the Arginusæ, "That Sparta could fit out another fleet if this were lost; but for himself, he could not fly before the enemy without shame and infamy."

I return to the sequel of the battle near the Arginusæ. The Athenian generals ordered Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and some other officers, to return with about fifty galleys to take up the wrecks and dead bodies, in order to their interment, whilst they sailed on with the rest against Eteonicus, who kept Conon besieged before Mitylene. But a violent tempest came on suddenly, and prevented the execution of this order. Eteonicus having received news of the defeat, and fearing it might occasion alarm and terror among the troops, sent back those who brought it, with orders to return with wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and to give out that Callicratidas had gained the victory, and destroyed the whole Athenian fleet. Upon their return, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving, and having made his troops take some refreshment, he sent the galleys away directly, the wind being fair, and marched off the land army to Methymna, after having burned the camp. Conon being delivered in this manner from the blockade, joined the victorious fleet, which returned forthwith to Samos. However, when it was known at Athens, that the dead bodies had been left without interment, the people were highly enraged, and caused the whole weight of their resentment to fall upon those whom they deemed guilty of that crime. The ancients held it a great one not to provide sepulture for the dead; and we may observe, that after all their battles, the first care of the conquered, notwithstanding the sense of their misfortune, and their great affliction for a bloody defeat, was to demand a suspension of arms from the victor, in order to pay the last duties to those who had fallen in battle; upon which they believed their happiness in another life depended. They had little or no idea of the resurrection of the body; but however, the Pagans, by the soul's concern for the body after death, the religious regard paid to it, and the zeal with which they rendered solemn honours to the dead, showed that they had some confused notion of a resurrection, which subsisted among all nations, and descended from the most ancient tradition, though they could not clearly distinguish it.

Hence arose the fury of the people of Athens. They immediately nominated new generals, retaining only Conon of the old ones, to whom they gave Adimantus and Philocles for colleagues. Of the eight others, two had withdrawn themselves, and only six returned to Athens. Theramenes, the tenth general, who re-

turned before the rest of the fleet, accused the other chiefs before the people, making them responsible for not bringing off the dead after the battle; and to clear himself, read the letter they had written to the senate and the people, wherein they excused themselves from the violence of the storm, without charging any body. There was something detestably vile in this calumny, as it was making an unjust use of their reserve in not mentioning him in their letter, and in not laying a fault to his charge, of which he might have appeared the most guilty. The generals at their return, not being able to prevail in obtaining the time necessary for making their defence contented themselves with representing in few words the state of the affair, and appealed for the truth of what they said to the pilots, and all present when it happened. The people seemed to receive their excuse favourably, and several persons offered themselves for their sureties; but it was thought proper to adjourn the assembly because of the night, and it being the people's custom to give their suffrages by lifting up of hands, their resolution could not be known; besides which the council were first to give their opinion upon the question to be proposed to the people.

The feast of Apaturia coming on, in which it was the custom to assemble by families, the relations of Theramenes posted several persons in mourning habits, with their heads shaved, in proper places, who said they were the kindred of those who had been slain in battle, and obliged Callixenes to accuse the generals in the senate. It was decreed in consequence, that as the accusation and defence had been heard in the last assembly, the people by their respective tribes should give their voices, and if the accused were found guilty, they should be punished with death, their estates confiscated, and the tenth part consecrated to the goddesses.² Some senators opposed this decree as unjust, and contrary to the laws: but as the people, at the instigation of Callixenes, threatened to include the opposers in the same cause and crime with the generals, they were so mean as to desist from their opposition, and to sacrifice the innocent generals, to their own safety, by consenting to the decree. Socrates (the celebrated philosopher) was the only one of the senators that stood firm, and persisted obstinately in opposing a decree so notoriously unjust, and so contrary to all laws. The orator, who mounted the tribunal in defence of the generals, showed, "That they had failed in no part of their duty, as they had given orders that the dead bodies should be taken up: that if any one were guilty, it was he who, being charged with these orders, had neglected to put them in execution; but that he accused nobody: and that the tempest, which came on unexpectedly at the very instant, was an unanswerable apology, and entirely discharged the accused from all guilt. He demanded, that a whole day should be allowed them to make their defence, a favour not denied to the most criminal, and that they should be tried separately. He represented, that they were not in the least, obliged to precipitate a sentence, wherein the lives of the most illustrious of the citizens were concerned; that it was in some measure attacking the gods to make men responsible for the winds and weather:³ and that they could not without the most flagrant ingratitude and injustice, put the conquerors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of those who envied them; and if they did so, their unjust judgment would be followed with a sudden but vain repentance, which would leave in their hearts the sharpest remorse, and cover them with eternal shame and infamy." The people seemed at first to be moved with these reasons; but being animated by the accusers, they pronounced sentence of death against the eight generals; and six of them, who were present, were seized in order to their being carried to execution. One of them, Diomedon, a person of great reputation for his valour and probity

¹ Inventi multi sunt, qui non modò pecuniam, sed vitam etiam, profunderè pro patriâ parati essent, iidem gloriæ facturum no minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republicâ quidem postulante: ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesico bello, multatio fecisset egrogis, veritè ad extremum omnia, cum consilio non parit eorum, qui clusam ad Arginusæ removerant, nec cum Atheniensibus dimicantem putabant. Quibus ille respondit Lacedæmoniam, clusæ illâ amissâ, aliam parare posse, so fugere sine suo dedecore non posse. *Offic. l. i. c. 45.*

² Minerva.

³ Quem adeo iniquum, ut sceleris assignat, quod venti et fluctus deliquerint? *Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 4.*

demanded to be heard.—“Athenians,” said he, “I wish the sentence you have passed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have one favour to ask of you in behalf of my colleagues and myself, which is, to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourselves, as we are not in a condition to discharge them; for it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy.” There was not one good citizen that did not melt into tears at this discourse, so full of mildness and religion, and admire with surprise the moderation of a person, who seeing himself unjustly condemned, did not however vent the least harsh expression, or even complaint, against his judges, but was solely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country, which had doomed them to perish) upon what it owed the gods in common with them for the victory they had lately obtained.

The six generals were hardly executed when the people opened their eyes, and perceived all the horror of that sentence; but their repentance could not restore the dead to life. Callixenes, their accuser, was put in prison, and was not allowed to be heard. Having found means to make his escape, he fled to Decelia to the enemy, from whence he returned some time after to Athens, where he died of hunger, universally detested and abhorred by all the world, as all false accusers and slanderers ought to be. Diodorus remarks, that the people themselves were justly punished for their crime by the gods, who abandoned them soon after, not to a single master, but to thirty tyrants, that treated them with the utmost rigour and cruelty.

The disposition of the populace is recognised in this account; and Plato, upon the same event, draws in few words their character with much spirit and resemblance. The populace,² says he, is an inconstant, ungrateful, cruel, suspicious animal, incapable of submitting to the government of reason; and this is no wonder, adds he, as it is commonly composed of the dregs of a city, and is a monstrous assemblage, without form or order, of all that is worst in it.

The same relation shows what effect fear can have upon the minds of men, even upon those who pass for the wisest, and how few there are, who are capable of supporting inflexibly the view of present danger and disgrace. Though the justice of the accused generals' cause was perfectly known in the senate, at least by the greater part of it; as soon as the people's rage was mentioned, and the terrible menaces they murmured, those grave senators, most of whom had commanded armies, and who all had frequently exposed themselves to the greatest dangers of war, instantly changed sides, and came over to the most notorious calumny, and flagrant injustice, that ever had being: an evident proof, that there is a courage, though very rare, which infinitely transcends that valour, which induces so many thousands of men every day to confront the most terrible dangers in battle.

Amongst all the judges, one alone, truly worthy of his reputation, the great Socrates, in this general treason and perfidy, stood firm and immovable; and though he knew his suffrage and unaided voice would be of little or no consequence to the accused, he thought these an homage due to oppressed innocence, and that it was unworthy an honest man³ to suffer himself, through a base fear, to be hurried away by the fury of a blind and frantic people. We see in this instance how far the cause of justice may be abandoned. We may conclude it was not better defended before the people. Of more than 3000 citizens, who composed the assembly, two only took upon them the defence of their generals, Euripolemus and Axiochus. Plato has preserved their names, and given that of the latter to the dialogue, from whence part of these reflections are taken.

The same year the battle of Arginusæ was fought, Dionysius possessed himself of the tyranny in Sicily. I shall defer speaking of him till I relate the history of the tyrants of Syracuse at large.

A. M. 3598.
Ant. J. C. 406.

SECTION VI.—LYSANDER COMMANDS THE LACEDÆMONIAN FLEET. CYRUS IS RECALLED TO COURT BY HIS FATHER. LYSANDER GAINS A CELEBRATED VICTORY OVER THE PERSIANS AT ÆGOSPOTAMOS.

AFTER the defeat at the Arginusæ,⁴ the affairs of the Peloponnesians declining, the allies, supported by the credit of Cyrus, sent an embassy to Sparta, to demand that the command of the fleet should again be given to Lysander, with the promise of serving with more affection and courage if their request were granted. As it was contrary to the laws of Sparta that the same person should be twice admiral, the Lacedæmonians, to gratify the allies, gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, and sent Lysander with him, whom in appearance they commissioned only as vice-admiral, though in effect, they invested him with all the authority of the supreme command.

All those who had the greatest share in the government of the cities, and possessed the most authority in them, saw him arrive with extreme joy; promising themselves, from his influence, the final subversion of the democratic power. His character of complaisance towards his friends, and indulgence to all their faults, suited much better their ambitious and injurious views, than the austere equity of Callicratidas. For Lysander was a man of the most corrupt heart, and gloried in having no principles on the score of virtue or the most sacred duties. He made no scruple to employ artifice and deceit upon all occasions, and esteemed justice only as far as it served his measures. When it did not promote them, he never failed to prefer the useful, which with him was alone the laudable and excellent; from a persuasion that truth had in its own nature no advantage over falsehood, and that the value of both one and the other was to be appreciated by the convenience resulting from them. And as to those who represented to him, that it was unworthy the descendants of Hercules to make use of fraud and treachery, he laughed at them; “For,” said he, “where the lion’s skin is not long enough, it is necessary to tack the fox’s tail to it.”

An expression ascribed to him sufficiently denotes how small an account he made of perjury. He used to say, *Children are amused with baubles and men with oaths*;⁵ showing by so professed a want of religion, that he cared less for the gods than his enemies. For he who deceives with a false oath, plainly declares, in so doing, that he fears his enemies, but that he despises God.

Here ends the twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war.⁶ In this year it was, that the younger Cyrus, dazzled with the splendour of supreme authority, to which he had been little accustomed, and jealous of the least omission in point of ceremonial homage, discovered by a remarkable action the secret of his heart. Brought up from his infancy among the reigning family, nurtured under the shade of the throne, amidst the submissions and prostrations of the courtiers, entertained long by the discourses of an ambitious mother, that idolized him, in the desire and hope of empire, he began already to exert the rights of sovereignty, and to exact the honours paid to it with surprising haughtiness and rigour. Two Persians of the royal family, his cousin-germans by their mother, sister of his father Darius, had omitted to cover their hands with their sleeves in his presence, according to

⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 454. Plut. in Lys. l. ix. p. 436, 437. Diod. l. xiii. p. 923.

⁵ The Greek text admits of another sense, which is perhaps equally good: *Children may use art and cheat one another in their games, and men in their oaths.* “Εκείνοις τοὺς μὴ παῖδες ἀστραγάλους, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδράς ὅρκους ἱστῆσαι τῶν.”

⁶ Xenophon. Hellen. l. ii. p. 454.

¹ Plut. in Axioch. p. 368, 369.

² Δῆμος ἄχρηστον, ἀψίχατον, ὁμιλὸν βέλαντον, ἀπαιδον.

³ Οἱ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ μὲν σπάρῃ δέμῳ μισοῦνται συνεισέειν.

ceremonial observed only towards the kings of Persia. Cyrus resented that neglect as a capital crime, condemned them both to die, and caused them to be executed at Sardis without mercy. Darius, at whose feet their relations threw themselves to demand justice, was very much affected with the tragical end of his two nephews, and looked upon this action of his son's as an attempt upon himself, to whom alone that honour was due. He resolved therefore to take his government from him, and ordered him to court upon the pretext of being sick, and having a desire to see him.

Cyrus, before his departure, sent for Lysander to Sardis, and put into his hands great sums of money for the payment of his fleet, promising him still more for the future. And with the ostentation of a young man, to let him see how much he desired to oblige him, he assured him, that though the king his father should cease to afford him any supplies, he would furnish him the more willingly out of his own coffers, and that rather than he should want the necessary provisions, he would even cause the throne of massy gold and silver, upon which he sat to administer justice, to be melted down. At length, when he was upon the point of setting out, he empowered him to receive the tributes and revenues of the cities, confided the government of his provinces to him, and embracing him, conjured him not to give battle in his absence, unless superior in force; because the king neither wanted the will nor the power to give him that superiority over the enemy; promising, at the same time, with the strongest assurances of affection, to bring him a great number of ships from Phœnicia and Cilicia.

After that prince's departure,¹ Lysander sailed towards the Hellespont, and laid siege to Lampascus, Thoras, having marched thither with his land forces at the same time, assaulted the city on his side. The place was carried by storm,² and abandoned by Lysander to the soldiers. The Athenians, who followed him close, came to an anchor in the port of Eleontum in the Chersonesus, with 180 galleys. But upon the news of the taking of Lampascus, they immediately steered for Sestos, and after having taken in provisions, they stood away from thence, sailing along the coast to a place called Ægospotamos,³ where they halted, over against the enemy, who were then at anchor before Lampascus. The Hellespont is not above 2000 paces broad in that place. The two armies, seeing themselves so near each other, expected only to rest that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next.

But Lysander had another design in view. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board their galleys, as if they were in reality to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themselves in readiness, and to wait his orders with profound silence. He ordered the land army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coast, and to wait the day without any noise. On the morrow, as soon as the sun was risen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line and to bid them defiance. Lysander, though his ships were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay still without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not suffer his soldiers to go ashore, till two or three galleys, which he had sent out to observe them, were returned with advice, that they had seen the enemy land. The next day passed in the same manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reserve and apprehension, extremely augmented the security and boldness of the Athenians, and inspired them with a sovereign contempt for an army, which fear, in their opinion, prevented from showing themselves, and attempting any thing.

Whilst this passed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horse, and came to the Athenian generals;

to whom he represented, that they kept upon a very disadvantageous coast, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their provisions from Sestos with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to suffer the soldiers and mariners of the fleet, as soon as they were ashore, to straggle and disperse themselves wherever they pleased, whilst they saw an enemy's fleet facing them, accustomed to execute the orders of their general with instant obedience, and upon the slightest signal. He offered also to attack the enemy by land with a strong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, especially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themselves with refusing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall on them, and if favourable, that Alcibiades would engross the honour of it; but rejected also with insult his wise and salutary counsel, as if a man in disgrace lost his sense and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians presented themselves again, and offered him battle; retiring in the evening according to custom with more insulting airs than the days before. Lysander, as usual, detached some galleys to observe them, with orders to return with the utmost diligence, as soon as they saw the Athenians landed, and to put a brazen buckler at each ship's head as soon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himself in the mean time ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the seamen and soldiers in readiness to row and fight on the first signal.

As soon as the bucklers were put up in the ship's heads, and the admiral galley had given the signal by the sound of trumpet, the whole fleet set forwards in good order. The land army at the same time made all possible haste to the top of the promontory to see the battle. The strait that separates the two continents in this place, is about fifteen stadia,⁴ or three quarters of a league in breadth, which space was presently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first who perceived, from the shore, the enemy's fleet, advancing in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of sorrow and perplexity, some he called to by their names, some he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their galleys; but all his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the soldiers being dispersed on all sides. For they were no sooner come on shore, than some ran to the sutlers, some to walk in the country, some to sleep in their tents, and others had begun to dress their suppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who, not suspecting the least danger, indulged themselves in taking their repose and gave their soldiers the same liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries and a great noise of their oars, when Conon, disengaging himself with nine galleys, of which number was the sacred ship called the *Parantia*, stood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponnesians, falling upon the rest of the fleet, took immediately the galleys which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The soldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in their endeavour to get on board, or flying on shore, were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in pursuit of them. Lysander took 3000 prisoners, with all the generals and the whole fleet. After having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemy's galleys to the sterns of his own, he returned to Lampascus, amidst the sounds of flutes and songs of triumph. He had the glory of achieving one of the greatest military exploits recorded in history, with little or no loss, and of terminating in the small space of an hour, a war which had already lasted seven-and-twenty years, and which perhaps, without him, would have been of much longer conti-

¹ Xenophon. Hellen. l. ii. p. 455—458.

² Plut. in Lys. p. 437 & 44th. Id. in Alcib. p. 212. Diocl. xiii. p. 925, 926.

³ The river of the Goat.

⁴ 1875 paces.

naance. Lysander immediately sent despatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The 3000 prisoners, taken in this battle, having been condemned to die, Lysander called upon Philocrates, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two galleys, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly persuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the prisoners of war, in order to disable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar. Lysander therefore caused him to be brought forth, and asked him what sentence he would pass upon himself, for having induced his city to pass that cruel decree. Philocrates without departing from his haughtiness in the least, notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, made answer "Accuse not people of crimes who have no judges; but as you are victor, use your right, and do by us as we would have done by you, if we had conquered." At the same instant he went into a bath put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremost to the execution. All the prisoners were put to the sword, except Adimantus, who had opposed the decree.

After this expedition, Lysander went with his fleet to all the maritime cities, and gave orders for all Athenians to withdraw as soon as possible to Athens, without permitting them to take any other route; declaring, that after a certain time fixed, all such should be punished with death, as should be found out of Athens. This he did as an able politician, to reduce the city by famine the more easily, and to render it incapable of sustaining a long siege. He afterward, busied himself in subjecting democracy, and all other forms of government, throughout the cities; leaving in each of them a Lacedæmonian governor, called *harmostes*, and ten archons, or magistrates, whom he chose out of the societies he had established in them. He thereby in some measure secured to himself universal authority, and a kind of sovereignty over all Greece; putting none into power, but such as were entirely devoted to his service.

SECTION VII.—ATHENS, BESIEGED BY LYSANDER, CAPITULATES AND SURRENDERS. LYSANDER CHANGES THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT, AND ESTABLISHES THIRTY COMMANDERS IN IT. HE SENDS GYLIPPUS BEFORE HIM TO SPARTA WITH ALL THE GOLD AND SILVER TAKEN FROM THE ENEMY. DECREE OF SPARTA UPON THE USE TO BE MADE OF IT. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR ENDS IN THIS MANNER. DEATH OF DARIUS NOTHUS.

WHEN the news of the entire A. M. 3600. defeat of the army came to Athens Ant. J. C. 404. by a ship, which arrived by night at the Piræus, the city was in universal consternation. Nothing was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates. They represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor, and the shameful slavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and insupportable to them than the most severe punishments, and death itself. The next day the assembly was summoned, wherein it was resolved to shut up all the ports, one only excepted; to repair the breaches in the walls; and mount guard to prepare against a siege.

In fact, Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced towards Athens with all their troops. Lysander soon after arrived at the Piræus with 150 sail and prevented all ships from going in or coming out. The Athenians besieged by sea and land, without provisions, ships, hope of relief, or any resource, reinstated all persons who had been attainted by any decree, without however speaking of a capitulation, though many already died of the famine. But when

their corn was entirely consumed, they sent deputies to Agis, to propose a treaty with Sparta, upon condition of abandoning all their possessions, the city and port only excepted. He referred the deputies to Lacedæmon, as not being empowered to treat with them. When they arrived at Selasia, upon the frontier of Sparta, and had made known their commission to the Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other proposals if they expected peace. The Ephori had demanded, that 1200 paces of the wall on each side of the Piræus should be demolished: but an Athenian, for venturing to advise a compliance was sent to prison, and prohibition made against proposing any thing of that kind for the future.

In this deplorable condition, Theramenes declared in the assembly, that if he were sent to Lysander, he would know whether the proposal made by the Lacedæmonians for dismantling the city, was intended to facilitate its ruin, or to prevent a revolt. The Athenians having deputed him accordingly, he was more than three months absent; no doubt with the view of reducing them by famine to accept any conditions that should be offered. On his return he told them, that Lysander had detained him all that time, and that at last he had given him to understand, that he might apply to the Ephori. He was therefore sent back with nine others to Sparta, with full powers to conclude a treaty. When they arrived there, the Ephori gave them audience in the general assembly, where the Corinthians and several other allies, especially the Thebans, insisted that it was absolutely necessary to destroy the city without hearkening any farther to a treaty. But the Lacedæmonians preferring the glory and safety of Greece to their own grandeur, made answer that they never would be reproached with having destroyed a city that had rendered such great services to all Greece; the remembrance of which ought to have much greater weight with the allies than the resentment of private injuries received from it. The peace was therefore concluded upon these conditions: "That the fortifications of the Piræus, with the long wall that joined that port to the city, should be demolished; that the Athenians should deliver up all their galleys, twelve only excepted; that they should abandon all the cities they had seized, and content themselves with their own lands and country; that they should recall their exiles, and make a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedæmonians, under whom they should march wherever they thought fit to lead them."

The deputies on their return were surrounded with an innumerable throng of people, who were apprehensive that nothing had been concluded, for they were not able to hold out any longer, such multitudes dying every day with famine. The next day they reported the success of their negotiation; the treaty was ratified notwithstanding the opposition of some persons; and Lysander, followed by the exiles, entered the port. It was upon the very day that the Athenians had formerly gained the famous naval battle of Salamis. He caused the walls to be demolished to the sound of flutes and trumpets, and with all the exterior marks of triumph and rejoicing, as if all Greece had that day regained its liberty. Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, after having continued during the space of twenty-seven years.

Lysander, without giving the Athenians time to look about them, changed the form of their government entirely, established thirty archons, or rather tyrants, over the city, put a strong garrison into the citadel, and left the Spartan Callibius, *harmostes*, or governor. Agis dismissed his troops. Lysander, before he disbanded his, advanced against Samos, which he pressed so warmly, that it was at last obliged to capitulate. After having established its ancient inhabitants in it, he proposed to return to Sparta with the Lacedæmonian galleys, those of the Piræus, and the benches of those he had taken.

He had sent Gylippus, who had commanded the army in Sicily, before him, to carry the money and spoils, which were the fruit of his glorious campaigns, to Lacedæmon. The money, without reckoning the innumerable crowns of gold given him by the cities.

1 Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 458—469. Plut. in Lysand. p. 40. 441.
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amounted to 1500 talents, that is to say, 1,500,000 crowns. Gylippus, who carried this considerable sum, could not resist the temptation of converting some part of it to his own use. The bags were sealed up carefully and did not seem to leave any room for theft. He unsewed them at the bottom; and after having taken out of each of them what money he thought fit, to the amount of 300 talents, he sewed them up again very neatly, and thought himself perfectly safe. But when he arrived at Sparta, the accounts which had been put up in each bag, discovered him. To avoid punishment, he banished himself from his country, carrying along with him in all places the disgrace of having sullied, by so base and sordid an avarice, the glory of all his great actions.

From this unhappy example, the wisest and most judicious of the Spartans, apprehending the all-powerful effects of money, which enslaved not only the vulgar, but even the greatest of men, extremely blamed Lysander for having acted so contradictorily to the fundamental laws of Sparta, and warmly represented to the Ephori, how incumbent it was upon them to banish all that gold and silver from the republic, and to lay the heaviest of curses and imprecations upon it, as the fatal bane of all other states, introduced only to corrupt the wholesome constitution of the Spartan government, which had supported itself for so many ages with vigour and prosperity. The Ephori immediately passed a decree to proscribe that money, and ordained that none should be current, except the usual iron coin. But Lysander's friends opposed this decree, and sparing no pains to retain the gold and silver in Sparta, the affair was referred to farther deliberation. There naturally seemed only two plans to be proposed; which were, either to make the gold and silver coin current, or to cry them down and prohibit them absolutely. The men of address and policy found out a third expedient, which, in their opinion, reconciled both the others with great success: this was wisely to choose the mean between the vicious extremes of too much rigour and too much remissness. It was therefore resolved, that the

new coin of gold and silver should be solely employed by the public treasury; that it should only pass in the occasion and uses of the state; and that every private person in whose possession it should be found, should be immediately put to death.

A strange expedient! says Plutarch; as if Lycurgus had feared the specie of gold and silver, and not the avarice they occasion; an avarice less to be extinguished by prohibiting individuals from possessing it, than inflamed by permitting the state to amass and make use of it for the service of the public. For it was impossible, whilst that money was held in honour and esteem with the public, that it should be despised in private as useless, and that the people should look upon that as of no value in their domestic affairs, which the state prized, and was so anxious to have for its occasions; bad usages, authorized by the practice and example of the public, being a thousand times more dangerous to individuals than the vices of individuals to the public. The Lacedemonians, therefore, continues Plutarch, in punishing those with death who should make use of the new money in private, were so blind and imprudent as to imagine, that the placing of the law, and the terror of punishment, as a guard at the door, was sufficient to prevent gold and silver from entering the house; whilst they left the hearts of their citizens open to the desire and admiration of riches, and introduced themselves a violent passion for amassing treasure, in causing it to be deemed a great and honourable thing to become rich.

It was about the end of the Peloponnesian war, that Darius Nothus, A. M. 3600 king of Persia, died, after a reign of Ant. J. C. 404 nineteen years. Cyrus had arrived at the court before his death, and Parysatis, his mother, whose idol he was, not contented with having made his peace, notwithstanding the faults he had committed in his government, pressed the old king to declare him his successor also, after the example of Darius the First, who gave Xerxes the preference before all his brothers, because he had been born, as Cyrus was after his father's succession to the throne. But Darius did not carry his complaisance for her so far. He gave the crown to Arsaces, his eldest son by Parysatis also, whom Plutarch calls Arsaces, and bequeathed to Cyrus only the provinces he had already

^a About 337,000*l.* sterling.

^b *Λοβίοπομιτις: πάλι τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ τὴν νεωτέραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀποκαταστάσεως.

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CONTINUED.

DURING THE FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—CORONATION OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON. CYRUS ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE HIS BROTHER, AND IS SENT INTO ASIA MINOR. CRUEL REVENGE OF STATIRA, WIFE OF ARTAXERXES, UPON THE AUTHORS AND ACCOMPLICES IN THE MURDER OF HER BROTHER. DEATH OF ALCIBIADES. HIS CHARACTER.

A. M. 3600.
Ant. J. C. 404.

ARSACES, upon ascending the throne, assumed the name of Artaxerxes: he it is to whom the Greeks gave the surname of Mnemon,¹ from his prodigious memory. Being near his father's bed when he was dying, he asked him, a few moments before he expired, what had been the rule of his conduct during so long and happy a reign as his, that he might make it his example. *It has been,* replied he, *to do always what justice and religion required of me:* memorable words, and well worthy to be set up in letters of gold in the palaces of kings, to keep them perpetually in mind of what ought to be the guide and rule of all their actions. It is not uncommon for princes to give excellent instructions to their children on their death-beds, which would be more efficacious, if preceded by their own example and practice; without which they are as weak and impotent as the sick man who gives them, and seldom survive him long.

Soon after Darius's death,² the new king set out from his capital for the city of Pasargada,³ in order to his coronation, according to custom, by the priests of Persia. There was in that city a temple of the goddess who presided over war, in which the coronation of their kings was solemnized. It was attended with very singular ceremonies, which no doubt had some mysterious sense; though Plutarch does not explain it.—The prince, at his consecration, took off his robe in the temple, and put on that worn by the ancient Cyrus before he came to the throne, which was preserved in that place with great veneration. After that he ate a dry fig, chewed some leaves of the turpentine tree, and drank a draught composed of milk and vinegar. Was this to signify, that the sweets of sovereign power are mingled with the bitterness of care and disquiet, and that, if the throne be surrounded with pleasures and honours, it is also attended with pains and anxieties? It seems sufficiently evident, that the design of putting the robes of Cyrus upon the new king, was to make him understand, that he should also clothe his mind with the great qualities and exalted virtues of that prince.

Young Cyrus, corroded by ambition, was in despair upon being forever frustrated in his hopes of ascend-

ing a throne with which his mother had inspired him, and on seeing the sceptre, which he thought his right, transferred into the hands of his brother. The blackest crimes cost the ambitious nothing. Cyrus resolved to assassinate Artaxerxes in the temple itself, and in the presence of the whole court, just when he was about to take off his own robe to put on that of Cyrus. Artaxerxes was apprized of this design by the priest himself who had educated his brother, to whom he had imparted it. Cyrus was seized and condemned to die—when his mother Parysatis, almost out of her senses, flew to the place, clasped him in her arms, tied herself to him with the tresses of her hair, fastened her neck to his, and by her shrieks, and tears, and prayers, prevailed so far as to obtain his pardon, and that he should be sent back to his government of the maritime provinces. He carried thither with him an ambition no less ardent than before, and animated besides, with resentment of the disgrace he had received, and the warm desire of revenge, and armed with an absolute unbounded power. Artaxerxes upon this occasion acted contrary to the most common rules of policy, which do not admit the nourishing and inflaming, by extraordinary honours, the pride and haughtiness of a bold and enterprising young prince like Cyrus, who had carried his personal enmity to his brother so far, as to have resolved to assassinate him with his own hand, and whose ambition for empire was so great, as to employ the most criminal methods for the attainment of its end.

Artaxerxes had espoused Statira.⁴ Scarce had her husband ascended the throne, when she employed the power her beauty gave her over him, to avenge the death of her brother Teriteuchmes. History has not a more tragical scene, nor a more monstrous complication of adultery, incest, and murder; which, after having occasioned great disorders in the royal family, terminated at length in the most fatal manner to all who had any share in it. But it is necessary for the reader's knowledge of the fact, to trace it from the beginning.

Hydarnes, Statira's father, a Persinn of very high quality, was governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Statira was a lady of extraordinary beauty, which induced Artaxerxes to marry her: he was then called Arsaces. At the same time Teriteuchmes, Statira's brother, married Hamestris, Arsaces's sister, one of the daughters of Darius and Parysatis: in favour of which marriage Teriteuchmes, upon his father's death, had his government given him. There was at the same time another sister in this family, named Roxana, no less beautiful than Statira, and who besides excelled in the arts of shooting with the bow, and throwing the dart. Teriteuchmes her brother conceived a criminal passion for her, and to gratify

¹ Which word signifies in the Greek, one of a good memory.

² Athen. l. xii. p. 548.

³ Plut. in Artax. p. 1012.

⁴ A city of Persia built by Cyrus the Great

⁵ Ne quis mobiles adolescentium animos prematuris he moribus ad superbiam exulleret. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 17

⁶ Ctes. c. li. lv.

were most pernicious to his country; for with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppressed it. In him distinguished valour was united with nobility of blood. His person was beautiful and finely made; he was eloquent, of great ability in business, insinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory, but without prejudice to his inclination for pleasure; nor was he so fond of pleasure, as to neglect his glory for it. He knew how to give into, or abstract himself from it, according to the situation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his. He metamorphosed himself with incredible facility, like a Proteus, into the most contrary forms, and supported them all with as much ease and grace, as if each had been natural to him.

This convertibility of character, according as circumstances, the customs of countries, and his own interests required, discovers a heart void of principles, without either truth or justice. He did not confine himself either to religion, virtue, laws, duties, or his country. His sole rule of action was his private ambition, to which he referred every thing. His aim was to please, to dazzle, and be beloved; but at the same time to subject those he soothed. He favoured them only as they served his purposes; and made his correspondence and society a means for engrossing every thing to himself.

His life was a perpetual mixture of good and evil. His sallies into virtue were ill-sustained, and quickly degenerated into vices and crimes, very little to the honour or the instructions of that great philosopher, who took no small pains to cultivate him into a man of worth. His actions were glorious; but without rule or principle. His character was elevated and grand; but without connexion and consistency. He was successively the support and terror of the Lacedæmonians and Persians. He was either the misfortune or refuge of his own country, according as he declared for or against it. In fine, he was the author of a destructive war through the whole of Greece, from the sole motive of commanding, by inducing the Athenians to besiege Syracuse; much less from the hope of conquering Sicily, and afterwards Africa, than with the design of keeping Athens in dependence upon himself; convinced, that having to deal with an inconstant, suspicious, ungrateful, jealous people, averse to those that governed, it was necessary to engage them continually in some great affair, in order to make his services always necessary to them, and that they might not be at leisure to examine, censure, and condemn his conduct.

He had the fate generally experienced by persons of his character, and of which they cannot reasonably complain. He never loved any one, himself being his sole motive: nor ever found a friend. He made it his merit and glory to cajole all men, and consequently nobody confided in, or adhered to, him. His sole view was to live with splendour, and to domineer universally; and he perished miserably, abandoned by the whole world, and obliged at his death to the feeble services and impotent zeal of one only woman for the last honours rendered to his remains.

About this time died Democritus the philosopher.

SECTION II.—THE THIRTY EXERCISE THE MOST HORRID CRUELITIES AT ATHENS. THEY PUT THEMENES, ONE OF THEIR COLLEAGUES TO DEATH. SOCRATES TAKES HIS DEFENCE UPON HIMSELF. THRASYBULUS ATTACKS THE TYRANTS, MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF ATHENS, AND RESTORES ITS LIBERTY.

The council of Thirty, established at Athens by Iysander, committed the most execrable cruelties. Upon pretence of restraining the multitude within their duty, and of preventing additions, they had caused guards to be assigned them, and armed 3000 of the citizens for that service and at the same time disarmed all the rest. The whole city was in the utmost terror and dismay. Whoever opposed their injustice and violence became the victims of them. Riches were

a crime that never failed of drawing a sentence upon their owners, always followed with death, and the confiscation of estates, which the thirty tyrants divided amongst themselves. They put more people to death, says Xenophon, in eight months of peace, than the enemies had done in a war of thirty years.

The two most considerable persons of the Thirty, were Critias and Theramenes, who at first lived in great union, and always acted in concert with each other. The latter had some honour, and loved his country. When he saw with what an excess of violence and cruelty his colleagues behaved, he declared openly against them, and thereby drew their resentment upon him. Critias became his most mortal enemy, and acted as informer against him before the senate, accusing him of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, and of designing to subvert the present government. As he perceived that the defence of Theramenes was heard with silence and approbation, he was afraid, that if the affair was left to the decision of the senate, they would acquit him. Having therefore caused a band of young men, whom he had armed with poniards, to advance to the bar, he said that he thought it the duty of a supreme magistrate to prevent justice from being abused, and that he should act conformably upon this occasion. "But," continued he, "as the law does not permit, that any of the 3000 should be put to death without the consent of the senate, I exclude Theramenes from that number, and condemn him to die, in virtue of my own and my colleagues' authority." Theramenes at these words, leaping upon the altar; "I demand," said he, "Athenians, that I may be tried according to the laws; which cannot be refused me without manifest injustice. Not that I imagine, that the goodness of my cause will avail me any thing, or the sanction of altars protect me; but I would show at least, that my enemies respect neither the gods nor men. What most astonishes me is, that persons of your wisdom do not see, that your own names may as easily be struck out of the list of citizens, as that of Theramenes." Critias upon this ordered the officers of justice to pull him down from the altar. A universal silence and terror ensued upon the sight of the armed soldiers, that surrounded the senate. Of all the senators, Socrates alone, whose disciple Theramenes had been, took upon him his defence, and opposed the officers of justice. But his weak endeavours could not deliver Theramenes, who was led to the place of execution, notwithstanding all he could do, through crowds of the citizens, who saw with tears, in the fate of a man, equally considerable for his love of liberty and the great services he had done his country, what they had to fear for themselves. When they presented him the hemlock, that is, the poison (which was the manner of putting the citizens at Athens to death,) he took it with an intrepid air, and after having drunk it, he poured the bottom upon the table, after the usual manner observed in feasts or public rejoicings, saying, "This for the noble Critias." Xenophon relates this circumstance, inconsiderable in itself, to show, says he, the tranquillity of Theramenes in his last moments.

The tyrants, delivered from a colleague whose presence alone was a continued reproach to them, no longer observed any measure. Nothing passed throughout the city but imprisonment and murders.² Every body trembled for themselves or their friends. The general desolation had no remedy, nor was there any hope of regaining their liberty. Where had they then as many Harmodiuses³ as they had tyrants? Terror had taken entire possession of their minds, whilst the whole city deplored in secret their loss of liberty, without having one amongst them generous

¹ Poteratne civitas illa conquirere, in qua tunc tyranni erant, qui satellites essent? Ne spes quidem ulla eripienda libertatis animis poterat offerri, nec ulla remedia locos apparbat contra tantum vim malorum. Unde enim miseræ civitati tunc Harmodius? Socrates tamen in medio erat, et lugentes patres consolabatur. et desperantes de republica exhortabatur—et imitari volentibus magnam circumferebat exemplar, cum inter tripinta dumos liberos incederet. *Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. iii.*

² Harmodius formed a conspiracy for the deliverance of Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratidae.

³ Xenoph. Hist. l. ii. p. 402—430. Diod. l. xiv. p. 235 626. Justin. l. v. c. 8. 10.

enough to attempt breaking its chains. The Athenian people seemed to have lost that valour, which till then had made them awful and terrible to their neighbours and enemies. They seemed to have lost the very use of speech; not daring to vent the least complaint, lest it should be made a capital crime in them. Socrates alone continued intrepid. He consoled the afflicted senate, animated the desponding citizens, and set all men an admirable example of courage and resolution; preserving his liberty, and sustaining his part in the midst of thirty tyrants, who made all else tremble, but could never shake the constancy of Socrates with their menaces. Critias,¹ who had been his pupil, was the first to declare most openly against him, taking offence at the free and bold discourses which he held against the government of the Thirty. He went so far as to prohibit his instructing the youth; but Socrates, who neither acknowledged his authority, nor feared the violent effects of it, paid no regard to so unjust an order.

All the citizens of any consideration in Athens, and who still retained a love of liberty, quitted a place reduced to so harsh and shameful a slavery, and sought elsewhere an asylum and retreat, where they might live in safety. At the head of these was Thrasylulus, a person of extraordinary merit, who beheld with the most lively affliction the miseries of his country. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive those unhappy fugitives of this last resource. They published an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that they should be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all such as should contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with disdain so unjust an ordinance, Megara and Thebes; the latter of which made a decree to punish all persons whatsoever, that should see an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmost to assist him. Lysias, an orator of Syracuse, who had been banished by the Thirty, raised 500 soldiers at his own expense,² and sent them to the aid of the common country of eloquence.

Thrasylulus lost no time. After having taken Phyla, a small fort in Attica, he marched to the Piræus, of which he made himself master. The Thirty flew thither with their troops, and a warm battle ensued. But as the soldiers on one side fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and on the other with indolence and indifference for the power of others, the success was not doubtful, but followed the better cause. The tyrants were overthrown. Critias was killed upon the spot. And as the rest of the army were taking to flight, Thrasylulus cried out: "Wherefore do you fly from me as from a victor, rather than assist me as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow-citizens; nor have we declared war against the city, but against the thirty tyrants." He bade them remember, that they had the same origin, country, laws, and religion; he exhorted them to compassionate their exiled brethren, to restore their country to them, and resume their liberty themselves. This discourse made a due impression. The army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the Thirty, and substituted ten persons to govern in their room, whose conduct proved no better than that of the former.

It is a matter of surprise, that so sudden, so universal, so tenacious, and so uniform a conspiracy against the public good, should always actuate the several bodies of persons established in the administration of this government. This we have seen in the Four Hundred formerly chosen at Athens; again in the Thirty; and now in the Ten. And what augments our wonder is, that this passion for tyranny should so immediately possess republicans, born in the bosom of liberty, accustomed to an equality of condition on which it is founded, and nurtured from their earliest infancy in an abhorrence of all subjection and dependency. There must be,³ on the one

side, in power and authority some violent impulse, to actuate in this manner so many persons, of whom many, no doubt, were not without sentiments of virtue and honour; and to banish so suddenly the principles and manners natural to them; and on the other, an excessive propensity in the mind of man to subvert his equals, and to rule over them imperiously, to carry him on to the last extremities of oppression and cruelty, and to make him forget at once all the laws of nature and religion.

The Thirty being fallen from their power and hopes, sent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. It was not Lysander's fault, who was sent to them with troops, that the tyrants were not re-established. But king Pausanias who likewise marched against Athens, moved with compassion for the deplorable condition to which a city, once so flourishing, was reduced, had the generosity to favour the Athenians in secret, and at length obtained a peace for them. It was sealed with the blood of the tyrants, who having taken arms to reinstate themselves in the government, and being present at a parley for that purpose were all put to the sword, and left Athens in the full possession of its liberty. All the exiles were recalled. Thrasylulus at that time proposed the celebrated amnesty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all past transactions should be buried in oblivion. The government was re-established upon its ancient foundation, the laws restored to their pristine vigour, and magistrates elected with the usual forms.

I cannot forbear observing in this place the wisdom and moderation of Thrasylulus, so salutary and essential after so long a continuance of domestic troubles. This is one of the finest events in ancient history, worthy of the Athenian lenity and benevolence, and has served as a model to successive ages in good governments.

Never had tyranny been more cruel and bloody than that which the Athenians had just thrown off. Every house was in mourning; every family bewailed the loss of some relation. It had been a series of public robbery and rapine, in which license and impunity had authorized all manner of crimes. Private individuals seemed to have a right to demand the blood of all accomplices in such notorious malversations, and even the interest of the state appeared to authorize such a claim, that by exemplary severities such enormous crimes might be prevented for the future. But Thrasylulus rising above those sentiments, from the superiority of his more extensive genius, and the views of a more discerning and profound policy, foresaw that by acquiescing in the punishment of the guilty, eternal seeds of discord and enmity would remain, to weaken, by domestic divisions, the strength of the republic, which it was necessary to unite against the common enemy, and occasion the loss to the state of a great number of citizens, who might render it important services with the very view of making amends for past misbehaviour.

Such a conduct after great troubles in a state has always seemed, to the ablest politicians, the most certain and ready means to restore the public peace and tranquillity. Cicero,⁴ when Rome was divided into two factions upon the occasion of Cesar's death, who had been killed by the conspirators, calling to mind this celebrated amnesty, proposed, after the example of the Athenians, to bury all that had passed in eternal oblivion. Cardinal Mazarin⁵ observed to Don Lewis de Haro, prime minister of Spain, that this gentle and humane conduct in France had prevented the troubles and revolts of that kingdom from having any fatal consequences, and "that the king had not lost a foot of land by them to that day;" whereas

¹ In eodem Telluris convocati sumus; in quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamentum pacis; Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum. Græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quod tum in sedandis discordiis usurpaverat civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. *Philip. l. i. n. i.*

² Some believe that word was ἀμνηστία; but as it is not found in the historians who have treated this fact, it is more likely that it was ἀναμνηστία, which has the same sense, and is used by them all.

³ Let. XV. of Card. Maz.

¹ Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 716, 717.

² Quingentis militibus, stipendio suo instructis, in auxilium patriæ communis eloquentia misit. *Justin. l. v. c. 9.*

³ Vi dominationis convulsus. *Thucit.*

the inflexible severity of the Spaniards "was the occasion, that the subjects of that monarchy, whenever they threw off the mask, never returned to their obedience but by the force of arms; which sufficiently appears," says he, "in the example of the Hollanders, who are in the peaceable possession of many provinces, that not an age ago were the patrimony of the king of Spain."

Diodorus Siculus takes occasion, from the thirty tyrants of Athens,¹ whose immoderate ambition induced them to treat their country with the most excessive cruelties, to observe how unfortunate it is for persons in power to want a sense of honour,² and to disregard either the present opinion, or the judgment which posterity will form of their conduct: for from the contempt of reputation the transition is too common to that of virtue itself. They may perhaps, by the dread of their power, suppress for some time the public voice, and impose a forced silence upon censure; but the more constraint they lay upon it during their lives, the more liberal will it be after their deaths of complaints and reproaches, and the more infamy and imputation will be affixed to their memories. The power of the Thirty, says he, was of a very short duration, but their infamy will be immortal; their memory will be held in abhorrence throughout all ages, whilst their names will be recorded in history only to render them odious, and to make their crimes detestable. He applies the same reflection to the Lacedæmonians; who, after having made themselves masters of Greece by a wise and moderate conduct, fell from that glory, through the severity, haughtiness, and injustice, with which they treated their allies. There is doubtless no reader, whom their abject and cruel jealousy in regard to Athens enslaved and humbled, has not prejudiced against them; nor do we recognise in such behaviour the greatness of mind and noble generosity of ancient Sparta; so much power has the lust of dominion and prosperity over even virtuous men. Diodorus concludes his reflection with a maxim very true, though very little known: "The greatness and majesty of princes," says he (and the same may be said of all persons in high authority,) "can be supported only by humanity and justice with regard to their subjects; as, on the contrary, they are ruined and destroyed by a cruel and oppressive government, which never fails to draw upon them the hatred of their people."

SECTION III.—LYSANDER ABUSES HIS POWER IN AN EXTRAORDINARY MANNER. HE IS RECALLED TO SPARTA UPON THE COMPLAINT OF PHARNABAZUS.

As Lysander had the greatest share in the celebrated exploits,³ which had raised the glory of the Lacedæmonians to so high a pitch; so had he acquired a degree of power and authority of which there had been no example before in Sparta; but he suffered himself to be carried away by a presumption and vanity still greater than his power. He permitted the Grecian cities to dedicate altars to him as to a god, and to offer sacrifices, and sing hymns and odes in honour of him. The Samians ordained by a public decree, that the feasts celebrated in honour of Juno, and which bore the name of that goddess, should be called the *feasts of Lysander*. He had always a crowd of poets about him (who are often a tribe of venal flatterers,) that vied with each other in singing his great exploits, for which they were magnificently paid. Praise is undoubtedly due to noble deeds; but it diminishes their lustre when either extravagant or purchased.

This sort of vanity and ambition, had he stopped there, would have hurt only himself, by exposing him to envy and contempt; but a natural consequence of it was, that through his arrogance and pride, in con-

junction with the incessant flatteries of those around him, he carried the spirit of command and authority to an insupportable excess, and observed no longer any measures either in rewarding or punishing. The absolute government of cities with tyrannic power were the fruits of his friendship, or of the ties of hospitality with him; and only the death of those he hated could put an end to his resentment and displeasure, without its being possible to escape his vengeance. What Sylla caused to be inscribed upon his tomb, might with equal propriety have been engraved upon Lysander's: that no man had ever surpassed him in doing good to his friends, or evil to his enemies.

Treachery and perjury cost him nothing whenever they promoted his designs; nor was he less cruel than revengeful; of which, what he did at Miletus was a sufficient proof. Apprehending that the leaders of the popular party would escape him, he swore not to do them any hurt. Those unfortunate persons gave credit to his oath, and no sooner appeared in public, than they were put to the sword with his consent, by the nobility, who killed them all, though no less than 800. The number of those on the side of the people, whom he caused to be massacred in the other cities, is incredible; for he did not only destroy to satiate his own individual resentments, but to serve in all places the enmity, malice, and avarice of his friends, whom he supported in gratifying their passions by the death of their enemies.

There was no kind of injustice and violence which the people did not suffer under the government of Lysander; whilst the Lacedæmonians, who were sufficiently informed of his conduct, gave themselves no trouble to correct it. It is too common for those in power to be little affected with the vexations and oppressions laid upon persons of low condition and credit, and to turn a deaf ear to their just complaints; though authority is principally confided to them for the defence of the weak and poor, who have no other protectors. But if such remonstrances are made by a great or powerful person, from whom they may have any thing to hope or fear, the same authority that was slow and drowsy, becomes immediately active and officious; a certain proof that it is not the love of justice that actuates it: this appears here in the conduct of the Lacedæmonian magistrates. Pharnabazus, weary of Lysander's repeated enormities, who ravaged and pillaged the provinces under his command, having sent ambassadors to Sparta to complain of the wrongs he had received from that general, the Ephori recalled him. Lysander was at that time in the Hellespont. The letter of the Ephori threw him into great consternation. As he principally feared the complaints and accusations of Pharnabazus, he made all the haste he could to come to an explanation with him from the hopes of softening him, and making his peace. He went for that purpose to him, and desired, that he would write another letter to the Ephori, intimating that he was satisfied with his conduct. But Lysander, says Plutarch, in such an application to Pharnabazus, forgot the proverb: *Set a thief to catch a thief*. The satrap promised all he desired, and accordingly wrote such a letter in Lysander's presence as he had requested, but he had prepared another to a quite different effect. When he was to seal it, as both letters were of the same size and form, he dexterously put that he had written in secret in the place of the other, without being observed, which he sealed and gave him.

Lysander departed well satisfied, and being arrived at Sparta, alighted at the palace where the senate was assembled, and delivered Pharnabazus's letter to the Ephori. But he was strangely surprised when he heard the contents, and withdrew in extreme confusion and disorder. Some days after he returned to the senate, and told the Ephori, that he was obliged to go to the temple of Ammon to acquit himself of the sacrifices he had vowed to that god before his battles. That pilgrimage was no more than a pretence to conceal the pain it gave him to live as a private person in Sparta, and to submit to the yoke of obeying; he,

¹ The Greek is, *Cretan against Cretan*, as the people of Crete passed for the greatest cheats and liars in the world.

¹ Diod. l. xiv. p. 234.

² Cetera principibus statim adeo: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contempta fama, contemni virtutes—Quod magis eorum iridire ibet, qui presentis potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis ævi memoriam—suum cuique decus posteritas expendit. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 30. & 35.

³ Plut in Lys. p. 443–445.

who till then had always governed. Accustomed long to commanding armies, and to the flattering distinctions of a kind of sovereignty exercised by him in Asia, he could not endure that mortifying equality which put him on a level with the multitude, nor reduce himself to the simplicity of a private life. Having obtained permission, not without great difficulties, he embarked.

As soon as he was gone, the kings, reflecting that he held all the cities in dependence upon himself, by the means of the governors and magistrates who had been established by him, and who were also indebted to him for their unlimited authority, and that he was thereby effectually lord and master of all Greece, applied themselves vigorously to restore the government of the people, and to depose all his creatures and friends from any share in it. This alteration occasioned great tumults at first. About the same time, Lysander, being apprized of the design of Thrasylbulus to re-establish the liberty of his country, returned with the utmost diligence to Sparta, and endeavoured to engage the Lacedæmonians to support the party of the nobility at Athens. We have before observed, that Pausanias, from a more noble spirit of equity and generosity, gave peace to Athens, and by that means, says Plutarch, clipped the wings of Lysander's ambition.

CHAPTER II.

THE YOUNGER CYRUS, WITH THE AID OF THE GRECIAN TROOPS, ENDEAVOURS TO DETHRONE HIS BROTHER ARTAXERXES. HE IS KILLED IN BATTLE. FAMOUS RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND.

ANTIQUITY has few events so memorable as those I am about to relate in this place. We see on one side a young prince, in other respects abounding with excellent qualities, but abandoned to his violent ambition, carrying war from a distance against his brother and sovereign, and going to attack him almost in his own palace, with the view of depriving him at once of his crown and life; we see him, I say, fall dead in the battle at the feet of that brother, and terminate, by so unhappy a fate, an enterprise equally glaring and criminal. On the other hand, the Greeks who follow him, destitute of all succour after the loss of their chiefs, without allies, provisions, money, cavalry, or archers, reduced to less than 10,000 men, with no resource but in their own persons and valour, supported solely by the ardent desire of preserving their liberty, and of returning to their native countries; these Greeks, with bold and intrepid resolution, make their retreat before a victorious army of 1,000,000 of men, traverse five or six hundred leagues, notwithstanding vast rivers and innumerable defiles, and arrive at last in their own country, through a thousand fierce and barbarous nations, victorious over all obstacles in their way, and over all the dangers which either concealed fraud or open force reduce them to undergo.

This retreat, in the opinion of the best judges and most experienced military men, is the boldest and best conducted exploit to be found in ancient history, and is deemed a perfect model in its kind. Happily for us it is described with the utmost minuteness by an historian who was not only eye-witness of the facts he relates, but the first mover, the soul of this great enterprise. I shall only abridge his history, and abstract its most material circumstances; but I cannot omit advising young persons who make arms their profession, to consult the original, of which there is a good translation extant, though far short of the admirable beauties of the text. It is very difficult to meet with a more able master than Xenophon in the art of war, to whom may be well applied here what

Homer says of Phoenix the governor of Achilles. "That he was equally capable of forming his pupil for eloquence or arms."

Μόδον τὴν ἐκτὴν ἱμῶν, τρεῖς θῆρά τὴν ἰσχυρὴν.

SECTION I.—CYRUS RAISES TROOPS SECRETLY AGAINST HIS BROTHER ARTAXERXES. THIRTEEN THOUSAND GREEKS JOIN HIM. HE SETS OUT FROM SARDIS, AND ARRIVES AT BABYLONIA AFTER A MARCH OF MORE THAN SIX MONTHS.

WE have already said,³ that young Cyrus, son of Darius Nothus A. M. 3690 and Parysatis, saw with pain his Ant. J. C. 404 elder brother Artaxerxes upon the throne, and that at the very time the latter was taking possession of it, he had attempted to deprive him of his crown and life together. Artaxerxes was not insensible of what he had to fear from a brother of his enterprising and ambitious spirit, but could not refuse pardoning him to the prayers and tears of his mother Parysatis, who doted upon this youngest son. He sent him therefore into Asia to his government; confiding to him, contrary to all the rules of policy, an absolute authority over the provinces left him by the will of the king his father.

As soon as he arrived there, his thoughts were solely intent upon A. M. 3601. revenging the affront he supposed Ant. J. C. 403.

he had received from his brother, and to dethrone him. He received all that came from the court with great favour and affability, to induce them insensibly to quit the king's party and adhere to him. He gained also the hearts of the Barbarians under his government; familiarizing himself with them, and mingling with the common soldiery, though without forgetting the dignity of the general; and these he formed by various exercises for service in war. He applied particularly to raise secretly in several places, and upon different pretexts, a body of Grecian troops, upon whom he relied much more than upon those of the Barbarians. Clearchus retired to his court after having been banished from Sparta, and was of great service to him, being an able, experienced, and valiant captain. At A. M. 3602.

At the same time several cities in the Ant. J. C. 402. provinces under the government of Tissaphernes revolted from their obedience, and placed themselves under the jurisdiction of Cyrus. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the secret intrigues of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. Cyrus, under the pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, assembled troops with less reserve; and to amuse the court the more speciously, sent grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanded his protection and aid in the most submissive manner. Artaxerxes was deceived by these appearances, and believed that all Cyrus's preparations were directed against Tissaphernes alone, and continued quiet from the assurance of having nothing to apprehend for himself.

Cyrus knew well how to take advantage of the imprudent security and indolence of his brother,⁴ which some people conceived the effect of his goodness and humanity. And indeed in the beginning of his reign he seemed to imitate the virtues of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore. For he demeaned himself with great mildness and affability to such as approached him; he honoured and rewarded magnificently, all those whose services had merited favour; when he passed sentence of punishment, it was without either outrage or insult; and when he made presents, it was with a gracious air, and such engaging manners, as infinitely exalted their value, and implied, that he was never better pleased than when he had an opportunity of doing good to his subjects. To all these excellent qualities he ought to have added one no less royal, and which would have put him upon his guard against

³ Plut. Mortem Cyri, neque armis à tanto exercitu vinci, neque solo capi poterunt; revertentemque inter tot indomitas nationes et barbaras gentes, per tanta itineris spatia, virtute suo uque terminos patriæ defenderunt. Justin. l. v. c. 11.

⁴ Hlad. l. v. 443.

⁵ Diod. l. xiv. p. 243—249, and 252. Justin. l. v. c. 11.

Xenoph. de Cyri Exped. l. i. p. 243—248.

⁶ Plut. in Artax. p. 1013

the enterprises of a brother, whose character he ought to have known; I mean a wise foresight that penetrates the future, and renders a prince attentive to prevent or frustrate whatever may disturb the tranquillity of the state.

The emissaries of Cyrus at the court were perpetually dispersing reports and opinions amongst the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They said that the state required a king of Cyrus's character; a king, magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and showered his favours upon those that served him; and that it was necessary for the grandeur of the empire to have a prince upon the throne fired with ambition and valour, for the support and augmentation of its glory.

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. He was then only twenty-three years old at most.

After the important services he had done the Lacedæmonians, without which they had never obtained the victories that had made them masters of Greece, he thought he might safely open himself to them. He therefore imparted to them the present situation of his affairs, and the end he had in view; convinced that such a confidence could not but incline them the more in his favour.

In the letter he wrote them, he spoke of himself in very magnificent terms. He told them he had a greater and more royal heart than his brother; that he was better versed in the philosophy and the knowledge of the Magi,¹ and that he could drink more wine without being disordered in his senses; a very meritorious quality amongst the Barbarians, but not so proper to recommend him to the good opinion of those to whom he was writing. The Lacedæmonians sent orders to their fleet to join that of the prince immediately, and to obey the commands of Tamos his admiral in all things, but without the least mention of Artaxerxes, or seeming in any manner privy to his design. They thought that precaution necessary for their justification with Artaxerxes,² in case affairs should happen to terminate in his favour.

The troops of Cyrus, according to the review afterwards made, consisted of 13,000 Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army, and 100,000 regular troops of the barbarous nations. Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who had Socrates of Achaia for their leader. The Bæotians were under Proxenus the Theban, and the Thessalians under Menon. The Barbarians had Persian generals,³ of whom the chief was Artæus. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships under Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian, and twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Egyptian, admiral of the whole fleet. It followed the land army, coasting along near the shore.

Cyrus had opened his mind to Clearchus alone of all the Greeks, foreseeing aright that the length and boldness of the enterprise could not fail of discouraging and dismaying the officers, as well as soldiers. He made it his sole application to gain their affections during the march, by treating them with kindness and humanity, conversing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they should want for nothing. Proxenus, between whose family and Xenophon's an ancient friendship subsisted, presented that young Athenian to Cyrus, who received him very favourably,⁴ and gave him an employment in his army amongst the Greeks. He set out from Sardis at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Asia. The troops knew neither the occasion of the war, nor into what countries they were going. Cyrus had only caused it to be given out, that he was carrying his arms against the Pisidians, who had infested his province by their incursions.

Tissaphernes,⁵ rightly judging that all these preparations were too great for so insignificant an enterprise as against Pisidia, had set out post from Miletus to give the king an account of them. This news occasioned great trouble at court. Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus, was looked upon as the principal cause of this war; and all persons in her service and interest were suspected of holding intelligence with Cyrus. Statira especially, the reigning queen, reproached her incessantly in the most violent terms. "Where is now," said she to her, "that faith you have so often engaged for your son's behaviour? Where those ardent prayers you employed to preserve from death that conspirator against his king and brother? It is your unhappy fondness that has kindled this war, and plunged us into an abyss of misfortunes." The antipathy and hatred of the two queens for each other were already very great, and were still more inflamed by such warm reproaches. We shall see what the consequences were. Artaxerxes assembled a numerous army to receive his brother.

Cyrus advanced continually by long marches.⁶ What troubled him most on the way was the pass of Cilicia, which was a narrow defile between very high and steep mountains, that would admit no more than one carriage to pass at a time. Syennesis, king of the country, was preparing to dispute this pass with him, and would infallibly have succeeded but for the diversion made by Tamos with his fleet, in conjunction with that of the Lacedæmonians. To defend the coasts against the insults of the fleet, Syennesis abandoned that important post, which a small body of troops might have made good against the greatest army.

When they arrived at Tarsus, the Greeks refused to advance any farther, rightly suspecting that they were marching against the king, and loudly exclaiming that they had not entered into the service upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occasion for all his address and ability to stifle this commotion in its birth. At first he made use of authority and force, but with very ill success, and desisted therefore from an open opposition to their sentiments: he even affected to enter into their views, and to support them with his approbation and influence. He declared publicly, that he would not separate himself from them, and advised them to depute persons to the prince, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be led, that they might follow him voluntarily if they approved his measures; if not, that they might demand his permission to withdraw. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and made them easy, and they chose him and some other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had secretly apprized of every thing, made answer, that he was going to attack Abroconias⁷ his enemy, who was encamped at twelve days' march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this answer was repeated to them, though they plainly saw against whom they were going, they resolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, instead of one darick⁸ a month to each soldier, promised to give them one and a half.

Some time after, Cyrus was informed that two of the principal officers, upon account of a private quarrel with Clearchus, had deserted with part of their equipage on board a merchant ship. Many were of opinion, that it was proper to send some galleys after them, which might be done with great ease; and that when they were brought back, they should be made an example, by suffering death in the sight of the whole army. Cyrus, convinced that favour was the most certain means to obtain affection,⁹ and that punishments, like violent remedies, ought never to be used but in extreme necessity, declared publicly that

¹ By the knowledge of the Magi, amongst the Persians, was meant the science of religion and government.

² Quærentes apud Cyrum gratiam; et apud Artaxerxem.

³ vicissat, venit patrocinia cum nihil adversus eum apertè decernissent. Justin l. v. c. 11.

⁴ Xenoph. Cyri Exped. l. i. p. 252.

⁵ Xenoph. l. iii. p. 294.

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⁶ Plut. in Artax. p. 1014. ⁷ Xenoph. l. i. p. 258—261

⁸ It is not said where he commanded. It appears to be upon the Euphrates. He marched with 300,000 men to join the king's army, but did not arrive till after the battle.

⁹ The darick was worth ten livres.

¹⁰ Beneficia potius quam remediis ingens experiri placuit. Plin. in Traj

he would not suffer it to be said that he had detained any one in his service by force, and added, that he would send them their wives and children, whom they had left as hostages in his hands.

An answer displaying so much wisdom and generosity had a surprising effect; and made even those his firm adherents, who were before inclined to retire. This is an excellent lesson for all who govern. There is in the mind of man a fund of natural generosity, which it is necessary to know and to put in play. Threats exasperate them, and chastisement makes them revolt, when endeavours are used to force them to do their duty against their will. They desire a certain degree of confidence in their honour,¹ and that the glory of discharging their duty through choice be left in their power: to show that you believe men faithful, is often the best means to make them so.

Cyrus soon after declared, that he was marching against Artaxerxes. Upon which some murmuring was heard at first, but it soon gave place to the expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises to the army.

As Cyrus advanced by long marches,² he was informed from all parts, that the king did not intend to come directly to a battle, but had resolved to wait in the heart of Persia till all his forces were assembled; and that, to stop his enemies, he had ordered to be dug in the plains of Babylon, a ditch of five fathoms broad, and three deep, extending the space of twelve parasangs,³ or leagues, from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the fosse a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus passed with his whole army, which he had reviewed the day before. The king had neglected to dispute this pass with him, and suffered him to continue his march towards Babylon. It was Tiribastus who made him resolve not to fly in such a manner before an enemy, over whom he had infinite advantages, as well from the number of his troops as the valour of his generals. He resolved therefore to advance against the enemy.

SECTION II.—THE BATTLE OF CUNAXA. THE GREEKS ARE VICTORIOUS ON THEIR SIDE, ARTAXERXES ON HIS. CYRUS IS KILLED.

The place where the battle was fought,⁴ was called Cunaxa, about twenty-five leagues⁵ from Babylon. The army of Cyrus consisted of 13,000 Greeks, 100,000 Barbarians, and twenty chariots armed with scythes. That of the enemy in horse and foot might amount to about 1,200,000, under four generals, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, Arbaces, and Abrocomas, without including 6000 chosen horse, that fought where the king was present, and never quitted his person. But Abrocomas, who had the command of 300,000 men, did not arrive till five days after the battle. In the king's army were only 150 chariots armed with scythes.

Cyrus believed, from the enemy's not having defended the pass at the fosse, that there would be no battle; so that the next day the army marched with great negligence. But on the third, Cyrus being in his chariot, with few soldiers in their ranks before him, and the rest marching without any order, or having their arms carried for them, a horseman came in full speed, crying out as he passed, that the enemy were approaching in order of battle. Upon this, great confusion ensued, from the apprehension that they should not have time to draw up the army. Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his arms immediately, and getting on horseback with his javelin in his hand, he

gave orders universally to the troops to stand to their arms, and fall into their ranks; which was executed with so much expedition, that the troops had not time to refresh themselves.

Cyrus posted upon his right 1000 Paphlagonian horse, supported by the Euphrates, and the light-armed infantry of the Greeks; and next them, Clearchus Proxenus, and the rest of the general officers to Menon, at the head of their several corps. The left wing, composed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Asiatic nations, was commanded by Ariæus, who had 1000 horse. Cyrus placed himself in the centre, where the chosen troops of the Persians and other Barbarians were posted. He had around him 600 horsemen, armed at all points, as were their horses, with frontlets and breast-plates. The prince's head was uncovered, as were those of all the Persians, whose custom it was to give battle in that manner; the arms of all his people were red, and those of Artaxerxes were white.

A little before the onset, Clearchus advised Cyrus not to charge in person, but to cover himself in the rear of the Grecian battalions. "What is it you say?" replied Cyrus; "at the time I am endeavouring to make myself king, would you have me show myself unworthy of being so?" That wise and generous answer proves, that he knew the duty of a general, especially on a day of battle. Had he withdrawn when his presence was most necessary, it would have argued his want of courage, and intimidated others. It is necessary always, however, preserving the due distinction between the leader and the troops, that their danger should be common, and no one exempt from it; lest the latter should be alarmed by a different conduct. Courage in an army depends upon example, upon the desire of being distinguished, the fear of dishonour, the incapacity of doing otherwise than the rest, and the equality of danger. If Cyrus had retired, it would have either ruined, or greatly weakened, all these potent motives, by discouraging the officers as well as soldiers of his army. He thought, that being their general, it was incumbent upon him to discharge all the functions of that office, and to show himself worthy to be the leader and soul of such a number of valiant men, ready to shed their blood for his service.

It was now noon, and the enemy did not yet appear. But about three of the clock a great dust like a white cloud arose, followed soon after with a blackness that overspread the whole plain; after which was seen the glittering of armour, lances, and standards. Tissaphernes commanded the left, which consisted of cavalry armed with white cuirasses, and of light-armed infantry; in the centre was the heavy-armed foot, a great part of which had bucklers made of wood which covered the soldier entirely (these were Egyptians.) The rest of the light-armed infantry and of the horse formed the right wing. The foot were drawn up by nations, with as much depth as front, and in that order composed square battalions. The king had posted himself in the main body with the flower of the whole army, and had 6000 horse for his guard, commanded by Artageres. Though he was in the centre, he was beyond the left wing of Cyrus's army, so much did the front of his own exceed that of the enemy in extent. A hundred and fifty chariots armed with scythes were placed in the front of the army at some distance from one another. The scythes were fixed to the axle downwards and alant, so as to cut down and overthrow all before them.

As Cyrus relied very much upon the valour and experience of the Greeks, he bade Clearchus, as soon as he had beaten the enemies in his front, to take care to incline to his left, and fall upon the centre, where the king was posted—the success of the battle depending upon that attack. But Clearchus, finding it very difficult to make his way through so great a body of troops, replied, that he need be in no pain, and that he would take care to do what was necessary.

The enemy in the mean time advanced slowly and in good order. Cyrus marched in the space between the two armies, though nearest to his own, and considered both of them with great attention. Xenophon

¹ Nescio an plus moribus conferet princeps, qui bonos esse patitur, quam qui cogit. *Plin. ibid.*

² Perquamque habita fides ipsam obligat fidem. *Liv.*

³ *Plut. in Artax. p. 1014. Xenop. l. i. p. 261—266.*

⁴ The Parasanga is a road measure peculiar to the Persians. It was commonly thirty stadia, which make about a league and a half French. Some were from twenty to sixty stadia. In the march of Cyrus's army, I suppose the parasanga only twenty stadia, or one league, for reasons I shall give hereafter.

⁵ *Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. a. i. p. 263—266. Diod. l. xiv. p. 253, 254. Plut. p. 1014—1017*

⁶ Five hundred stadia.

perceiving him, spurred directly up to him to know whether he had any farther orders to give. He called out to him, that the sacrifices were favourable, and that he should tell the troops so. He then hastened through the ranks to give his orders, and showed himself to the soldiers with such a joy and serenity in his countenance, as inspired them with new courage, and at the same time with an air of kindness and familiarity, that excited their zeal and affection. It is not easy to comprehend what great effects are produced by a word, a kind air, or a look of a general, upon a day of action; and with what ardour a common man will rush into danger, when he believes himself not unknown to his general, and thinks his valour will oblige him.

Artaxerxes moved on continually, though with a slow pace, and without noise and confusion. That good order and exact discipline extremely surprised the Greeks, who expected to see much hurry and tumult in so great a multitude, and to hear confused cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

The armies were not distant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to sing the hymn of battle, and to march on, slowly at first, and with silence. When they came near the enemy, they set up great cries, striking their darts upon their shields to frighten the horse, and then moving altogether, they sprung forwards upon the Barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels, and fled universally; except Tissaphernes, who stood his ground with a small part of his troops.

Cyrus saw with pleasure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by those around him. But he did not give himself up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckon himself victor. He perceived that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly against him with his 600 horse. He killed Artageses, who commanded the king's guard of 6000 horse, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Discovering his brother, he cried out, his eyes sparkling with rage, *I see him*, and spurred against him, followed only by his principal officers; for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the runaways, which was an essential fault.

The battle then became a single combat,¹ in some measure, between Artaxerxes and Cyrus, and the two brothers were seen transported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their swords into each other's hearts, and to assure themselves of the throne by the death of their rival.

Cyrus having opened his way through those who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horse that fell with him to the ground. He rose, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his last. The king, like a lion wounded by the hunters, only the more furious from the smart, sprung forwards, impetuously pushing his horse against Cyrus, who running headlong, and without regard to his person, threw himself into the midst of a flight of darts, aimed at him from all sides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the instant all the rest discharged their weapons against him. Cyrus fell dead: some say that it was from the wound given him by the king; others affirm that he was killed by a Carian soldier. Mithridates, a young Persian nobleman, asserted, that he had given him the mortal stroke with a javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. The greatest persons of the court, resolving not to survive so good a master, were all killed around his body;—a certain proof, says Xenophon, that he well knew how to choose his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmest of all his adherents, fled with the left wing, as soon as he heard of his death.

Artaxerxes, after having caused the head and right

hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Mēnabates, pursued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not stopped there, but having passed through it, continued his retreat to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues distant.

Tissaphernes, after the defeat of the greatest part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the rest against them, and by the side of the river passed through the light-armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him passage, and made their discharge upon him as he passed without losing a man. They were commanded by Episthenes of Amphipolis, who was esteemed an able captain. Tissaphernes kept on without returning to the charge, because he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to Cyrus's camp, where he found the king, who was plundering it; but had not been able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks left to guard it, who saved their baggage.

The Greeks on their side, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what was going on elsewhere, believed each of them that they had gained the victory; the first, because they had put the enemy to flight, and pursued them; and the king, because he had killed his brother, beaten the troops who had opposed him, and plundered their camp. The event was soon cleared up on both sides. Tissaphernes, upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and pursued it with great vigour; and the Greeks on their side learned, that the king, in pursuing Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice, the king rallied his troops, and marched in quest of the enemy; and Clearchus, being returned from pursuing the Persians, advanced to support the camp.

The two armies were soon very near each other, when, by a movement made by the king, he seemed to intend to charge the Greeks by their left, who, fearing to be surrounded on all sides, wheeled about, and halted with the river on their backs, to prevent their being taken in the rear. Upon seeing that, the king changed his form of battle also, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As soon as the Greeks saw him approach, they began to sing the hymn of battle, and advanced against the enemy even with more ardour than in the first action.

The Barbarians again took to their heels, as at first, ran farther than before, and were pursued to a village at the foot of a hill, upon which their horse halted. The king's standard was observed to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike, having its wings displayed. The Greeks preparing to pursue them, they abandoned also the hill, fled precipitately, and all their troops broke, and were in the utmost disorder and confusion. Clearchus having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycias the Syracusan, and another to go up it, and observe what passed in the plain. They returned with an account that the enemy fled on all sides, and that their whole army was routed.

As it was almost night, the Greeks laid down their arms to rest themselves, much surprised, that neither Cyrus, nor any one from him, appeared; and imagining that he was either engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, or was making haste to possess himself of some important place; for they were still ignorant of his death, and the defeat of the rest of his army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, where they arrived about night-fall, and found the greatest part of the baggage taken, with all the provisions and 400 waggons laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expressly caused to be carried along with the army for the Greeks, in case of any pressing necessity. They passed the night in the camp, the greatest part of them without any refreshment, concluding that Cyrus was alive and victorious.

The success of this battle shows the superiority of valour and military knowledge over the greatest numbers without them. The small army of the Greeks did not amount to more than twelve or 13,000 men; but they were seasoned and disciplined troops.

¹ Diod. l. xiv. p. 234.

inured to fatigues, accustomed to confront dangers, sensible to glory. A id who, during the long Peloponnesian war, had not wanted either time or means to acquire, and perfect themselves in the art of war. On Artaxerxes's side were reckoned nearly 1,000,000 of men; but they were soldiers only in name, without force, courage, discipline, experience, or any sentiment of honour. Hence it was, that as soon as the Greeks appeared, terror and disorder ensued amongst the enemy; and in the second action, Artaxerxes himself did not dare to wait their attack, but shamefully betook himself to flight.

Plutarch here blames Clearchus the general of the Greeks very much, and imputes to him as an unpardonable neglect, his not having followed Cyrus's order, who recommended to him above all things to fall upon that body where Artaxerxes commanded in person. This reproach seems groundless. It is not easy to conceive, how it was possible for that captain, who was posted on the right wing, to attack Artaxerxes immediately, who, in the centre of his own army, lay beyond the utmost extent of the enemy's left, as has been said before. It seems that Cyrus, depending as he did with great reason upon the valour of the Greeks, and desiring they should charge Artaxerxes in his post, ought to have placed them in the left wing which answered directly to the part where the king was; that is, to the main body, and not in the right, which was very remote from it.

Clearchus may indeed be reproached with having followed the pursuit too warmly and too long. If, after having put the left wing which opposed him into disorder, he had charged the rest of the enemy in flank, and had opened his way to the centre, where Artaxerxes was, it is highly probable, that he would have gained a complete victory, and placed Cyrus upon the throne. The 600 horse of that prince's guard committed the same fault, and by pursuing the body of troops they had put to flight too eagerly, left their master almost alone, and abandoned to the mercy of the enemy: without considering that they were chosen from the whole army for the immediate guard of his person, and for no other purpose whatsoever. Too much ardour is often prejudicial in a battle, and it is the duty of an able general to know how to restrain and direct it.

Cyrus himself erred highly in this respect, and abandoned himself too much to his blind passion for glory and revenge. In running headlong to attack his brother, he forgot that there is a wide difference between a general and a private soldier. He ought not to have exposed himself, but as became a prince: as the head, not as the band—as the person who was to give orders, and not as those who were to execute them.

In these remarks I only adopt those which have been made by able judges in the art of war, and would not choose to advance my own opinion upon points which I am not competent to decide.

SECTION III.—EULOGY OF CYRUS.

XENOPHON gives us a magnificent character of Cyrus,¹ and that not merely from the report of others, but from what he saw and knew of him in his own person. He was, says he, in the opinion of all that was acquainted with him, next to Cyrus the Great, a prince the most worthy of the supreme authority, and one who had the most noble, and most truly royal soul. From his infancy he surpassed all of his own age in every exercise, whether it were in managing the horse, drawing the bow, throwing the dart, or in the chase, in which he distinguished himself once by fighting and killing a bear that attacked him. Those advantages were enhanced, in him by the nobleness of his air, an engaging aspect, and by all the graces of nature, that conduce to recommend merit.

When his father had made him satrap of Lydia, and the neighbouring provinces,² his chief care was to make the people sensible that he had nothing so

much at heart as to keep his word inviolably, no only with regard to public treaties, but the most minute of his promises;—a quality very rare amongst princes, which however is the basis of all good government, and the source of their own, as well as their people's happiness. Not only the places under his authority, but the enemy themselves, reposed an entire confidence in him.

Whether good or ill were done him, he always desired to return it two-fold, and wished that he might live no longer (as he said himself,) than whilst he surpassed his friends in benefits, and his enemies in vengeance. (It would have been more glorious for him to have overcome the latter by the force of favour and benevolence.) Nor was there ever a prince whom people were more afraid to offend, nor for whose sake they were more ready to hazard their possessions, lives, and fortunes.

Less intent upon being feared than beloved, his study was to make his greatness appear only where it was useful and beneficial, and to extinguish all other sentiments, but those which flow from gratitude and affection. He was careful to seize every occasion of doing good, to confer his favours with judgment and in season, and to show, that he thought himself rich, powerful, and happy, only as he made others sensible of his being so by his benevolence and liberality. But he took care not to exhaust the means by an imprudent profusion. He did not lavish, but distribute his favours. He chose rather to make his liberalities the rewards of merit, than mere donations, and that they should be subservient in promoting virtue, and not in supporting the soft and abject sloth of vice.

He was particularly pleased with conferring his favours upon valiant men, and governments and rewards were bestowed only on those who had distinguished themselves by their actions. He never granted any honour or dignity to favour, intrigue, or faction, but to merit alone; upon which depends not only the glory but the prosperity of governments. By that means he soon made virtue estimable, and rendered vice contemptible. The provinces, animated with a noble emulation, furnished him in a very short time with a considerable number of excellent subjects of every kind; who under a different government would have remained unknown, obscure, and useless.

Never did any one know how to confer an obligation with a better grace, or to win the hearts of those who could serve him with a more engaging behaviour. As he was fully sensible that he stood in need of the assistance of others for the execution of his designs, he thought justice and gratitude required that he should render his adherents all the services in his power. All the presents made him, whether of splendid arms, or rich apparel, he distributed among his friends, according to their several tastes or occasions, and used to say, that the brightest ornament, and most exalted riches of a prince, consisted in adorning and enriching those who served him well. In fact, says Xenophon, to do good to one's friends, and to excel them in liberality, does not seem so worthy of admiration in so high a fortune; but to transcend them in goodness of heart and sentiments of friendship and affection, and to take more pleasure in conferring, than receiving obligations; this is what I find in Cyrus truly worthy of esteem and admiration. The first of these advantages he derives from his rank; the other from himself and his intrinsic merit.

By these extraordinary qualities, he acquired the universal esteem and affection as well of the Greeks as barbarians. A great proof of what Xenophon here says, is, that none ever quitted the service of Cyrus, for the king's; whereas great numbers went over every day to him from the king's party after the war was declared, and even of such as had most credit at the court; because they were all convinced, that Cyrus knew best how to distinguish and reward their services.

¹ De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 266. 267.

² Great Phrygia and Cappadocia.

³ Habebat animum facilem, non perforatum: ex quo multa exeat, nihil excidat. Senec. de vit. beat. caxii.

It is most certain that young Cyrus was endowed with great virtues, and a superior merit; but I am surprised, that Xenophon, in drawing his character, has described only the most beautiful features, and such as are calculated to excite our admiration of him, without saying the least word of his defects, and especially of that immoderate ambition, which was the soul of all his actions, and which at length put arms into his hands, against his elder brother and king. Is it allowable in an historian, whose chief duty is to point virtue and vice in their proper colours, to relate at large an enterprise of such a nature, without intimating the least dislike or reprobation of it? But with the pagans, ambition was so far from being considered as a vice, that it often passed for a virtue.

SECTION IV.—THE KING WISHES TO COMPEL THE GREEKS TO DELIVER UP THEIR ARMS. THEY RESOLVE TO DIE RATHER THAN SURRENDER THEMSELVES. A TREATY IS MADE WITH THEM. TISSAPHERNES TAKES UPON HIM TO CONDUCT THEM BACK TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY. HE TREACHEROUSLY SEIZES CLEARCHUS AND FOUR OTHER GENERALS, WHO ARE ALL PUT TO DEATH.

THE Greeks,¹ having learned, the day after the battle, that Cyrus was dead, sent deputies to Artabanus, the general of the barbarians, who had retired with his troops to the place from whence they had marched the day before the action, to offer him, as victors, the crown of Persia in the room of Cyrus. At the same time arrived Persian heralds at arms from the king, to summon them to deliver up their arms; to whom they answered with a haughty air that such messages were not to be sent to conquerors; that if the king would have their arms, he might come and take them; but that they would die before they would part with them; that if he would receive them into the number of his allies, they would serve him with fidelity and valour;² but if he imagined to reduce them to slavery as conquered, he might know, they had wherewithal to defend themselves, and were determined to lose their lives and liberty together. The heralds added, that they had orders to tell them, that if they continued in the place where they were, they would be allowed a suspension of arms, but if they advanced or retired, that they would be treated as enemies. The Greeks agreed, but were asked by the heralds what answer they should take back. *Peace in continuing here, or war in marching,* replied Clearchus, without explaining himself farther; in order to keep the king always in suspense and uncertainty.

The answer of Artabanus to the Grecian deputies was that there were many Persians more considerable than himself, who would not suffer him upon the throne, and that he should set out early the next day to return into Ionia; that, if they would march thither with him, they might join him in the night. Clearchus, with the advice of the officers, prepared to depart. He commanded from thenceforth, as being the sole person of sufficient capacity; for he had not been actually elected general-in-chief.

When the night came, Miltocythes the Thracian, who commanded forty horse, and about three hundred foot of his own country, went and surrendered himself to the king; and the rest of the Greeks began their march under the conduct of Clearchus, and arrived, about midnight at the camp of Artabanus. After they had drawn up in battle, the principal officers went to wait on him in his tent, where they swore alliance with him; and the barbarian engaged to conduct the army without fraud. In confirmation of the treaty, they sacrificed a wolf, a ram, a boar, and a bull; the Greeks dipped their swords, and the barbarians the points of their javelins, in the blood of the victims.

Artabanus did not think proper to return by the same route they had come, because, as they had found nothing for their subsistence during the last seventeen days of their march, they must have suffered much more, had they taken the same way back again. He therefore took another; exhorting them only to make long marches at first, in order to evade the king's pursuit; but this, however, they could not effect. Towards the evening, when they were not far from some villages where they proposed to halt, the scouts came in with advice, that they had seen several equipages and convoys, which made it reasonable to judge, that the enemy were not far off. Upon which they stood their ground, and waited their coming up; and the next day, before sun-rising, drew up in the same order as in the preceding battle. So bold an appearance terrified the king, who sent heralds, not to demand, as before, the surrender of their arms, but to propose peace and a treaty. Clearchus, who was informed of their arrival, whilst he was busy in drawing up his troops, gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them, that he was not yet at leisure to hear them. He assumed purposely an air of haughtiness and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and at the same to show the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the most gallant of his officers, expressly chosen for the occasion, and had heard what the heralds had to propose; he made answer, that they must begin with giving battle, because the army, being in want of provisions, had no time to lose. The herald having carried back this answer to their master, returned shortly after; which showed, that the king, or whoever spoke in his name, was not very distant. They said, they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they would find provisions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

The army stayed there three days, during which, Tissaphernes arrived from the king, with the queen's brother and three other Persian grandees, attended by a great number of officers and domestics. After having saluted the generals, who advanced to receive him, he told him by his interpreter, that being a neighbour of Greece, and seeing them engaged in dangers, out of which it would be difficult to extricate themselves, he had used his good offices with the king, to obtain permission to reconduct them into their own country; being convinced, that neither themselves, nor their cities, would ever be ungrateful of that favour: that the king, without having declared himself positively upon that head, had commanded him to come to them, to know for what cause they had taken arms against him; and he advised them to make the king such an answer, as might not give any offence, and might enable him to do them service. "We call the gods to witness," replied Clearchus, "that we do not enlist ourselves to make war with the king, or to march against him. Cyrus, concealing his true motives under different pretences, brought us almost hither without explaining himself, the better to surprise you. And when we saw him surrounded with dangers, we thought it infamous to abandon him, after the favours we had received from him. But as he is dead, we are released from our engagement, and neither desire to contest the crown with Artaxerxes, nor to ravage his country, nor to give him the least disquiet; provided he does not oppose our return. However, if we are attacked, we shall endeavour, with the assistance of the gods, to make a good defence; and shall not be ungrateful towards those who render us any service." Tissaphernes replied, that he would let the king know what they said, and return with his answer. But his not coming the next day gave the Greeks some anxiety: he however arrived on the third, and told them that after much controversy, he had at length obtained the king's pardon for them: for, that it had been represented to the king, that he ought not to suffer people to return with impunity into their country, who had been so insolent as to come thither to make war upon him. "In fine," said he, "you may now assure yourselves of not finding any obstacle to your return, and of being supplied with provisions, or suffered to

¹ Xenophon, in *Expedit. Cyr.* l. ii. p. 279—292. *Diod. l. xiv. p. 255—257.*

² *Sic ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et juvenutem, et promptum liberati aut ad moriem animum.* *Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 46.*

buy them; and you shall swear on your part, that you will pass without committing any disorders in your march, and that you will take only what is necessary; provided you are not furnished with it." These conditions were sworn to on both sides. Tissaphernes and the queen's brother gave their hands to the colonels and captains in token of amity. After which Tissaphernes withdrew to arrange his affairs, promising to return shortly in order to go back with them into his government.

The Greeks waited for him above twenty days, continuing encamped near Ariæus, who received frequent visits from his brothers, and other relations, as did the officers of his army from the Persians of the different party; who assured them from the king of an entire oblivion of the past: so that the friendship of Ariæus for the Greeks appeared to cool every day more and more. This change gave them some uneasiness. Several of the officers went to Clearchus and the other generals, and said to them, "What do we here any longer? Are we not sensible, that the king desires to see us all perish, that others may be terrified by our example? Perhaps he keeps us waiting here, till he re-assembles his dispersed troops, or sends to seize the passes in our way; for he will never suffer us to return into Greece to divulge our own glory and his shame." Clearchus made answer to this discourse, that to depart without consulting the king, was to break with him, and to declare war by violating the treaty; that they should remain without a conductor in a strange country, where nobody would supply them with provisions; that Ariæus would abandon them; and that even their friends would become their enemies; that he did not know, but there might be other rivers to pass, but that, were the Euphrates the only one, they could not get over it, were the passage ever so little disputed. That if it were necessary to come to a battle, they should find themselves without cavalry against an enemy that had a very numerous and excellent body of horse; so that if they gained the victory, they could make no great advantage of it, and if they were overcome, they were utterly and irretrievably lost. "Besides, why should the king, who has so many other means to destroy us, engage his word only to violate it, and thereby render himself execrable in the sight of gods and men?"

Tissaphernes, however, arrived with his troops, in order to return into his government, and they set forward all together under the conduct of that satrap, who supplied them with provisions. Ariæus with his troops encamped with the Barbarians, and the Greeks separately at some distance, which kept up a continual distrust amongst them. Besides which, there happened frequent quarrels for wood or forage, that augmented their aversion for each other. After three days' march, they arrived at the wall of Media, which is a hundred feet high, twenty broad, and twenty leagues¹ in extent, all built with bricks, cemented with bitumen, like the walls of Babylon, from which it was not very distant at one of its extremities. When they had passed it, they marched eight leagues in two days, and came to the river Tigris, after having crossed two of its canals, cut expressly for watering the country. They then passed the Tigris² upon a bridge of twenty-seven boats near Sitace, a very great and populous city. After four days' march, they arrived at another city, very opulent also, called Opis. They found there a bastard brother of Artaxerxes with a very considerable body of troops, which he was bringing from Susa and Erbatana to his aid. He admired the fine order of the Greeks. From thence, having passed the deserts of Media, they came after a march of six days to a place called the lands of Parysatis; the revenues of which appertained

to that princess. Tissaphernes, to insult the memory of her son Cyrus, so dearly beloved by her, gave up the villages to be plundered by the Greeks. Continuing their march through the desert on the one side of the Tigris, which they had on their left, they arrived at Cænæ a very great and rich city, and from thence at the river Zabates.

The occasions of distrust increased every day between the Greeks and Barbarians. Clearchus thought it incumbent on him to come to an explanation once for all with Tissaphernes. He began with observing upon the sacred and inviolable nature of the treaties subsisting between them. "Can a man," said he, "conscious of the guilt of perjury, be capable of living at ease. How would he shun the wrath of the gods, who are the witnesses of treaties, and escape their vengeance, whose power is universal?" He added afterwards many things to prove, that the Greeks were obliged by their own interest to continue faithful to him, and that, by renouncing his alliance, they must first inevitably renounce not only all religion, but reason and common sense. Tissaphernes seemed to relish this discourse, and spoke to him with all the appearance of the most perfect sincerity; insinuating at the same time, that some persons had done him bad offices with him. "If you will bring your officers hither," said he, "I will show you those who have wronged you by their representations." He kept him to supper, and professed more friendship for him than ever.

The next day Clearchus proposed in the assembly, to go with the several commanders of the troops to Tissaphernes. He suspected Menon in particular, whom he knew to have had a secret conference with the satrap in the presence of Ariæus; besides which, they had already differed several times with each other. Some objected, that it was not proper that all the generals should go to Tissaphernes, and that it was not consistent with prudence to rely implicitly upon the professions of a Barbarian. But Clearchus continued to insist upon his proposal, till it was agreed that the four other commanders, with twenty captains and about 200 soldiers, under pretext of buying provisions in the Persian camp, where there was a market, should be sent along with him. When they came to the tent of Tissaphernes, the five commanders, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenus, Agias, and Socrates, were suffered to enter, but the captains remained without at the door. Immediately, on a certain signal before agreed on, those within were seized, and the others put to the sword. Some Persian horse afterwards scoured the country, and killed all the Greeks they met, whether freemen or slaves. Clearchus, with the other generals, was sent to the king, who ordered their heads to be struck off. Xenophon describes with sufficient extent the characters of those officers.

Clearchus was valiant, bold, intrepid, and of a capacity for forming great enterprises. His courage was not rash, but directed by prudence; and he retained all the coolness of his temper and presence of mind in the midst of the greatest dangers. He loved the troops, and let them want for nothing. He knew how to make them obey him; but out of fear. His mien was awful and severe; his language rough; his punishments instant and rigorous: he gave way sometimes to passion, but presently came to himself, and always chastised with justice. His great maxim was, that nothing could be done in an army without severe discipline; and from him came the saying, that a soldier ought to fear his general more than the enemy. The troops esteemed his valour,³ and did justice to his merit; but they were afraid of his temper, and did not love to serve under him. In a word, says Xenophon, the soldiers feared him as scholars do a severe pedagogue. We may say of him with Tacitus, that by an excess of severity he made, what had otherwise been well done by him, unamiable; *Cupidina severitatis in his etiam, quæ rite faceret, acerbis*.⁴

Proxenus was of Bœotia. From his infancy he as-

¹ Twenty parasanges.

² The march of the Greeks and the rest of the army, from the day after the battle till the passing of the Tigris, abounds in the text of Xenophon with very great obscurities, to explain which fully, would require a long dissertation. My plan does not admit me to enter into such discussions, which I must therefore refer to those who are more able than myself.

³ Manebat admiratio viri et fama; sed odorant. *Tacit. Histor. l. 8. c. 68.*

⁴ Tacit. *Annal. c. lxxv.*

pired at great things, and was industrious to make himself capable of them. He spared no means for the attainment of instruction, and was the disciple of Gorgias the Leontine, a celebrated rhetorician, who sold his lectures at a very high price. When he found himself capable of commanding, and of doing good to his friends, as well as of being served by them, he entered into Cyrus's service with the view of advancing himself. He did not want ambition, but would take no other path to glory than that of virtue. He would have been a perfect captain, had he had to do with none but brave and disciplined men, and had it been only necessary to make himself beloved. He was more apprehensive of being upon bad terms with his soldiers, than his soldiers with him. He thought it sufficient for a commander to praise good actions, without punishing bad ones; for which reason he was beloved by the worthy, but those of a different character abused his easiness. He died at thirty years of age.

Could the two great persons,¹ whose portraits we have here drawn after Xenophon, have moulded into one, something perfect might have been made of them, by retrenching their several defects, and retaining only their virtues; but it rarely happens, that the same man, as Tacitus² says of Agricola, behaves, according to the exigency of times and circumstances, sometimes with gentleness and sometimes with severity, without lessening his authority by the former, or the people's affection by the latter.

Menon was a Thessalian, avaricious and ambitious, but ambitious only to satiate his avarice, pursuing honour and estimation for the mere lucre of money. He courted the friendship of the great, and of persons in authority, that he might have it in his power to commit injustice and oppression with impunity. To obtain his ends, falsehood, fraud, perjury cost him nothing; whilst sincerity, and integrity of heart, were in his opinion merely weakness and stupidity. He loved nobody; and if he professed friendship, it was only to deceive. As others make their glory consist in religion, probity, and honour, he valued himself upon injustice, deceit, and treachery. He gained the favour of the great by false reports, whispering, and calumny; and that of the soldiery by license and impunity. In fine, he endeavoured to render himself terrible by the mischief it was in his power to do, and imagined he favoured those to whom he did none.

I had thoughts of retrenching these characters, which interrupt the thread of the history. But as men, in all times, are the same, I thought retaining them would neither be useless nor disagreeable to the reader.

SECTION V.—RETREAT OF THE 10,000 GREEKS FROM THE PROVINCE OF BABYLON, AS FAR AS TREBISOND.

The generals of the Greeks having been seized,³ and the officers who attended them massacred, the troops were in the highest consternation. They were five or 600 leagues from Greece, surrounded with great rivers and hostile nations, without a guide or any supplies of provisions.—In this state of general dejection, they could not think of taking either nourishment or repose. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, but of prudence and capacity superior to his years, went to some of the officers, and represented to them, that they had no time to lose; that it was of the utmost importance to prevent the bad designs of the enemy; that however small their number, they would render themselves formidable, if they behaved with boldness and resolution: that valour and not multitude determines the success of arms; and that it was necessary above all things to nominate generals immediately,—because an army

without commanders is like a body without a soul. A council was immediately held, at which 100 officers were present; and Xenophon being desired to speak, enforced the reasons at large, which he had at first but lightly touched upon; and by his advice commanders were appointed. These were, Timasion, in the room of Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleonor for Agias, Philaeus for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenus.

Before the break of day, they assembled the army. The generals made speeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon amongst the rest.—“Fellow soldiers,” said he, “the loss of so many brave men by vile treachery, and the being abandoned by our friends, is very deplorable; but we must not sink under our misfortunes; and if we cannot conquer, let us choose rather to perish gloriously, than to fall into the hands of Barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greatest miseries. Let us call to mind the glorious battles of Platæe, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and so many others, wherein our ancestors, though with a small number, have fought and defeated the innumerable armies of the Persians, and thereby rendered the name alone of Greek for ever formidable. It is to their invincible valour we owe the honour we possess of acknowledging no masters upon earth but the gods, nor any happiness but what is consistent with liberty. Those gods, the avengers of perjury, and witnesses of the enemy's perfidy, will be favourable to us; and as they are attacked in the violation of treaties, and take pleasure in humbling the proud and exalting the low, they will also follow us to battle and combat for us. For the rest, fellow soldiers, as we have no refuge but in victory, which must be our sole resource, and will make us amply amends for whatever it costs to attain it; I should believe, if it were your opinion, that in order to make a more expeditious and less difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid ourselves of all the useless baggage, and to keep only what is absolutely necessary in our march.”—All the soldiers that moment lifted up their hands to signify their approbation and consent to all that had been said, and without loss of time set fire to their tents and carriages; such of them as had too much equipage giving it to others who had too little, and destroying the rest.

It was resolved to march the army without tumult or violence, if their return was not opposed; but otherwise to open themselves a passage sword in hand through the enemy. They therefore began their march in the form of a great hollow square, with the baggage in the centre. Chrisophus, the Lacedæmonian, had the vanguard: two of the oldest captains the right and left; and Timasion with Xenophon were posted in the rear as the youngest officers.—The first day was distressing; because having neither horse nor slingers, they were extremely harassed by a detachment sent against them: but they provided against that inconvenience by following Xenophon's advice. They chose 200 men out of the Rhodians among the troops, whom they armed with slings, and augmented their pay for their encouragement. They could throw as far again as the Persians, because they discharged balls of lead, and the others made use only of large flints. They mounted also a squadron of fifty men upon the horses intended for the baggage, and supplied their places with other beasts of burden. By the means of this supply, a second detachment of the enemy were very severely handled.

After some days' march Tissaphernes appeared with all his forces. He contented himself at first with harassing the Greeks, who moved on continually. The latter observing the difficulty of retreating in a hollow square, in the face of the enemy, from the unevenness of ground, hedges, and other obstacles, which might oblige them to break it, changed their order of battle, and marched in two columns, with the little baggage they had in the space between them. They formed a body of reserve of 600 chosen men, whom they divided into six companies, and subdivided by fifties and tens, to facilitate their motions according as occasion might require. When the columns came close to each other, they either re-

¹ Ezregium principatus temperamentum si, demptis acriusque vitis solæ virtutes miscerentur. Tacit. Histor. l. ii. c. 5.

² Pro variis temporibus ac negotiis severus et comis—nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilis auctoritatem, aut æquus animum, dimittit. Tacit. in Agric. c. ix.

Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. iii. & iv.

mained in the rear, or fled off upon the flanks on both sides, to avoid disorder; and when they opened, they fell into the void space in the rear between the two columns. Upon any occasion of attack, they immediately ran where it was necessary. The Greeks stood several charges, but they were neither considerable, nor attended with much loss.

They arrived at the river Tigris. As its depth would not admit them to repossess it without boats, they were obliged to cross the Carduchian mountains, because there was no other way; and the prisoners reported, that from thence they would enter Armenia, where they might pass the Tigris, at its source, and afterwards the Euphrates, not very distant from it. To gain those defiles, before the enemy could seize them, it was thought proper to set forwards in the night, in order to arrive at the foot of the mountains by the break of day; which was done accordingly. Chiriso-phus continued at the head of the advanced guard, with the troops armed with missile weapons, besides his ordinary corps; and Xenophon in the rear, with only the heavy-armed soldiers, because at that time there was nothing to fear on that side. The inhabitants of the country had taken possession of several of the heights, from whence it was necessary to dislodge them, which could not be done without great danger and difficulty.

The officers, having held a council of war, were of opinion, that it was proper to leave behind them all the beasts of burden not absolutely necessary, with all the slaves lately taken; because both the one and the other would retard their march too much in the great defiles they had to pass; besides which, it required a greater quantity of provisions to support them, and those who had the care of the beasts were useless in fight. That regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their march sometimes fighting, sometimes halting. The passing of the mountains, which took up seven days, fatigued the troops exceedingly, and occasioned some loss; but at length they arrived at villages, where they found provisions in abundance, and rested some days, to recover the severe fatigues the army had undergone, in comparison with which all they had suffered in Persia was trivial.

But they found themselves soon after exposed to new danger. Almost at the foot of the mountains they came to a river two hundred feet in breadth, called Centrites, which stopped their march. They had to defend themselves both against the enemy, who pursued them in the rear, and the Armenians, the soldiers of the country, who lined the opposite side of the river. They attempted in vain to pass it in a place where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, which the weight of their arms made them unable to resist. By good fortune they discovered another place not so deep, where some soldiers had seen the people of the country pass. It required abundance of address, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both sides of them. The army however passed the river at length without much loss.

They marched afterwards with less interruption; passed the source of the Tigris, and arrived at the little river Telebos, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the western Armenia; which was governed by Tiribasis, a satrap much beloved by the king, who had the honour to help him to mount on horseback when at court: he offered to let the army pass, and to suffer the soldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition that they should commit no ravages in their march; which proposal was accepted and ratified on each side. Tiribasis kept always a flying camp at a small distance from the army. There fell a great quantity of snow, which gave the troops some inconvenience; and they learned from a prisoner, that Tiribasis designed to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountains, in a defile, through which they must

necessarily march. They prevented him by seizing that post, after having put the enemy to flight. After some days' march through deserts, they passed the Euphrates near its source, not having the water above their waist.

They suffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and obstructed respiration; so that it was thought necessary to sacrifice to the wind, upon which it seemed to abate. They marched on in snow five or six feet deep, which killed several servants and beasts of burden, besides thirty soldiers. They made several fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day, they continued their march through the snow, where many of them, worn down with hunger, which was followed with languor or fainting, continued lying upon the ground, through weakness and want of spirits. When something had been given them to eat, they found themselves relieved, and continued their march.

The enemy still pursued them. Many, overtaken by the night, remained on the road without fire or provisions, so that several died of their hardships, and the enemy who followed them took some baggage. Some soldiers were also left behind, that had lost their sight, and others their toes, by the snow. Against the first evil the remedy was to wear something black before the eyes; and against the other to keep the legs always in motion, and to bare the feet at night. Arriving at a more commodious place, they dispersed themselves into the neighbouring villages, to recover and repose after their fatigues. The houses were built under ground, with an opening at top, like a well, through which the descent was by a ladder; but there was another entrance for cattle. They found there sheep, cows, goats, poultry: with wheat, barley, and pulse; and for drink, there was beer, which was very strong, when not mingled with water, but was agreeable to those who were used to it. They drank this with a reed out of the vessels that held the beer, upon which they saw the barley swim. The master of the house where Xenophon lay, received him very kindly, and even showed him where some wine was concealed; besides which he made him a present of several horses. He taught him also to fasten a kind of hurdles to their feet, and to do the same to the other beasts of burden, to prevent their sinking in the snow; without which they would have been up to the girth in it at every step. The army, after having rested seven days in these villages, resumed their route.

After a march of seven days, they arrived at the river Araxes, called also the Phasis, which is about a hundred feet in breadth. Two days after they discovered the Phasians, the Chalybes, and the Taocians, who kept the pass of the mountains, to prevent their descending into the plain. They saw it was impossible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and resolved to engage the same day. Xenophon, who observed that the enemy defended only the ordinary passage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, proposed the sending of a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the enemy; which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all suspicion of their design by a march in the night and by making a false attack by the main road, to amuse the barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the pass cleared.

They crossed the country of the Chalybes, who are the most valiant of all the barbarians in those parts. When they killed an enemy, they cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph, singing and dancing. They kept themselves close shut up in their cities, and when the army marched, fell suddenly upon the rear, after having carried every thing of value in the country into places of safety. After twelve or fifteen days' march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Teches, from whence they descried the sea. The first who perceived it, raised great shouts of joy for a considerable time; which made Xenophon imagine that the vanguard was attacked, and go with haste to support it. As he approached nearer, the cry of *The sea! The sea!* was heard distinctly and

* The French translator of Xenophon says, *he held the king's stirrup when he got on horseback*, without considering that the ancients used none.

the alarm changed into joy and gayety; but when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army crying together, *The sea! The sea!* whilst they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. And then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of stones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and shattered arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountain of Colchia, one of which was higher than the rest, and of that the people of the country had possessed themselves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to ascend, for the access was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by files: because the soldiers could not keep their ranks, from the inequality of the ground, that in some places was easy, and in others difficult, to climb, which might discourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to four-score files, each consisting of about 100 men, with 1800 light-armed soldiers, divided into three bodies, one of which was posted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the centre. After having encouraged his troops, by representing to them that this was the last obstacle they had to surmount, and implored the assistance of the gods, the army began to ascend the hill. The enemy were not able to support their charge, and dispersed. They passed the mountain, and encamped in villages, where they found provisions in abundance.

A very strange accident happened there to the army, which put them in great consternation. For the soldiers, finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were seized with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with delirious fits; so that those who were least ill seemed like drunken men, and the rest, either furiously mad or dying. The earth was strewn with their bodies as after a defeat; however, none of them died, and the distemper ceased the next day about the same time it had seized them. The third or fourth day the soldiers got up, but in a condition in which people are after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trebisonde, a Greek colony of Sinopiata, situate upon the Euxine or Black Sea, in the province of Colchia. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themselves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain a happy return into their own country. They also celebrated the games of the horse and foot races, wrestling, boxing, the pancratium; the whole attended with the greatest joy and solemnity.

SECTION VI.—THE GREEKS, AFTER HAVING UNDERGONE EXCESSIVE FATIGUES, AND SURMOUNTED MANY DANGERS, ARRIVE UPON THE SEA-COAST OPPOSITE TO BYZANTIUM. THEY PASS THE STRAIT, AND ENGAGE IN THE SERVICE OF SEUTHES, PRINCE OF THRACE. XENOPHON AFTERWARDS REPASSES THE SEA WITH HIS TROOPS, ADVANCES TO PERGAMUS, AND JOINS TIMONON, GENERAL OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS, WHO WAS MARCHING AGAINST TISSAPHERNES AND PHARNABAZUS.

AFTER having offered sacrifice to the several divinities¹ and celebrated the games, they deliberated upon the proper measures for their return into Greece. They concluded upon going thither by sea, and for that purpose Chirisophus offered to go to Anaxibius, the admiral of Sparta, who was his friend, in hopes of being able to obtain ships of him. He set out directly, and Xenophon regulated the order it was necessary to observe, and the precautions to be taken for the security of the camp, provisions, and forage. He believed it also proper to make sure of some vessels, besides those that were expected, and made some expeditions against the neighbouring people.

As Chirisophus did not return so soon as was

expected, and provisions began to be wanting, it was resolved to proceed by land; because there was not a sufficient number of ships to transport the whole army; and those which the precaution of Xenophon had procured, were allotted to carry the women, the old and sick men, with all the unnecessary baggage. The army continued its march, and lay ten days at Cerasus,² where there was a general review of the troops, who were found to amount to 8,600 men, out of about 10,000; the rest having died in the retreat, of their wounds, fatigue, or diseases.

In the short time that the Greeks continued in these parts, several disputes arose, as well with the inhabitants of the country, as with some of the officers who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, and endeavoured to render him odious to the army. But his prudence and moderation put a stop to those disorders, having made the soldiers sensible, that their safety depended upon preserving union and a good understanding amongst themselves, and obedience to their generals.

From Cerasus they went to Cotyora, which is not very remote from it. They there deliberated again upon the proper measures for their return. The inhabitants of the country represented the almost insupportable difficulties of going by land, from the defiles and rivers they had to pass, and offered to supply the Greeks with ships. This seemed the best expedient, and the army embarked accordingly. They arrived the next day at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, and a colony of the Milesians. Chirisophus repaired thither with galleys, but without money, though the troops expected to receive some. He assured them that the army should be paid as soon as they were out of the Euxine sea; and that their retreat was universally celebrated, and the subject of the discourse and admiration of all Greece.

The soldiers finding themselves near enough to Greece, desired to make some booty before they arrived there, and with that view resolved to nominate a general with full authority, whereas, till then, all affairs were determined in the council of war by the plurality of voices. They cast their eyes upon Xenophon, and caused him to be desired to accept the office. He was not insensible to the honour of commanding in chief; but he foresaw the consequences, and desired time to consider. After having expressed his high sense of gratitude for an office so much to his honour, he represented, that, to avoid jealousy and division, the success of affairs, and the interest of the army, seemed to require that they should choose a Lacedæmonian for their general, as the Spartan state at that time was actually mistress of Greece, and in consideration of that choice, would be better disposed to support them. This reason was not relished, and they objected, that they were far from intending to depend servilely upon Sparta, or to submit to regulate their enterprises by the pleasure or dislike of that state; and pressed him again to accept the command. He was then obliged to explain himself plainly, and without evasion; and declared, that having consulted the gods by sacrifice upon the offer they made him, they had manifested their will by evident signs, from whence it appeared that they did not approve their choice. It was surprising to see the impression which the sole mention of the gods made upon the soldiers, otherwise very warm and tenacious; and who besides are commonly little affected with the motives of religion. Their great ardour abated immediately, and without making any reply, they proceeded to elect Chirisophus, though a Lacedæmonian, for their general.

His authority was of no long continuance. Discord, as Xenophon had foreseen, arose amongst the troops, who were angry that their general prevented their plundering the Grecian cities through which they passed. This disturbance was principally excited by the Peloponnesians, who composed one half of the army, and could not see Xenophon, an Athe

¹ This city of Cerasus became famous for the cherry-trees which Lucullus first brought into Italy, and which from thence have been dispersed all over the western world.

nian, in authority, without pain. Different measures were proposed; but nothing being concluded, the troops divided themselves into three bodies, of which the Achæians and Arcadians, that is, the Peloponnesians, were the principal, amounting to 4,500 heavy-armed foot, with Lycon and Callimachus for their generals. Chrisophus commanded another party of about 1400 men, besides 700 light-armed infantry. Xenophon had the third, almost the same in number, of which 300 were light-armed soldiers, with about 40 horse, which were all the cavalry of the army. The first having obtained ships from the people of Heraclea, to whom they had sent to demand them, set out before the rest to make some booty, and made a descent in the port of Calpe. Chrisophus, who was sick, marched by land, but without quitting the coast. Xenophon landed at Heraclea, and entered into the heart of the country.

New divisions arose. The imprudence of the troops and their leaders had involved them in several difficulties, not without loss, from whence the address of Xenophon extricated them more than once. Being all re-united again, after various success, they arrived by land at Chrysopolis of Chalcedon, facing Byzantium, whither they repaired some days after, having passed the small arm of the sea which separates the two continents. They were upon the point of plundering that rich and powerful city, to revenge a fraud and injury which had been done them, and from the hope of enriching themselves once for all, when Xenophon made all possible haste thither. He admitted the justice of their revenge, but he made them sensible of the fatal consequences which would attend it. "After your plundering this city, and destroying the Lacedæmonians established in it, you will be deemed the mortal enemies of their republic, and of all their allies. Athens, my country, that had 400 galleys at sea and in the arsenals, when it took up arms against them, great sums of money in its treasury, a revenue of 1000 talents, and was in possession of all the isles of Greece, and of many cities in Europe and Asia, of which this was one, has nevertheless been reduced to yield to their power, and submit to their sway. And can you hope, who are but a handful of men, without generals, provisions, allies, or any resource, either from Tissaphernes, who has betrayed you, or the king of Persia, whom you have attempted to dethrone; can you hope, I say, in such a condition, to make head against the Lacedæmonians? Let us demand satisfaction of the Byzantines, and not avenge their fault by a much greater of our own, which must draw upon us inevitable ruin." He was believed, and the affair accommodated.

From thence he led them to Salmydessus,³ to serve Seuthes, prince of Thrace, who had before solicited him by his envoys, to bring troops to his aid, in order to his re-establishment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promises for himself and his troops; but when he had done him the service he wanted, he was so far from keeping his word, that he did not give him the pay agreed upon. Xenophon keenly reproached him with this breach of faith; imputing his perfidy to his minister Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his master, by saving him a sum of money at the expense of justice, faith, and honesty; qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the most to his reputation, as well as to the success of affairs, and the security of a state. But that treacherous minister, who looked upon honour, probity, and justice, as mere chimeras, and that there was nothing real but the possession of much money, thought only of enriching himself by any means whatsoever, and robbed his master first with impunity, and all his subjects along with him. "However," continues Xenophon, "every wise man, especially if vested with authority and command, ought to regard justice, probity, and the faith of engagement, as the most precious treasure he can possess; and as an assured resource, and an infallible support in all the events that can happen." Hera-

clides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner towards the troops, as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian; but avarice had extinguished all sense of honour in him.

Whilst the dispute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmest, Charinus and Polynices arrived as ambassadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republic had declared war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus; that Thembron had already embarked with troops, and promised a drack a month to every soldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who should engage in the service. Xenophon accepted the offer; and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambassadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by sea to Lampascus with the army, which amounted at that time to almost six thousand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the Troad. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Persia, he took him, his wife and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himself in a condition to bestow great largesses upon the soldiers, and to make them a satisfactory amends for all the losses they had sustained. Thembron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops, and having joined them with his own, marched against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon reckons,³ from the first setting out of that prince's army from the city of Ephesus to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty parasangs or leagues, and ninety-three days' march;⁴ and in their return from the place of battle to Cotyora, a city upon the coast of the Euxine or Black sea, six hundred and twenty parasangs or leagues, and a hundred and twenty-two days' march. And adding both together, he says, the way, going and coming, was one thousand one hundred and fifty-five parasangs or leagues,⁵ and two hundred and fifteen days' march;⁶ and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of rest, was fifteen months.

It appears by this calculation, that the army of Cyrus marched daily, one day with another, almost six parasangs or leagues in going,⁷ and only five in their return. It was natural that Cyrus, who desired to surprise his brother, should use all possible diligence for that purpose.

The retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has always passed amongst judges in the art of war, as I have already observed, for a perfect model of its kind, which has never had a parallel. Indeed, no enterprise could be formed with more valour and bravery nor conducted with more prudence, nor executed with more success. Ten thousand men, five or six hundred leagues from their own country, who had lost their generals and best officers, and find themselves in the heart of the enemy's vast empire, and yet take, in the sight of a victorious and numerous army with the king at the head of it, to retire through the seat of his empire, and in a manner from the eyes of

³ Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 276.

⁴ Ibid. l. v. p. 355.

⁵ I add, five, which are left out in the text, to make the total agree with the two parts.

⁶ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 427.

⁷ The parasanga is a road measure peculiar to the Persians, and consists of thirty stadia. The stadium is a Grecian measure, and contains, according to the most received opinion, 125 geometrical paces; twenty of which in consequence are required to the common French league, which consists of 2500 paces. And this has been my rule hitherto according to which the parasanga is a league and a half.

But I observe here a great difficulty. According to this calculation, we should find the ordinary days' marches of Cyrus, with an army of more than 100,000 men, would have been, one day with another, nine leagues, during so long a time, which, according to the judges in military affairs, is absolutely impossible. This is what has determined me to compute the parasanga at no more than a league. Several authors have remarked, and indeed it is not to be doubted, that the stadium, and all the other road measures of the ancients, have differed widely according to times and places, as they still do amongst us.

³ A city of Pontus.

³ Xenoph. l. vii.

his palace, and to traverse a vast extent of unknown countries, almost all in arms against them, without being dismayed by the prospect of the innumerable obstacles and dangers, to which they were every moment exposed; the passage of rivers, of mountains, and defiles; open attacks, or secret ambuscades from the people upon their route; famine, almost inevitable in vast and desert regions; and above all, the treachery they had to fear from the troops, who seemed to be employed in escorting them, but in reality had orders to destroy them. For Artaxerxes, who was sensible how much the return of those Greeks into their country would cover him with disgrace, and discredit the majesty of the empire in the opinion of all nations, had left nothing undone to prevent it; and he desired their destruction, says Plutarch, more passionately than to conquer Cyrus himself, or to preserve his dominions. Those ten thousand men, however, notwithstanding so many obstacles, carried their point, and arrived, through a thousand dangers, victorious and triumphant in their own country. Antony long after, when pursued by the Parthians almost in the same country, finding himself in like danger, cried out in admiration of their invincible valour, *Oh the retreat of the ten thousand!*

And it was the good success of this famous retreat, which filled the people of Greece with contempt for Artaxerxes, by demonstrating to them, that gold, silver, luxury, voluptuousness, and a numerous seraglio of women, were the sole merit of the Great King; but that, as to the rest, his opulence and all his boasted power were only pride and vain ostentation. It was this prejudice, more universal than ever in Greece after this celebrated expedition, that gave birth to those bold enterprises of the Greeks, of which we shall soon treat, that made Artaxerxes tremble upon his throne, and brought the Persian empire to the very brink of destruction.

SECTION VII.—CONSEQUENCES OF CYRUS'S DEATH IN THE COURT OF ARTAXERXES. CRUELTY AND JEALOUSY OF PARYSATIS. STATIRA POISONED.

I RETURN to what passed after the battle of Cunaxa in the court of Artaxerxes.¹ As he believed that he had killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon that action as the most glorious of his life, he desired that all the world should think the same; as it was wounding him in the most tender part, to dispute that honour, or endeavour to share it, with him. The Carian soldier, whom we mentioned before, not contented with the great presents the king had made him upon a different pretext, perpetually declared to all that would hear him, that none but himself had killed Cyrus, and that the king did him great injustice in depriving him of the glory due to him. The prince, upon being informed of that insolence, conceived a jealousy equally base and cruel, and had the weakness to cause him to be delivered to Parysatis, who had sworn the destruction of all those that had any share in the death of her son. Animated by a haughty spirit of vengeance, she commanded five executioners to take that unfortunate wretch, and to make him suffer the most exquisite tortures during ten days; then after they had torn out his eyes, to pour melted brass into his ears, till he expired in that cruel agony; which was accordingly executed.

Mithridates also, having boasted in an entertainment where he had heated his brain with wine, that it was he who gave Cyrus his mortal wound, paid very dear for that absurd and imprudent vanity. He was condemned to suffer the punishment of the troughs,² one of the most cruel that was ever invented, and after having languished in torment seventeen days, died at last in exquisite misery.

There only remained, for the final execution of Parysatis's project, and fully to satiate her vengeance,

the punishment of the king's eunuch Messabates, who by his master's order had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus. But as there was nothing to take hold of in his conduct, Parysatis laid this snare for him. She was a woman of great address, had abundance of wit, and excelled at playing a certain game with dice. After the war, she had been reconciled with the king, played often with him, was of all his parties, had an unbounded complaisance for him, and far from contradicting him in any thing, anticipated his desires, did not blush at indulging his passions, and even of supplying him with the means of gratifying them. But she took especial care never to lose sight of him, and to leave Statira as little alone with him as she could, desiring to gain an absolute ascendancy over her son.

One day seeing the king entirely unemployed, and with no thoughts but of diverting himself, she proposed playing at dice with him for 1000 daricks,³ to which he readily consented. She suffered him to win, and paid down the money. But affecting regret and vexation, she pressed him to begin again, and to play with her for a eunuch. The king, who suspected nothing, complied, and they agreed to except five of the favourite eunuchs on each side, that the winner should take their choice out of the rest, and the loser be bound to deliver him. Having made these conditions, they sat down to play. The queen was all attention to the game, and made use of all her skill and address in it; besides which the dice favoured her. She won, and chose Messabates, for he was not one of those that had been excepted. As soon as she got him into her hands, before the king could have the least suspicion of the revenge she meditated, she delivered him to the executioners, and commanded them to flay him alive, to lay him afterwards upon three cross bars,⁴ and to stretch his skin before his eyes upon stakes prepared for that purpose; which was performed accordingly. When the king knew this, he was very sorry for it, and violently angry with his mother. But without giving herself any farther trouble about it, she told him with a smile, and in a jesting way, "Really, you are a great loser, and must be highly in the right, to be so much out of humour for a decrepid wretch of a eunuch, when I, who lost 1000 good daricks, and paid them down upon the spot, don't say a word, and am satisfied."

All these cruelties seem to have been only essays and preparations for a greater crime which Parysatis meditated. She had long retained in her heart a violent hatred for queen Statira, marks of which she had suffered to escape her upon many occasions. She perceived plainly, that her influence with the king her son, was only the effect of his respect and consideration for her as his mother; whereas that for Statira was founded in love and confidence, which rendered that influence much more secure. Of what is not the jealousy of an ambitious woman capable? She resolved to rid herself, whatever it cost her, of so formidable a rival.

For the more certain attainment of her ends, she feigned a reconciliation with her daughter-in-law, and treated her with all the exterior marks of sincere friendship and real confidence. The two queens, appearing therefore to have forgotten their former suspicions and quarrels, lived upon good terms together, saw one another as before, and ate at each other's apartments. But as both of them well knew what reliance was to be placed upon the friendships and caresses of the court, especially amongst the women, they were neither of them the dupe of the other; and as the same fears always subsisted, they kept upon their guard, and never ate but of the same dishes and pieces. Could one believe it possible to deceive so attentive and cautious a vigilance? Parysatis, one day when her daughter-in-law was at table with her, took an extremely exquisite bird that had been served up, cut it in two parts, gave one half to Statira, and ate the other herself. Statira soon after

¹ Plut. in Anton. p. 937. ² *τὸ τρυγαντήριον*.

³ Plut. in Artax. p. 1017.—1021.

⁴ See the description of this torture, as before given in this volume, p. 355.

⁵ The dar'ck was worth ten livres.

⁶ Plutarch explains this circumstance no farther.

was seized with sharp pains, and having quitted the table, died in the most horrible convulsions, not without inspiring the king with the most violent suspicions of his mother, of whose cruelty, and implacable and revengeful spirit, he was sufficiently sensible before. He made the strictest inquiry into the crime. All his mother's officers and domestics were seized, and put to the torture; when Gygis, one of Parysatis's women, and the confidant of all her secrets, confessed the whole. She had caused one side of a knife to be rubbed with poison, so that Parysatis, having cut the bird in two, put the sound part into her own mouth directly, and gave Statira the other that was poisoned. Gygis was put to death after the manner that the Persians punished prisoners, which is thus: they lay their heads upon a great and very broad stone, and beat upon it with another until they are entirely crushed, and have no remains of their former figure. As for Parysatis, the king contented himself with confining her to Babylon, whither she demanded to retire, and told her, that he would never set his foot within it whilst she was there.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.—THE GRECIAN CITIES OF IONIA IMPLORE AID OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS AGAINST ARTAXERXES. RARE PRUDENCE OF A LADY CONTINUED IN HER HUSBAND'S GOVERNMENT AFTER HIS DEATH. AGESILAUS ELECTED KING OF SPARTA. HIS CHARACTER.

THE cities of Ionia,¹ that had followed the party of Cyrus, apprehending the resentment of Tissaphernes, had applied to the Lacedæmonians as the deliverers of Greece, requesting that they would support them in the possession of the liberty they enjoyed, and prevent their country from being ravaged. We have already said that Thembron was sent thither, to whose troops Xenophon had joined his, after their return from Persia. Them-

A. M. 3605. Thembron was soon recalled upon some Ant. J. C. 399. discontent, and had for his successor Dercyllidas, surnamed Sisypus, from his industry in finding resources, and his ability in inventing machines of war. He took upon him the command of the army at Ephesus. When he arrived there, he was apprized, that there was a dispute between the two satraps, who commanded in the country.

The provinces of the Persian monarchy, of which several, situate at the extremity of the empire, required too much application to be governed immediately by the prince, were confided to the care of the great lords commonly called Satraps. They had each of them in their government an almost sovereign authority, and were, properly speaking, not unlike the viceroys we see in our days in some neighbouring states. They were supplied with a number of troops sufficient for the defence of the country. They appointed all officers, disposed of the governments of cities, and were charged with levying and remitting the tributes to the prince. They had power to raise troops, to treat with neighbouring states, and even with the generals of the enemy—in a word, to do every thing necessary to maintain good order and tranquillity in their governments. They were independent of one another; and though they served the same master, and it was their duty to concur to the same ends, nevertheless, each being more interested in the particular advantage of his own province, than in the general good of the empire, they often differed among themselves, formed opposite designs, refused aid to their colleagues in necessity, and sometimes even acted entirely against them. The remoteness of the court, and the absence of the prince, gave room for these dissensions; and perhaps a secret policy contributed to keep them up, to elude or prevent conspiracies, which too

good an understanding amongst the governors might have excited.

Dercyllidas having heard, therefore, that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were at variance, made a truce with the former, that he might not have them both upon his hands at the same time, entered Pharnabazus's province, and advanced as far as Æolia.

Zenis, the Dardanian, had governed that province under that satrap's authority; and as after his death it was to have been given to another, Mania, his widow, went to Pharnabazus with troops and presents, and told him, that having been the wife of a man who had rendered him great services, she desired him not to deprive her of her husband's reward; that she would serve him with the same zeal and fidelity; and that, if she failed in either, he was always at liberty to take her government from her. She was continued in it by this means, and acquitted herself with all the judgment and ability that could have been expected from the most consummate master in the art of ruling. To the ordinary tributes which her husband had paid, she added presents of extraordinary magnificence; and when Pharnabazus came into her province, she entertained him more splendidly than any of the other governors. She was not contented with the conservation of the cities committed to her care, she made new conquests, and took Larissa,² Anaxita and Colona.

Hence we may observe, that prudence, good sense and courage, are of all sexes. She was present in all expeditions in a chariot, and in person decreed rewards and punishments. None of the neighbouring provinces had a finer army than hers, in which she had a great number of Greek soldiers in her pay. She even attended Pharnabazus in all his enterprises, and was of no common support to him. So that the satrap, who knew all the value of so extraordinary a merit, did more honour to this lady, than to all the other governors. He even admitted her into his council, and treated her with such a distinction as might have excited jealousy, if the modesty and affability of that lady had not prevented bad effects, by throwing in a manner a veil over all her perfections, which softened their lustre, and let them only occasionally appear as objects of admiration.

She had no enemies but in her own family. Midias, her son-in-law, stung with the reproach of suffering a woman to command in his place, and abusing the entire confidence she reposed in him, which gave him access to her at all times, strangled her with her son. After her death, he seized two fortresses, wherein she had secured her treasures: the other cities declared against him. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime. Dercyllidas happily arrived at this juncture. All the fortresses of Æolia, either voluntarily or by force, surrendered to him, and Midias was deprived of the possessions he had so unjustly acquired. The Lacedæmonian general having granted Pharnabazus a truce, took up his winter quarters in Bithynia, to avoid being chargeable to his allies.

The next year,³ being continued A. M. 3606 in the command, he crossed over Ant. J. C. 398 into Thrace, and arrived in the Chersonesus. He knew that the deputies of the country had been at Sparta, to represent the necessity of fortifying the isthmus with a good wall, against the frequent incursions of the barbarians, which prevented the cultivation of the lands. Having measured the space, which is more than a league in breadth, he distributed the work amongst the soldiers, and the wall was finished in the autumn of the same year. Within this space were enclosed eleven cities, several ports, a great number of arable lands, and plantations, with pastures of all kinds. The work being finished, he returned into Asia, where he reviewed the cities, and found them all in good condition.

Conon the Athenian, after losing the battle of Egospotamos, having condemned himself to a volun-

¹ From the Mysians and Pysidians

² Xenoph. p. 487, 488.

³ Plut. in Artax. p. 102.

tary banishment, continued in the isle of Cyprus with king Evagoras, not only for the safety of his person, but also in expectation of a change of affairs; like one, says Plutarch, who waits the return of the tide before he embarks. He had always in view the re-establishment of the Athenian power, to which his defeat had given a mortal wound; and full of fidelity and zeal for his country, though little favourable to him, perpetually meditated the means of raising it from its ruins, and restoring it to its ancient splendour.

This Athenian general, knowing that, in order to succeed in his views, he had occasion for a powerful support, wrote to Artaxerxes to explain his projects to him, and ordered the person who carried his letter to apply to Ctesias, who would give it into the king's own hands. It was accordingly delivered to that physician, who, it is said, though he did not approve the contents of it, added to what Conon had written, "that he desired the king would send Ctesias to him, being a person very capable of doing him service, especially in maritime affairs." Pharnabazus,¹ in concert with Conon, was gone to court to complain against the conduct of Tissaphernes, as too avowedly in favour of the Lacedæmonians. At the urgent solicitations of Pharnabazus, the king ordered 500 talents² to be paid to him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give Conon the command of it. He sent Ctesias into Greece, who, after having visited Cnidos, his native country, went to Sparta.

This Ctesias had at first been in the service of Cyrus,³ whom he had followed in his expedition. He was taken prisoner in the battle wherein Cyrus was killed, and was made use of to dress the wounds Artaxerxes had received, of which he acquitted himself so well that the king retained him in his service, and made him his first physician. He passed several years in his service in that capacity. Whilst he was there, the Greeks, in all their business at the court, applied themselves to him; as Conon did on the present occasion. His long residence in Persia, and at the court, had given him the necessary time and means for his information in the history of the country, which he wrote in three-and-twenty books. The first six contained the history of the Assyrians and Babylonians, from Ninus and Semiramis down to Cyrus. The other seventeen treated of the Persian affairs from the beginning of Cyrus's reign to the third year of the 95th Olympiad, which agrees with the 398th year before JESU'S CHRIST. He wrote also a history of India. Photius has given us several extracts of both these histories, and these extracts are all that remain of the works of Ctesias. He often contradicts Herodotus, and differs sometimes also from Xenophon. He was not much esteemed by the ancients, who speak of him as of a very vain man, whose veracity is not to be relied on, and who has inserted fables, and sometimes even lies, in his history.

Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus,⁴

A. M. 3607. though secretly each other's enemies, had upon the king's orders united their troops, to oppose the enterprises of Dercyllidas, who had marched into Caria. They had reduced him to post himself so disadvantageously, that he must inevitably have perished, had they charged him immediately, without giving him time to look about him. Pharnabazus was of this opinion; but Tissaphernes, dreading the valour of the Greeks who had followed Cyrus, which he had experienced, and whom he conceived all the others resembled, proposed an interview, which was accepted. Dercyllidas having demanded, that the Grecian cities should continue free, and Tissaphernes, that the army and generals of Lacedæmon should retire; they made a truce, till the answer of their respective masters should be known.

Whilst these things were passing in Asia,⁵ the Lacedæmonians resolved to chastise the insolence of the people of Elis, who, not content with having entered into an alliance with their enemies in the Peloponnesian war, prevented their disputing the prizes in the Olympic games. Upon pretence of the non-payment of a fine by Sparta, they had insulted one of their citizens during the games, and hindered Agis from sacrificing in the temple of Jupiter Olympius. That king was charged with this expedition, which did not terminate till the third year after. He could have taken their city of Olympia, which had no works, but contented himself with plundering the suburbs, and the places for the exercises, which were very fine. They demanded peace, which was granted, and were suffered to retain the superintendency of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, to which they had not much right, but were more worthy of that honour than those who disputed it with them.

Agis on his return fell sick,⁶ and died upon arriving at Sparta. Almost divine honours were paid to his memory; and after the expiration of some days, according to custom, Leotychides and Agesilaus, one the son and the other the brother of the deceased, disputed the crown. The latter maintained, that his competitor was not the son of Agis, and supported his assertion by the confession of the queen herself, who knew best, and who had often, as well as her husband, acknowledged as much. In fact, there was a current report, that she had him by Alcibiades,⁷ as has been related in its place, and that the Athenian general had corrupted her by a present of 1000 daricks.⁸ Agis protested the contrary at his death. Leotychides having thrown himself at his feet, all bathed in tears, he could not refuse the favour he implored of him, and owned him for his son before all that were present.

Most of the Spartans charmed with the virtue and great merit of Agesilaus, and deeming it an extraordinary advantage to have a person for their king, who had been educated amongst them, and had passed like them through all the rigour of the Spartan education, supported him with their whole power. An ancient oracle, that advised Sparta to beware of a *lame reign*, was urged against him. Lysander only made a jest of it, and turned its sense against Leotychides himself; endeavouring to prove, that as a bastard, he was the lame king whom the oracle intended to caution them against. Agesilaus, as well by his own great qualities as the powerful support of Lysander, carried it against his nephew, and was declared king.

As by the laws the kingdom had devolved to Agis, his brother Agesilaus, who seemed to be destined to pass his life as a private person, had been educated like other children in the Spartan discipline, which as to the mode of life was very rough, and full of laborious exercise, but taught youth obedience perfectly well.⁹ The law dispensed with this education only to such children as were designed for the throne. Agesilaus therefore had this peculiar advantage; that he did not arrive at commanding till he had first learned perfectly well how to obey. From thence it was, that of all the kings of Sparta, he best knew how to make his subjects love and esteem him,¹⁰ because that prince, to the great qualities with which nature had endowed him for command and sovereignty, had united by his education the advantage of being humane and popular.

It is surprising that Sparta, a city so renowned in point of education and policy, should have conceived it proper to abate any thing of its severity and discipline in favour of the princes who were to reign; they

¹ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 492.

² Xenoph. p. 493. Plut. in Lys. p. 445. In Agesil. p. 507.

³ Athen. xii. p. 534. ⁴ 1000 talents.

⁵ Hence it was, that the poet Simonides called Sparta *the tamer of men*, ἡ καταμαρτυρομένη, as that of the Grecian cities which rendered its inhabitants by good habits the most active and vigorous, and at the same time the most obedient to the laws, of any: αὐτὴ μαλιστα ἔχει τοὺς ἄνθρωποις τοὺς νόμους πεποιθένους καὶ χειρότεροις ἄλλοις.

⁶ Το ὄφειν ὑπερνοκτεῖναι ἑσπέρην πρεσβυτάτην αἰὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ διατίθεσθαι καὶ φιλοδωρεῖσθαι.

¹ Diod. l. xiv. p. 207. Justin. l. vi. c. 1.

² 500,000 crowns, or about 112,000 sterling.

³ Strab. l. xiv. p. 656. Plut. in Artax. p. 1014—1017—

1030. Diod. l. xiv. p. 273. Ariet. de Hist. Anim. l. viii. c.

⁴ Phot. Cod. LXXII.

⁵ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 459, 490. Diod. l. xiv. p. 207.

having most need of being early habituated to the yoke of obedience, in order to their being the better qualified to command.

Plutarch¹ observes, that from his infancy Agesilaus was remarkable for uniting qualities in himself, which are generally incompatible; a vivacity of temper, a vehemence, a resolution invincible in appearance, an ardent passion for being first and surpassing all others with a gentleness, submission, and docility that complied at a single word, and made him infinitely sensible of the slightest reprimand, so that every thing might be obtained of him from the motives of honour, but nothing by fear or violence.

He was lame, but that defect was covered by the gracefulness of his person, and still more by the gaiety with which he supported and rallied it first himself. It may even be said, that this infirmity of his body set his valour and passion for glory in a stronger light; there being no labour nor enterprise, however difficult, that he would refuse upon account of that inconvenience.

Praise,² without any air of truth and sincerity, was so far from giving him pleasure, that it offended him, and was never received by him as such, but when it came from the mouth of those, who upon other occasions had represented his failings to him with freedom. He would never suffer his picture to be drawn during his life, and even when dying expressly forbade any image to be made of him, either in colours or relief. His reason was,³ that his great actions, if he had done any, would supply the place of monuments; without which, all the statues in the world would do him no manner of honour. We only know, that he was of small stature, which the Spartans did not like in their kings; and Theophrastus affirms, that the Ephori laid a fine upon their king Archidamus, the father of him we speak of, for having espoused a very little woman: *For, said they, she'll give us puppets instead of kings.*⁴

It has been remarked,⁵ that Agesilaus, in his way of living with the Spartans, behaved better with regard to his enemies than his friends; for he never did the least wrong to the former, and often violated justice in favour of the latter. He would have been ashamed not to have honoured and rewarded his enemies, when their actions deserved it; and was not able to reprove his friends when they committed faults. He would even support them when they were in the wrong,⁶ and upon such occasions looked upon the zeal for justice as a vain pretence to cover the refusal of serving them. And in proof of this, a short letter is cited, written by him to a judge in recommendation of a friend; the words are: "If Nicias be not guilty, acquit him for his innocence; if he be, acquit him for my sake; but however it be, acquit him."

It is understanding the rights and privileges of friendship very ill, to be capable of rendering it in this manner the accomplice of crimes, and the protectress of bad actions. The fundamental law of friendship, says Cicero, is never to ask of, or grant anything to friends that is not consistent with justice and honour. *Hæc prima lex in amicitia sancitur; ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciendum rogati.*⁷

Agesilaus was not so delicate in this point, at least in the beginning, and omitted no occasion of gratifying his friends, and even his enemies. By this officious and obliging conduct, supported by his extraordinary merit, he acquired great credit, and almost absolute power in the city, which ran so high as to render him suspected by his country. The Ephori, to prevent its effects, and give a check to his ambition, laid a fine upon him; alleging as their sole reason,⁸ that he attached the hearts of the citizens to himself alone, which were the right of the republic, and ought not to be possessed but in common.

When he was declared king, he was put in possession of the whole estate of his brother Agis, of which

Leotychides was deprived as a bastard. But seeing the relations of that prince, on the side of his mother Lampito, were all very poor, though persons of much worth, he divided the whole inheritance with them, and by that act of generosity acquired great reputation, and the good will of all the world, instead of the envy and hatred which he might have drawn upon himself by the inheritance. These sort of sacrifices are glorious, though rare, and can never be sufficiently esteemed.

Never was king of Sparta so powerful as Agesilaus; and it was only, as Xenophon says, by obeying his country in every thing, that he acquired so great an authority; which seems a kind of paradox, thus explained by Plutarch. The greatest power was vested at that time in the Ephori and senate. The office of the Ephori subsisted only one year; they were instituted to limit the too great power of the kings, and to serve as a barrier against it, as we have observed elsewhere. For this reason the kings of Sparta, from their earliest establishment, had always retained a kind of hereditary aversion for them, and continually opposed their measures. Agesilaus took a quite contrary method. Instead of being perpetually at war with them, and clashing upon all occasions with their measures, he made it his business to cultivate their good opinion, treated them always with the utmost deference and regard, never entered upon the least enterprise without having first communicated to them, and upon their summons quitted every thing, and repaired to the senate with the utmost promptitude and resignation. Whenever he sat upon his throne to administer justice, if the Ephori entered, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. By all these instances of respect, he seemed to add new dignity to their office, whilst in reality he augmented his own power, without its being observed, and added to the sovereignty a grandeur by so much the more solid and permanent, as it was the effect of the people's good will and esteem for him. The greatest of the Roman emperors, as Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were convinced, that the utmost a prince could do to honour and exalt the dignity of the principal magistrates, was only adding to his own power and strengthening his authority, which neither should nor can be founded in any thing but justice.

Such was Agesilaus, of whom much will be said hereafter, and whose character it was therefore necessary to describe.

SECTION II.—AGESILAUS SETS OUT FOR ASIA. LYSANDER FALLS OUT WITH HIM, AND RETURNS TO SPARTA. HIS AMBITIOUS DESIGNS TO ALTER THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE.

AGESILAUS had scarce ascended the throne,⁹ when accounts came from Asia that the king of Persia was fitting out a great fleet in Phœnicia, with intent to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the empire of the sea. Conon's letters, seconded by the remonstrances of Pharnabazus, who had in concert represented to Artaxerxes the power of Sparta as formidable, had made a strong impression upon that prince. From that time he had it seriously in his thoughts to humble that proud republic, by raising up its rival, and by that means re-establishing the ancient balance between them, which could alone assure his safety, by keeping them perpetually employed against each other, and thereby prevented from uniting their forces against him.

Lysander, who desired to be sent into Asia, in order to re-establish his creatures and friends in the government of the cities, from which Sparta had removed them, strongly inclined Agesilaus to take upon himself the charge of the war, and to anticipate the barbarian king, by attacking him at a great distance from Greece, before he should have finished his preparations. The republic having made this proposal to him, he could not refuse it, and charged himself with the expedition against Artaxerxes, upon condition

¹ In Agesil. 366. ² Plut. in Moral. p. 53. ³ Ibid. p. 191.

⁴ Οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς, ὡς τὸν ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖς ἵδμεν.

⁵ Plut. in Agesil. p. 398.

⁶ Ibid. p. 603.

⁷ De amicit. n. 40.

⁸ Ὅτι τοὺς κοινούς πολίτας, ἰδίους πᾶσι.

⁹ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 495, 496. Id. de Agesil. p. 632. Plut. in Agesil. p. 398. and in Lysand. p. 446.

That thirty Spartan captains should be granted him, to assist him and compose his council, with two thousand new citizens to be chosen out of the helots who had been lately made freemen, and six thousand troops of the allies, which was immediately resolved. Lysander was placed at the head of the thirty Spartans, not only on account of his great reputation, and the authority he had acquired, but for the particular friendship between him and Agesilaus, who was indebted to him for the throne, as well as for the honour which had been lately conferred upon him of being elected generalissimo.

The glorious return of the Greeks who had followed Cyrus, whom the whole power of Persia had not been able to prevent from retreating into their own country, had inspired all Greece with a wonderful confidence in her own strength, and a supreme contempt for the barbarians. In this disposition of the public mind, the Lacedæmonians conceived it would be a reproach to them, not to take advantage of so favourable a conjuncture for delivering the Greeks in Asia from their subjection to those barbarians, and for putting an end to the outrages and violences with which they were continually oppressing them. They had already attempted this by their generals Thimbron and Dercyllidas; but all their endeavours having hitherto proved ineffectual, they referred the conduct of this war to the care of Agesilaus. He promised them either to conclude a glorious peace with the Persians, or to employ them so effectually, as should leave them neither leisure nor inclination to carry the war into Greece. The king had great views, and thought of no less than attacking Artaxerxes in Persia itself.

When he arrived at Ephesus,¹ Tissaphernes sent to demand what reason had induced him to come into Asia, and why he had taken up arms. He replied, that he came to aid the Greeks who inhabited there, and to re-establish them in their ancient liberty. The satrap, who was not yet prepared, made use of art in the place of force, and assured him that his master would give the Grecian cities of Asia their liberty, provided he committed no acts of hostility till the return of the couriers. Agesilaus agreed, and the truce was sworn to on both sides. Tissaphernes, who laid no great stress upon an oath, took advantage of this delay to assemble troops on all sides. The Lacedæmonian general was apprised of it, but however kept his word; being convinced, that in affairs of state the breach of faith can have but a very short and precarious success; whereas a reputation established upon inviolable fidelity in the observance of engagements, which even the perfidy of other contracting parties has not power to alter, will establish a credit and confidence equally useful and glorious. In fact, Xenophon remarks, that this religious observance of treaties gained him the universal esteem and opinion of the cities; whilst the contrary conduct of Tissaphernes entirely lost him their favour.

Agesilaus made use of this interval in acquiring an exact knowledge of the state of the cities, and in making suitable regulations.

He found great disorder everywhere, their government being neither democratical, as under the Athenians, nor aristocratical, as Lysander had established it. The people of the country had had no communication with Agesilaus,² nor had ever known him; for which reason they made no court to him, conceiving, that he had the title of general for form sake only, and that the whole power was really vested in Lysander. As no governor had ever done so much good to his friends or hurt to his enemies, it is not wonderful that he was so much beloved by the one and feared by the other. All therefore were eager to pay their homage to him, were every day in crowds at his door, and made his train very numerous when he went abroad; whilst Agesilaus remained almost alone. Such a conduct could not fail

of offending a general and king extremely sensible and delicate in what regarded his authority, though otherwise not jealous of any one's merit, but, on the contrary, much inclined to distinguish it with his favour. He did not dissemble his disgust. He no longer paid regard to Lysander's recommendations, and ceased to employ him himself. Lysander presently perceived this alteration towards him. He discontinued his applications for his friends to the king, desired them not to visit him any more, nor attach themselves to him, but to address themselves directly to the king, and to cultivate the favour of those who in the present times had power to serve and advance their creatures. The greatest part of them gave over importuning him with their affairs, but did not cease to pay their court to him. On the contrary, they were only more assiduous than ever about his person, attended him in throngs when he took the air abroad, and regularly assisted at all his exercises. Lysander, naturally vain, and long accustomed to the homage and submission that attended on absolute power, did not take sufficient care to remove the busy crowd from his person, that continually made their addresses to him with more application than ever.

This ridiculous affectation of authority and grandeur grew still more and more offensive to Agesilaus, and seemed as if intended to insult him. He resented it so highly, that having given the most considerable commands and best governments to private officers, he appointed Lysander commissary of the stores, and distributor of provisions; and afterwards, to insult and deride the Ionians, he told them, *that they might now go and consult his master-butcher.*

Lysander then thought it incumbent upon him to speak, and to come to an explanation with him. Their conversation was brief and laconic:—"Certainly, my lord," said Lysander, "you know very well how to depress your friends."—"Yes, when they would set themselves above me; but when they study to exalt my dignity, I know also how to let them share in it."—"But perhaps, my lord," replied Lysander, "I have been injured by false reports, and things I never did have been imputed to me. I must beg, therefore, if it be only on account of the strangers, who have all of them their eyes upon us, that you would give me an employment in your army, wherein you shall think me least capable of displeasing, and most of serving you effectually."

The result of this conversation was, that Agesilaus gave him the lieutenancy of the Hellespont. In this employment he retained all his resentment, without however neglecting any part of his duty, or omitting any step that might conduce to the success of affairs. Some short time after he returned to Sparta, without any marks of honour or distinction, extremely incensed against Agesilaus, and trusting to make him feel his resentment very sensibly.

It must be allowed that Lysander's conduct, as we have here represented it, denotes a vanity and narrowness of mind on his side, highly unworthy of his reputation. Perhaps Agesilaus carried too far his sensibility and delicacy on the point of honour, and was a little too severe upon a friend and benefactor, whom a secret reprimand, attended with frankness and expressions of kindness, might have reclaimed to his duty. But, brilliant as Lysander's merit, and considerable as the services he had rendered Agesilaus, might be, they could not all of them give him a right, not only to an equality with his king and general, but to the superiority he affected, which in some measure tended to make the other insignificant. He ought to have remembered, that it is never allowable for an inferior to forget himself, and to exceed the bounds of a just subordination.

Upon his return to Sparta³ he had it seriously in his thoughts to execute a project which he had

¹ Xenoph. p. 496 and 692.

² Plut. in Agesil. p. 599, 600. In Lysand. p. 446, 447.

³ Plut. in Lysand. p. 447, 448. Diad. l. xiv. p. 244, 245.

many years revolved in his mind. At Sparta there were only two families, or rather branches, of the posterity of Hercules, who had a right to the throne. When Lysander had attained to that high degree of power which his great actions had acquired him, he began to see with pain a city, whose glory had been so much augmented by his exploits, under the government of princes to whom he was inferior neither in valour nor birth; for he was descended, as well as themselves, from Hercules. He therefore sought means to deprive those two houses of the sole succession to the crown, and to extend that right to all the other branches of the Heraclidæ, and even, according to some, to all the natives of Sparta; flattering himself, that if his design took effect, no Spartan could be capable of disputing that honour with him, and that he should have the preference over all others.

This ambitious project of Lysander shows, that the greatest captains are often those from whom a republic has most to apprehend. Those haughty, valiant spirits, accustomed to absolute power in armies, bring back with victory a daring loftiness of mind, always to be dreaded in a free state. Sparta, in giving Lysander unlimited power, and leaving it for so many years in his hands, did not sufficiently consider, that nothing is more dangerous than to confide to persons of superior merit and abilities employments which confer supreme authority, which naturally exposes them to the temptation of rendering themselves independent, and retaining in their own hands absolute power. Lysander was not proof against it, and practised secretly to open himself a way to the throne.

The undertaking was bold, and required long preparations. He thought it impossible to succeed without he could first, through fear of the divinity and the terrors of superstition, amaze and subdue the citizens into a more easy disposition to receive what he wanted to have them understand; for he knew that at Sparta, as well as throughout all Greece, nothing of the least importance was determined, without the oracles being previously consulted. He strove by great presents to influence the priests and priestesses of Delphi, Dodona, and Ammon, though ineffectually at that time; and the latter even sent ambassadors to Sparta, to accuse him of impiety and sacrilege; but he extricated himself from that difficulty by his credit and address.

It was necessary to set other engines at work. A woman in the kingdom of Pontus, affirming that she was with child by Apollo, had been delivered some years before of a son, to whom the name of Silenus was given, and the greatest persons of that nation had contended with eagerness for the honour of nursing and educating him. Lysander, taking this wondrous birth for the commencement, and in a manner the groundwork, of the plot he was meditating, supplied the rest himself, by employing a good number of persons, and those of no inconsiderable station, to spread abroad, by way of prologue to the piece, the miraculous birth of this infant; and, as they did this without the appearance of any affectation, people were disposed to believe it. This being done, they brought certain rumours from Delphi to Sparta, which were industriously spread abroad every where, that the priests of the temple had in their custody some books of very ancient oracles, which they kept concealed from all the world, and of which it was not permitted, either for them or any other persons whatsoever to have any knowledge; and that only a son of Apollo, who was to come in process of time, after having given undoubted proofs of his birth to those who had the books in their keeping, was to take and carry them away.

All this being well arranged, Silenus was to present himself to the priests, and to demand those oracles as the son of Apollo; and the priests, who were in the secret, as actors well prepared and fully instructed in their parts, were on their side to make the most exact and circumstantial inquiry into every thing, not without affecting great difficulty, and asking endless questions for the full proof of his birth. At length, as

absolutely convinced that this Silenus was the real son of Apollo, they were to produce the books, and deliver them to him; after which, this son of Apollo was to read the prophecies contained in them, in the presence of all the world; and particularly that for which the whole contrivance had been fabricated. The purport of this prediction was, "That it was more expedient and advantageous for the Spartans to elect no king for the future but the most worthy of their citizens." Lysander in consequence was to mount the tribunal, to harangue the citizens, and induce them to make this alteration. Cleon of Halicarnassus, a celebrated rhetorician, had composed a very eloquent discourse for him upon the subject which he had got by heart.

Silenus, when grown up, having repaired to Greece in order to play his part, Lysander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry, by the timidity and desertion of one of his principal actors, who broke his word, and disappeared at the very instant it was to have been performed. Though this intrigue had been carried on a great while, it was transacted with so much secrecy to the very time that it was to have made its appearance, that nothing of it was known during the life of Lysander. How it came to light after his death we shall soon relate, but must at present return to Tissaphernes.

SECTION III.—EXPEDITION OF AGESILAUS IN ASIA. DISGRACE AND DEATH OF TISSAPHERNES. SPARTA GIVES AGESILAUS THE COMMAND OF ITS ARMIES BY SEA AND LAND. HE DEPUTES PISANDER TO COMMAND THE FLEET. INTERVIEW OF AGESILAUS AND PHARNABAZUS.

WHEN Tissaphernes¹ had received the troops sent to him by the king, and drawn together all his forces, he sent to command Agesilaus to retire out of Asia, and declared war against him in case of refusal. His officers were all alarmed, not believing him in a condition to oppose the great army of the Persian king. For himself, he heard Tissaphernes's heralds with a gay and easy countenance, and bade them tell their master, that he was under a very great obligation to him "for having made the gods, by his perjury, the enemies of Persia and the friends of Greece." He promised himself great things from this expedition, and would have thought it an exceeding disgrace for him, that 10,000 Greeks, under the command of Xenophon, should have passed through the heart of Asia to the Grecian sea, and beaten the king of Persia as often as he appeared against them; and that he who commanded the Lacedæmonians, whose empire extended all over Greece by sea and land, should not execute some brilliant exploit worthy of remembrance.

At first, therefore, to take vengeance of the perfidy of Tissaphernes by a just and allowable deceit, he made a feint of marching his army into Caria, the residence of that satrap; and as soon as the barbarian had caused all his troops to march that way, he turned short, and fell upon Phrygia, where he took many towns, and amassed immense treasures, which he distributed amongst the officers and soldiers; letting his friends see, says Plutarch, that to break a treaty and violate an oath, is to despise the gods themselves; and that, on the contrary, to deceive an enemy by the stratagems of war, is not only just and glorious, but a sensible delight attended with the greatest advantages.

The spring being come, he assembled all his forces at Ephesus; and to exercise his soldiers, he proposed prizes both for the horse and foot. This small inducement set every thing in motion. The place for exercises was perpetually full of all kinds of troops, and the city of Ephesus seemed only a palestra, and a school of war. The whole market-place was filled with horses and arms, and the shops with different kinds of military equipages. Agesilaus was seen returning from the exercises, followed by a crowd of officers and soldiers, all of them crowned with

¹ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 407—5/2. Idem. de Agasil p. 652—656. Plut. in Agasil. p. 600.

wreaths, which they were going to deposit in the temple of Diana, to the great admiration and delight of every one. For, says Xenophon, where piety and discipline are seen to flourish, the best hopes must be conceived.

To give his soldiers new valour by inspiring them with contempt for their enemies, he made use of this contrivance. He one day ordered the commissaries, who had charge of the booty, to strip the prisoners and expose them to sale. There were abundance who were ready to buy their habits; but as to the prisoners, their bodies were so soft, white, and delicate, having been nurtured and brought up in the shade, that they laughed at them, as of neither service nor value. Agesilaus took this occasion to approach and say to his soldiers, pointing to the men, *See there against whom you fight; and showing them their rich spoils, and there for what you fight.*

When the season for taking the field returned, Agesilaus gave out that he would march into Lydia. Tissaphernes, who had not forgotten the first stratagem he had used in regard to him, and was not willing to be deceived a second time, made his troops march directly for Caria; not doubting but at this time Agesilaus would turn his arms that way; the rather because it was natural for him, as he wanted cavalry, to endeavour to make a rough and difficult country the seat of action, which might render the horse of an enemy useless and unserviceable. But he deceived himself: Agesilaus entered Lydia, and approached Sardis. Tissaphernes hastened thither with his horse, with intent to relieve the place. Agesilaus, knowing that his infantry could not yet have had time to arrive, thought proper to take the advantage of so favourable an opportunity to give him battle before he had re-assembled all his troops. He drew up his army in two lines; the first he formed of his squadrons, whose intervals he filled up with platoons of the light-armed foot, and ordered them to begin the charge; whilst he followed with the second line, composed of his heavy-armed infantry. The Barbarians did not sustain the first shock, but took to their heels immediately. The Greeks pursued them, and forced their camp, where they made a great slaughter, and a still greater booty.

After this battle the troops of Agesilaus were at entire liberty to plunder and ravage the whole country of the Great King, and at the same time had the satisfaction to see that prince inflict an exemplary punishment upon Tissaphernes, who was a very wicked man, and a most dangerous enemy of the Greeks. The king had already received abundance of complaints against his conduct.¹ Upon this occasion he was accused of treason, as not having done his duty in the battle. Queen Parysatis, always actuated in her hatred and revenge against those who had any share in the death of her son Cyrus, did not a little contribute to the death of Tissaphernes, by aggravating with all her power the charges against him; for she had been entirely restored to favour by the king her son.

As Tissaphernes had great authority in Asia, the king was afraid to attack him openly, but thought it necessary to take suitable precautions, in order to secure so powerful an officer, who might prove a dangerous enemy. He charged Tithraustes with that important commission and gave him two letters at the same time. The first was for Tissaphernes, and contained the king's orders in regard to the war with the Greeks, with full power to act as was requisite. The second was addressed to Ariæus, governor of Carissia; by which the king commanded him to assist Tithraustes with his advice and all his forces in seizing Tissaphernes. He lost no time, and sent to desire Tissaphernes would come to him, that they might confer together upon the operations of the ensuing campaign.—Tissaphernes, who suspected nothing, went to him with only a guard of 300 men. Whilst he was in a bath, without sabre or other arms, he was

seized, and put into the hands of Tithraustes, who caused his head to be struck off, and sent it immediately to Persia. The king gave it to Parysatis—an agreeable present to a princess of her violent and vindictive temper. Though this conduct of Artaxerxes seems little worthy of a king, nobody lamented the death of that satrap, who had no veneration for the gods, nor any regard for men; who looked upon probity and honour as empty names; who made a jest of the most sacred oaths, and believed the whole ability and policy of a statesman consisted in knowing how to deceive others by hypocrisy, fraud, perfidy, and perjury.

Tithraustes had a third letter from the king, whereby he was appointed to command the armies in the room of Tissaphernes. After having executed his commission,² he sent great presents to Agesilaus, to induce him to enter more readily into his views and interests; and ordered him to be told, that as the cause of the war was now removed, and the author of all these commotions put to death, nothing opposed an accommodation; that the king of Persia consented that the cities of Asia should enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, provided he would withdraw his troops and return into Greece. Agesilaus replied, that he could conclude nothing without the orders of Sparta, upon whom alone depended the peace; that as for him, he was better pleased with enriching his soldiers than himself: that the Greeks besides thought it more glorious and honourable to take spoils from their enemies than to accept their presents. However, as he was not unwilling to give Tithraustes the satisfaction of removing out of his province, and of expressing his gratitude to him for having punished the common enemy of the Greeks, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabazus. Tithraustes had himself proposed that expedition to him, and paid him thirty talents for the charges of his journey.

Upon his march, he received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, with orders to take upon him the command of the naval army, and liberty to depute whom he thought fit in his stead. By these new powers he saw himself absolute commander of all the troops of that state in Asia both by sea and land. This resolution was taken, in order that all operations being directed by one and the same head, and the two armies acting in concert, the plans for the service might be executed with more uniformity, and every thing conspire to the same end. Sparta till then had never conferred this honour upon any of her generals, of intrusting to him at the same time the command of the armies by sea and land. So that all the world agreed, that he was the greatest personage of his time, and best sustained the high reputation he enjoyed. But he was a man, and had his failings.

The first thing he did was to establish Pisander his lieutenant in the fleet; in which he seemed to have committed a considerable fault; because, as he had about him many older and more experienced captains, yet without regard to the service of the public, to do honour to a relation, and to please his wife, who was Pisander's sister, he intrusted him with the command of the fleet; an employment much above his abilities, though he was not without his merit.

This is the common temptation of persons in power, who believe they possess it only for themselves and their families, as if the advantage of relation to them was a sufficient title and qualification for posts which require great abilities. They do not reflect, that they not only expose the affairs of a state to ruin by their private views, but sacrifice besides the interests of their own glory, which cannot be maintained but by successes which it were inconsistent to expect from instruments so ill chosen.

Agesilaus continued with his army in Phrygia,³ upon the lands of Pharnabazus's government, where he lived in abundance of all things,

A. M. 3610
Ant. J. C. 394

¹ Xenoph. p. 501 and 657. Plut. in Artax. p. 1022, and in Agesil. p. 601.

² Diod. l. xiv. p. 299. Polyæn. Strateg. l. vii. VOL. I. — 47

³ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. p. 501. Plut. in Agesil. p. 601.

⁴ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 507—510.

and amassed great sums of money. From thence advancing as far as Paphlagonia, he made an alliance with king Cotys, who earnestly desired his amity, from the sense he entertained of his faith in the observance of treaties and his other virtues. The same motive had already induced Spithridates, one of the king's principal officers, to quit the service of Pharnabazus, and go over to Agesilaus, to whom, since his revolt, he had rendered great services; for he had a great body of troops, and was very brave. This officer, having entered Phrygia, had laid waste the whole country under Pharnabazus, who never dared to appear in the field against him, nor even trust himself to his fortresses; but carrying away whatever was most valuable and dear to him, he kept flying continually before him and retired from one place to another, changing his camp every day. Spithridates at length, taking with him some Spartan troops, with Herippidas (the chief of the new council of thirty sent by the republic to Agesilaus the second year,) watched him one day so closely, and attacked him so successfully, that he made himself master of his camp, and of all the rich spoils with which it abounded. Herippidas, injudiciously setting himself up as an inexorable comptroller, was for bringing the booty that had been secreted to an account; forced even the soldiers of Spithridates to restore what they had taken, and by visiting their tents and searching them with an unseasonable exactitude and severity, affronted Spithridates to such a degree, that he withdrew directly to Sardis with his Paphlagonians.

It is said, that in this whole expedition nothing so sensibly affected Agesilaus as the retreat of Spithridates. For besides his being very sorry for the loss of so good an officer and so good troops, he apprehended being reproached with mean and sordid avarice; a vice equally dishonourable to himself and his country, and the slightest suspicion of which he had taken pains to avoid during his whole life. He did not think it consistent with the duty of his office to shut his eyes, through slothful ease and indolence, against all the malversations that were committed under him; but he knew, at the same time, that there is an exactitude and severity, which, by being carried too far, degenerates into minuteness and petulancy, and which, through an extreme affectation of virtue, becomes a real and dangerous vice.

Some time after, Pharnabazus,¹ who saw his whole country ravaged, demanded an interview with Agesilaus, which was negotiated by a common friend of them both. Agesilaus arrived first with his friends at the place agreed on; and while waiting for Pharnabazus, sat down upon the turf under the shade of a tree. When Pharnabazus arrived, his people spread skins upon the ground of exceeding softness from the length of their hair, with rich carpets of various colours, and magnificent cushions. But when he saw Agesilaus sitting merely upon the ground, without any preparation, he was ashamed of his effeminacy, and sat down also upon the grass. On this occasion the Persian pride was seen to pay homage to the Spartan modesty and simplicity.

After reciprocal salutations, Pharnabazus spoke to this effect: That he had served the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war to the utmost of his power, fought several battles for them, and supported their naval army, without giving any room to reproach him with fraud or treachery, as Tisaphernes had done; that he was surprised at this coming to attack him in his government, burning the towns, cutting down the trees, and laying waste the whole country: that if it was the custom with the Greeks, who made profession of honour and virtue, to treat their friends and benefactors in such a manner, he did not know what they might mean by just and equitable. These complaints were not entirely without foundation, and were uttered with a modest but pathetic air and tone of voice. The Spartans, who attended Agesilaus, not seeing how they could be answered, cast down their

eyes, and kept a profound silence. Agesilaus, who observed it, replied almost in these terms: "Lord Pharnabazus, you are not ignorant that war often arms the best friends against each other for the defence of their country. Whilst we were such to the king your master, we treated him as a friend; but as we are now become his enemies, we make open war against him, as it is just we should, and endeavour to hurt him by the injuries we do you. However, from the instant you shall think fit to throw off the ignominious yoke of bondage, and prefer being called the friend and ally of the Greeks, before the name of the king of Persia's slave, you may reckon that all the troops you see before your eyes, our arms, our ships, our persons to the last man of us, are only here to defend your possessions, and secure your liberty, which of all blessings is the most precious and desirable."

Pharnabazus answered, that if the king sent another general in his place, and subjected him to the new commander, he should very willingly accept his offer; that otherwise he would not depart from the faith he had sworn to him, nor quit his service. Agesilaus then taking him by the hand, and rising with him, replied, "Would it were the pleasure of the gods, Lord Pharnabazus, that with such noble sentiments, you were rather our friend than our enemy!" He promised to withdraw from his government and never to return into it, whilst he could subsist elsewhere.

SECTION IV.—LEAGUE AGAINST THE LACEDÆMONIANS. AGESILAUS, RECALLED BY THE EPHORI TO DEFEND HIS COUNTRY, OBEYS DIRECTLY. LYSANDER'S DEATH. VICTORY OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS NEAR NEMEA. THEIR FLEET IS BEATEN BY CONON OFF CNIDOS. BATTLE GAINED BY THE LACEDÆMONIANS AT CORONEA.

AGESILAUS² had been two years at the head of the army, and had already made the provinces of Upper Asia tremble at his name, and resound with the fame of his great wisdom, disinterestedness, moderation, intrepid valour in the greatest dangers, and invincible patience in supporting the rudest fatigues. Of so many thousand soldiers under his command, not one was worse provided, or lay harder than himself. He was so indifferent as to heat or cold, that he alone seemed formed to support the most rigorous seasons,³ and such as it pleased God to send. These are Plutarch's express words.

The most agreeable of all sights to the Greeks settled in Asia, was to see the lieutenants of the great king, his satraps, and other great lords, who were formerly so haughty and morose, soften their note in the presence of a man, meanly clad, and at his single word, however short and laconic, change their language and conduct, and in a manner transform themselves into different creatures. Deputies from all parts were sent by the people to form alliances with him, and his army increased every day by the troops of the barbarians that came to join him.

All Asia was already in motion, and most of the provinces ready to revolt. Agesilaus had already restored order and tranquillity in all the cities, had reinstated them in the possession of their liberty under reasonable modifications, not only without shedding of blood, but without even banishing a single person. Not content with such a progress, he had formed the design of attacking the king of Persia in the heart of his dominions, to put him in fear for his own person and the tranquillity he enjoyed in Ecbatana and Susa, and to find him so much business as should make it impracticable for him to embroil all Greece from his cabinet, by corrupting the orators and persons of greatest authority in its cities with his presents.

Tithraustes,⁴ who commanded for the king in Asia,

¹ Plut. in Agesil. p. 603, 604. Xenoph. in Agesil. p. 657.

² *ὁ ἀντιπρόεδρος καὶ πρόεδρος τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀρχαίων*

³ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. i. iii. p. 502—507. Plut. in Lysand. p. 440—451.

⁴ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. i. iv. p. 510, 511. Plut. in Agesil. p. 602.

seeing the tendency of Agesilaus's designs, and desiring to prevent their effects, had sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with great sums of money to corrupt the principal persons in the cities, and by their means occasion commotions against Sparta. He knew that the haughtiness of the Lacedæmonians (for all their generals did not resemble Agesilaus,) and the imperious manner with which they treated their neighbours and allies, especially since they considered themselves as the masters of Greece, had universally disgusted the people, and excited a jealousy that waited only an occasion to break out against them. This severity of governing had a natural cause in their education. Accustomed from their infancy to obey without delay or reply, first their tutors, and afterwards their magistrates, they exacted a like submission from the cities dependent upon them, were easily incensed by the least opposition, and by this punctilious and excessive severity rendered themselves insupportable.

Tithraustes therefore did not find it difficult to draw off the allies from their party. Thebes, Argos, Corinth, entered into his measures; the deputy did not go to Athens. These three cities, influenced by those that governed them, made a league against the Lacedæmonians, who on their side prepared vigorously for the war. The Thebans at the same time sent deputies to the Athenians, to implore their aid, and to induce them to enter into the alliance. The deputies, after having slightly passed over their ancient divisions, insisted strongly upon the considerable service they had rendered Athens in refusing to join its enemies when they endeavoured its final destruction. They represented to them the favourable opportunity that offered for reinstating themselves in their ancient power, and for depriving the Lacedæmonians of the empire of Greece; that all the allies of Sparta, either without or within Greece, were weary of their severe and unjust way, and waited only the signal to revolt: that the moment the Athenians should declare themselves, all the cities would rouse up at the sound of their arms; and that the king of Persia, who had sworn the ruin of Sparta, would aid them with all his forces both by sea and land.

Thrasylbulus, whom the Thebans had supplied with arms and money, when he undertook the re-establishment of the Athenian liberty, seconded their demand with great vigour, and the aid was unanimously resolved. The Lacedæmonians on their side took the field without loss of time, and entered Phocis. Lysander wrote to Pausanias, who commanded one of the two armies, to give him notice to march early the next day to Haliartus, which he designed to besiege, and that he should be there himself at sunrise. The letter was intercepted. Lysander, after having waited his coming up a great while, was obliged to engage, and was killed in the battle. Pausanias received this bad news on his way; but, however, continued his march to Haliartus, and called a council of war to consider upon a second battle. He did not think it consistent with prudence to hazard it, and contented himself with making a truce, to remove the bodies of those who had fallen in the former fight. Upon his return to Sparta, he was cited to give an account of his conduct; and, refusing to appear, was condemned to die. But he avoided the execution of that sentence by flight, and retired to Tegeæ, where he passed the remainder of his life under the shelter and protection of Minerva, to whom he had rendered himself a suppliant, and died of disease.

Lysander's poverty having been discovered after his death, did great honour to his memory; when it was known, that of all the gold and riches which had passed through his hands, of a power so extensive as his had been, of so many cities under his government, and which made their court to him; in a word, of that kind of dominion and sovereignty always exercised by him, he had made no manner of advantage for the advancement and enriching of his house.

Some days before his death two of the principal

citizens of Sparta had contracted themselves to his two daughters; but when they knew in what condition he had left his affairs, they refused to marry them. The republic did not suffer so sordid a baseness to go unpunished, nor permit Lysander's poverty, which was the strongest proof of his justice and virtue, to be treated as an obstacle to an alliance into his family. They were fined in a great sum publicly disgraced, and exposed to the contempt of all persons of honour. For at Sparta there were penalties established, not only for such as refused to marry, or married too late, but also for those who married amiss: and those especially were reckoned of this number, who, instead of forming alliances with virtuous families, and with their own relations, had no motive but wealth and lucre in marriage:—an admirable law, tending to perpetuate probity and honour in families, which an impure mixture of blood and manners seldom fails to alter and efface.

It must be owned, that a generous disinterestedness in the midst of all that could inflame and gratify the lust of gain, is very rare, and well worthy of admiration; but in Lysander it was attended with great defects, which sullied its lustre. Without speaking of his imprudence in introducing gold and silver into Sparta, which he despised himself, though he rendered it an object of esteem to his countrymen, and thereby occasioned their ruin; what opinion can we have of a man, brave indeed, capable of conciliating the affections, skilful in affairs, and of great ability in the arts of government, and what is commonly called politics, but who regards probity and justice as nothing; to whom falsehood, fraud and perfidy, appear legitimate methods for the attainment of his ends; who does not fear, for the advancement of his friends and the augmenting the number of his creatures, to commit the most flagrant injustice and oppressions, and is not ashamed to profane whatever is most sacred in religion, even to the bribing of priests and forging of oracles, to satiate the empty ambition of being equal to a king, and of ascending the throne?

When Agesilaus was upon the point of leading his troops into Persia, the Spartan Epicydides arrived to let him know that Sparta was threatened with a furious war; that the Ephori recalled him, and ordered him to return immediately for the defence of his country. Agesilaus did not deliberate a moment, but returned this answer immediately to the Ephori, which Plutarch¹ has transmitted to us, "Agesilaus to the Ephori greeting. We have reduced part of Asia, put the Barbarians to flight, and made great preparations for war in Ionia; but as you order me to return, I am not far behind this letter, and would anticipate it if possible. I received the command not for myself, but my country and its allies. I know that a general does not deserve, or really fulfil, the duties of that name, but when he suffers himself to be guided by the laws and the Ephori, and obeys the magistrates."

This ready obedience of Agesilaus has been much admired and applauded, and not without reason. Hannibal, though depressed with misfortunes, and driven almost entirely out of Italy, obeyed his citizens with great reluctance, when they recalled him to deliver Carthage from the dangers that threatened it. Here a victorious prince, ready to enter the enemies' country, and to attack the king of Persia even upon his throne, almost assured of the success of his arms, on the first order of the Ephori renounces these flattering hopes and most exalted expectations. He demonstrates the truth of what was said, "That at Sparta the laws ruled men, and not men the laws."

On his departure he said, "That thirty thousand of the king's archers drove him out of Asia;" alluding in those words to a species of Persian coin, which had on one side the figure of an archer, 30,000 of which

¹ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Idem in Agesil. § 607. Plut. in Agesil. p. 603, 604.

² Plut. in Apoph. Laconic. p. 211

pieces of money had been dispersed in Greece to corrupt the orators and persons of greatest power in the cities.

Agésilas, on quitting Asia, where he was regretted as the common father of the people, appointed Euxenes his lieutenant, and gave him 4000 men for the defence of the country. Xenophon went with him. He left at Ephesus, with Megabyzus, the guardian of Diana's temple, half the gold he had brought with him from his expedition in Persia with Cyrus, to keep it for him in trust, and in case of death to consecrate it to the goddess.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians had raised an army,² and given the command of it to Aristodemus, guardian to king Agesipolis, then an infant. Their enemies assembled to concert the operations of the war. Timolaus of Corinth said, that the Lacedæmonians were like a river that grew larger in proportion as it was more distant from its source; or to a swarm of bees, which it is easy to burn in their hive, but which disperse themselves a great way, when they fly abroad, and become formidable by their stings. He was therefore of opinion, that it was proper to attack them in their capital; which was approved and resolved. But the Lacedæmonians did not give them time. They took the field, and found the enemy near Nemeæ, a city not very remote from Corinth, where an obstinate battle ensued. The Lacedæmonians had the advantage, which was very considerable. Agésilas having received this news at Amphipolis, as he was hastening to the relief of his country, sent it directly to the cities of Asia for their encouragement, and gave them hopes of his speedy return, if the success of affairs would admit it.

When the approach of Agésilas was known at Sparta,³ the Lacedæmonians that remained in the city, to do him honour for the ready obedience he had paid to their orders, caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all young persons who were willing to aid their king, might come and list themselves for that purpose. Not one of them failed to enter himself immediately with the utmost joy. But the Ephori chose only fifty of the bravest and most robust, whom they sent him, and desired that he would enter Boeotia with the utmost expedition: which he did accordingly.

About the same time the two fleets came up with each other near Cnidus,⁴ a city of Caria: that of the Lacedæmonians was commanded by Pisander, Agésilas's brother-in-law, and that of the Persians by Pharnabazus and Conon the Athenian. The latter, observing that the king of Persia's supplies came slowly, and occasioned the loss of many favourable opportunities, had resolved to go in person to the court, to solicit the king's assistance. As he would not prostrate himself before him, according to the Persian custom, he could not explain himself but by the intervention of others. He represented to him, with a force and spirit seldom pardoned in those who treat with princes, that it was equally shameful and astonishing, that his ministers, contrary to his intention, should suffer his affairs to be disconcerted and ruined by a disgraceful parsimony; that the richest king in the world should give place to his enemies in the very point in which he was so infinitely superior to them; that is, in riches; and that, for want of remitting to his generals the sums his service required, all their designs were rendered abortive. These remonstrances were free, but just and solid. The king received them perfectly well, and showed, by his example, that truth may often be spoken to princes with success, if courage were not wanting. Conon obtained all he demanded, and the king made him admiral of his fleet.

It was composed of more than fourscore and ten

galleys; that of the enemy was somewhat inferior in number. They came in view of each other near Cnidus, a maritime city of Asia Minor. Conon, who had in some measure occasioned the taking of Athens by the loss of the sea-fight near Egospotamos, used extraordinary efforts in this to retrieve his misfortune, and to obliterate by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. He had this advantage, that in the battle he was going to fight, the Persians would be at the whole expense, and bear all the loss themselves; whereas the entire fruits of the victory would accrue to the Athenians, without hazarding any thing of their own. Pisander had also strong motives to show his valour upon this occasion, that he might not degenerate from the glory of his brother-in-law, and justify the choice he had made in appointing him admiral. In fact, he behaved with extreme valour, and had at first some advantage; but the battle growing warm, and the allies of Sparta betaking themselves to flight, he could not resolve to follow them, and died sword in hand. Conon took fifty galleys, and the rest escaped to Cnidus. The consequence of this victory was the revolt of almost all the allies of Sparta; several of whom declared for the Athenians, and the rest resumed their ancient liberty. After this battle, the affairs of the Lacedæmonians daily declined. All their actions in Asia were no more than feeble efforts of an expiring power, till the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea completed their downfall.

Isocrates makes a very just reflection upon the revolutions of Sparta and Athens,⁵ which had always their source and origin in the insolent prosperity of both these republics. The Lacedæmonians, who were at first acknowledged masters of Greece without opposition, fell from their authority only in consequence of their enormous abuse of it. The Athenians succeeded them in power, and at the same time in pride; and we have seen into what an abyss of misfortunes it precipitated them. Sparta, having regained the superiority by the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily and the taking of their city, ought to have improved in her measures from the double experience of the past; as well in regard to what had befallen herself, as from the recent example of her rival: but the most striking examples and events seldom or never occasion a people to change their conduct. Sparta became as haughty and untractable as before, and so experienced the same destiny again.

To warn the Athenians against this misfortune, Isocrates puts them in mind of the past, while he addresses them at a time wherein they were successful in every thing. "You imagine," says he, "that as you are provided with a numerous fleet, absolute masters at sea, and supported by powerful allies always ready to give you aid, you have nothing to fear, and may enjoy in repose and tranquillity the fruits of your victories:—for my part, suffer me to speak with truth and freedom, I think quite otherwise. The cause of my apprehension is, my having observed, that the decline of the greatest republics has always commenced at the time they believed themselves most powerful; and that their very severity has prepared the precipice from which they have fallen. The reason of this is evident. Prosperity and adversity never come alone, but have each their train of very different effects. The first is attended with vain-glory, pride and insolence, which dazzle the mind, and inspire rash and extravagant measures: on the contrary, the companions of adversity, are modesty, self-diffidence, and circumspection, which naturally render men prudent, and apt to derive advantage from their own failings. So that it is hard to judge which of the two conditions we ought to desire for a city; as that which appears unhappy is an almost certain path to prosperity; and the other, so flattering and splendid, generally leads on to the greatest misfortunes." The blow which the Lacedæ-

¹ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. v. p. 350.

² Xenoph. p. 514—517. ³ Plut. in Agésil. p. 605.

⁴ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 518. Diod. l. xiv. p. 302. Justin. l. c. 2, 3.

⁵ Ed speciesiis quod ne ipsorum quidem Atheniensium sed alieni imperii viribus dimicet, pugnantibus periculo regni victurus premio patriæ. Justin.

⁶ Isocrat. in Orat. Areop. p. 278—280.

mionians received at the battle of Cnidos is a mournful proof of what he says.

Agésilas was in Boeotia, and upon the point of giving battle,¹ when this bad news was brought him. Apprehending that it might discourage and deter his troops, he caused it to be reported in the army that the Lacedæmonians had gained a considerable victory at sea; and appearing in public with a wreath of flowers upon his head, he offered a sacrifice² of thanksgiving for the good news, and sent part of it in presents to his officers. The two armies,³ almost equal in strength, were in view of each other upon the plains of Coronea, and they drew up in battle. Agésilas gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. On the other side, the Thebans were upon the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says, that this was the most furious battle of any that had been fought in his time; and we may believe him, as he was present in it, and fought near the person of Agésilas, with whom he had returned from Asia.

The first charge was not very obstinate, nor of long continuance. The Thebans soon put the Orchomenians to flight, and Agésilas overthrew and routed the Argives. But both parties, having learned that their left wing had been very severely handled and had fled, returned immediately; Agésilas to oppose the Thebans and to wrest the victory out of their hands, and the Thebans to follow their left wing that was retired to Helicon. Agésilas at that moment might have assured himself of a complete victory, if he would have let the Thebans pass on, and had afterwards charged them in the rear; but carried away by the ardour of his courage, he resolved to stop them with an attack in front, and to beat them by pure force. In which, says Xenophon, he showed more valour than prudence.

The Thebans, seeing Agésilas advance against them, drew all their foot immediately into one body, formed a hollow square, and waited his coming up in good order. The engagement was sharp and bloody on all sides, but particularly where Agésilas fought at the head of the fifty young Spartans, who had been sent him by the city. The valour and emulation of those young men were of great service to Agésilas, and may be said to have saved his life; for they fought around him with exceeding ardour, and exposed themselves foremost in all dangers for the safety of his person. They could not however prevent his receiving several wounds through his armour from pikes and swords. Notwithstanding, with the utmost efforts they brought him off alive from the enemy; and making their bodies a rampart for him, sacrificed a great number of Thebans in his defence; and many of those young men were left also upon the field. At length, finding it too difficult to break the Thebans in front, they were forced to have recourse to what they had at first rejected. They opened their phalanx to let them pass; which when they had done, as they marched afterwards in more disorder, they charged them again upon the flanks and rear. They could, however, neither break them nor put them to flight. Those brave Thebans made their retreat continually fighting, and gained Helicon, elated with the success of the battle, wherein on their side they had always remained invincible.

Agésilas, though very much weakened by the great number of his wounds, and the quantity of blood he had lost, would not retire to his tent till he had been carried to the place where his phalanx was drawn up, and had seen all the dead bodies removed even upon their own arms. He was informed there, that many of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Ionian Minerva, which was not very distant from the field of battle, and asked what he would have done with them. As he was full of veneration for the gods, he gave orders to let them go, and even sent them a guard to escort them in safety wherever they thought fit.

The next morning, Agésilas, to try whether the Thebans would have the courage to renew the battle, commanded his troops to crown themselves with flowers, and the music of the army to play, whilst a trophy was erected and adorned in honour of his victory. At the same instant the enemy sent heralds to demand his permission to bury their dead; which he granted with a truce; and having confirmed his victory by that act of a conqueror, he caused himself to be carried to Delphi, where the Pythian games were then celebrated. He made there a solemn procession, which was followed by a sacrifice, and consecrated to the god the tenth part of the booty taken in Asia, which amounted to a hundred talents.⁴ These great men, no less religious than brave, never failed to express by presents their gratitude to the gods for their successes in arms; declaring, by that public homage, that they believed themselves indebted to their protection for their victories.

SECTION V.—AGESILAS RETURNS VICTORIOUS TO SPARTA. HE ALWAYS RETAINS HIS SIMPLICITY AND ANCIENT MANNERS. CUNON REBUILDS THE WALLS OF ATHENS. A PEACE, DISGRACEFUL TO THE GREEKS, CONCLUDED BY ANTALCIDAS, THE LACEDÆMONIAN.

AFTER the festival,⁵ Agésilas returned to Sparta. His citizens received him with all the marks of the most real joy, and beheld him with admiration, when they observed the simplicity of his manners and the constant frugality and temperance of his life. At his return from foreign countries, where pomp, luxury, sloth, and the love of pleasures prevailed, he was not infected with the manners of the barbarians, as most of the other generals had been: he made no alteration in his diet, baths, equipage of his wife, ornaments of his arms, or furniture of his house. In the midst of so brilliant a reputation, and the universal applause, always the same, or rather more modest than before, he distinguished himself from the rest of the citizens, only by a greater submission to the laws, and a more inviolable attachment to the customs of his country; convinced, that he was king, only to be the brighter example of those virtues to others.

He made greatness consist in virtue only.⁶ Hearing the Great King (so the kings of Persia used to call themselves) spoken of in magnificent terms, and his power extremely extolled: "I cannot conceive," said he, "wherein he is greater than I, unless he be more virtuous."⁷

There were at Sparta some citizens, who, vitiated by the prevailing taste of Greece, made their merit and glory consist in keeping a great number of horses for the race. He persuaded his sister Cynisca to dispute the prize in the Olympic games, in order to show the Greeks that those victories, on which they set so high a value, were not the effects of valour and bravery, but of riches and expense. She was the first of her sex who shared in this honour. He had not the same opinion of the exercises which contribute to render the body more robust, and inure it to labour and fatigue; and, to place them in greater estimation, would often honour them with his presence.

Some time after Lysander's death, he discovered the conspiracy formed by that captain against the two kings, which till then had not been heard of, and came to light by a kind of accident, in the following manner: Upon some affairs,⁸ which related to the government, it was necessary to consult Lysander's papers, and Agésilas went to his house for that purpose. In running them over, he fell upon the sheets which contained at large the harangue of Cleon, which had been prepared to recommend the new method of proceeding in the election of kings. Surprised at perusing it, he gave over his search, and went away abruptly to communicate that oration to the citizens, and to let them see what manner of man Lysander was, and how much they had been deceived

¹ One hundred thousand crowns, or about 22,500*l.* sterling.

² Plut. in Agésil. p. 606. ³ Plut. de suis laud. p. 555

⁴ Plut. ibid. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. p. 518—520, and in Agésil. p. 659. 660.

⁵ Plut. in Agésil. p. 606.

in regard to him. But Læcratidas, a wise and prudent person, who was president of the Ephori, interposed, by telling him, that it was highly improper to raise Lysander from the dead: on the contrary, that it was necessary to bury his harangue in the same grave with him, as a production of dangerous tendency, from the great art with which it was composed, and the force of persuasion that universally prevailed in it, which it might prove no easy matter to resist. Agesilaus was of the same opinion; and the piece was consigned to silence and oblivion, as the best use that could be made of it.

As his credit was very high in the city,¹ he caused Teutias, his brother by the mother's side, to be declared admiral of the fleet. It were to be wished, that history, to justify this choice, had mentioned some other qualities in that commander than his nearness of blood to the king. Agesilaus soon after set out with his land army to besiege Corinth, and took the long walls, as they were called, whilst his brother Teutias attacked it by sea. He did several other exploits against the people of Greece at war with Sparta, which always indeed evince the valour and experience of the general, but are neither very important nor decisive, and which we thought, for that reason, might be omitted.

At the same time,² Pharnabazus A. M. 3611. and Conon, having made themselves masters at sea, ravaged the whole coast of Laconia. That satrap, returning to his government of Phrygia, left Conon the command of the naval army, with very considerable sums for the re-establishment of Athens. Conon, victorious and crowned with glory, repaired thither, where he was received with universal applause. The sad prospect of a city, formerly so flourishing, and at that time reduced to so melancholy a condition, gave him more grief than he felt joy in seeing his beloved country again, after so many years' absence. He lost no time, but fell immediately to work, employing, besides masons and the usual artisans, the soldiers, mariners, citizens, allies, in a word, all that were well inclined to Athens: Providence decreeing, that this city, formerly destroyed by the Persians, should be rebuilt by their own hands; and that having been dismantled and demolished by the Lacedæmonians, it should be reinstated at their own cost, and by the spoils taken from them. What a vicissitude and alteration was this! Athens at this time had those for its allies, who had formerly been its most violent enemies; and for enemies, those with whom before it had contracted the most strict and closest union. Conon, seconded by the zeal of the Thebans, soon rebuilt the walls of Athens, restored the city to its ancient splendour, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies. After having offered to the gods a whole hecatomb,³ that is to say, a sacrifice of an hundred oxen, as a thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of Athens, he made a feast, to which all the citizens, without exception, were invited.

Sparta could not see without extreme affliction so glorious a revolution.⁴ It looked upon the grandeur and power of a city, its ancient rival and almost continual enemy, as its own ruin. This made the Lacedæmonians take the mean resolution of avenging themselves at once upon Athens, and Conon its restorer, by making peace with the king of Persia. With this view they despatched Antalcidas to Tiribazus. His commission consisted of two principal articles. The first was, to accuse Conon to that satrap of having defrauded the king of the money which he had employed in the re-establishment of Athens; and of having formed the design of depriving the Persians of Æolia and Ionia, in order to subject them anew to the republic of Athens, upon which they had formerly depended. By the second, he had

orders to make the most advantageous proposals to Tiribazus that his master could desire. Without giving himself any manner of trouble in regard to Asia, he stipulated only, that all the islands, and other cities, should enjoy their laws and liberty. The Lacedæmonians thus gave up to the king, with the greatest injustice and the utmost baseness, all the Greeks settled in Asia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had so long fought. It is true, he had no share in this most infamous negotiation; the whole reproach of which ought to fall on Antalcidas, who, being the sworn enemy of the king of Sparta, hastened the peace by all manner of means, because the war augmented the authority, glory, and reputation, of Agesilaus.

The most considerable cities of Greece had sent deputies at the same time to Tiribazus, and Conon was at the head of those from Athens. All of them were unanimous in rejecting such proposals. Without speaking of the interests of the Greeks of Asia, with which they were extremely affected, they saw themselves exposed by this treaty: the Athenians, to the loss of the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; the Thebans, to abandon the cities of Boeotia, of which they were in possession, and which would thereby regain their independence; and the Argives, to renounce Corinth, with the loss of which that of Argos itself would soon, in all probability, be attended. The deputies therefore withdrew without concluding any thing.

Tiribazus seized Conon, and put him in prison. Not daring to declare openly to the Lacedæmonians without an express order to that purpose, he contented himself with supplying them underhand with considerable sums of money for fitting out a fleet, in order that the other cities of Greece might not be in a condition to oppose them. After having taken these precautions, he set out directly for the court, to give the king an account of the state of his negotiation. That prince was well satisfied with it, and directed him in the strongest terms to put the last hand to it. Tiribazus also laid before him the Lacedæmonians' accusation of Conon. Some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have affirmed that he was carried to Susa, and there executed by the king's order. The silence of Xenophon, who was his contemporary, in regard to his death, makes it doubtful, whether he escaped from prison, or suffered as has been said.

Whilst this treaty was negotiating, several actions of little consequence passed between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. It was also at the same time that Evagoras extended his conquests in the island of Cyprus, of which we shall soon treat.

Tiribazus at length,⁵ upon his return, summoned the deputies of A. M. 3617. the Grecian cities to be present at Aut. J. C. 387. the reading of the treaty. It imported, that all the Grecian cities of Asia should remain dependent on the king, and that the rest, as well small as great, should have full possession of their liberty. The king farther reserved to himself the isles of Cyprus and Clazomenæ, and left those of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros, to the Athenians, to whom they had long appertained. By the same treaty he engaged to join with such states as acceded to it, in order to make war by sea and land against all that should refuse to agree to it. We have already said it was Sparta itself who had proposed these conditions.

All the other cities of Greece, or at least the greatest part of them, rejected so infamous a treaty with horror. However, as they were weakened and exhausted by domestic divisions, and not in a condition to support a war against so powerful a prince, who threatened to fall with all his forces upon those who should refuse to accede to this agreement, they were obliged against their will to comply with it; except the Thebans, who had the courage to oppose it openly at first, but at length were reduced to accept it with the others, by whom they found themselves universally abandoned.

¹ Plut. in Agesil. p. 607.

² Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 534—537. Diod. l. xiv. p. 383. Justin. l. vi. c. 5.

³ Athen. l. i. p. 3.

⁴ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iv. p. 537, 538. Plut. in Agesil. p. 608.

⁵ Xenoph. l. v. p. 548—551.

Such was the fruit of the jealousy and divisions which armed the Grecian cities against each other, and which was the end proposed by the policy of Artaxerxes, in distributing considerable sums of money amongst the several states; invincible by arms and by the sword, but not by the gold and presents of the Persians; so remote were they in this respect from the character of the ancient Greeks their forefathers.

To comprehend aright how much Sparta and Athens differed now from what they had been in former times, we have only to compare the two treaties concluded between the Greeks and Persians; the former by Cimon the Athenian, under Artaxerxes Longimanus above sixty years before, and the latter by Antalcidas the Lacedæmonian under Artaxerxes Mnemon. In the first,¹ Greece, victorious and triumphant, assures the liberty of the Asiatic Greeks, gives the law to the Persians, imposes what conditions she pleases, and prescribes to them their bounds and limits, by prohibiting them to approach nearer to the sea with their troops than the distance of three days' march, or to appear with ships of war in any of the seas between the Cyprian and Chelidonian islands; that is to say, from the Euxine to the coasts of Pamphylia. In the second, on the contrary, Persia, grown haughty and imperious, takes pleasure in humbling its conquerors, in depriving them, with the single stroke of a pen, of their empire in Asia Minor, in compelling them to abandon basely all the Greeks established in those rich provinces, to subscribe to their own subjection, and to confine themselves in their turn within the narrow bounds of Greece.

From whence can so strange an alteration arise? Are there not on both sides the same cities, the same people, the same forces, and the same interests? No doubt there are: but they are not the same men; or rather, they have no longer the same principles of policy. Let us recall to mind those happy times of Greece, so glorious for Athens and Sparta, when Persia came pouring like a deluge upon this little country with all the forces of the East. What was it that rendered these two cities invincible, and superior to such numerous and formidable armies? Their union and good understanding. No dissension between the two states, no jealousy of command, no private view of interest; in fine, no other contest between them, but that of honour, glory, and the love of their country.

To so laudable a union may be added an irreconcilable hatred for the Persians, which became, if I may so say, natural to the Greeks, and was the most distinguishing character of that nation. It was a capital crime,² and punished with death, only to mention peace, or propose any accommodation with them; and an Athenian mother was seen to throw the first stone at her son, who had dared to make such a motion, and to set others the example of stoning him.

This strict union of the two states, and this declared abhorrence of the common enemy, were for a long time the potent barriers of their security, rendered them invincible, and may be said to have been the source and principle of all the glorious successes that raised the reputation of Greece to so high a pitch. But by a misfortune common to the most flourishing states, those very successes became the cause of its ruin, and prepared the way for the disgraces which it experienced in the sequel.

These two states,³ which might have carried their victorious arms into the heart of Persia, and have attacked in their turn the great king upon his throne itself; instead of forming in concert such an enterprise, which would at once have crowned them with glory and laden them with riches, have the folly to leave their common enemy in repose, to embroil themselves with each other upon trivial points of honour and interests of little importance, and to exhaust those forces to no purpose against them-

selves, which ought to have been employed solely against the barbarians, that could not have resisted them. For it is worthy of remark, that the Persians never gained any advantage over the Athenians or Lacedæmonians whilst they were united with each other, and that it was their own divisions alone which supplied them with the means to conquer both alternately, and always the one by the other.

These divisions induced them to take such measures as neither Sparta nor Athens would ever otherwise have been capable of. We see both the one and the other dishonour themselves by their mean and abject flatteries, not only of the king of Persia, but even of his satraps; pay their court to them, earnestly solicit their favour, cringe to them, and even suffer their ill humour; and all this to obtain some aid of troops or money; forgetting that the Persians, haughty and insolent to such as seemed afraid of them, became timorous and little to those who had the courage to despise them. But, in fine, what did they gain by all these mean condescensions? The treaty which gave occasion for these reflections, and will forever be the reproach of Sparta and Athens.

SECTION. VI.—WAR OF ARTAXERXES AGAINST EVAGORAS, KING OF SALAMIS. EULOGY AND CHARACTER OF THAT PRINCE. TIRIBAZUS FALSELY ACCUSED. HIS ACCUSER PUNISHED.

WHAT I have just said upon the facility with which the Greeks might have rendered themselves formidable to their enemies, will be more evident if we consider on one side, the diversity of the nations, and the extent of country, which composed the vast empire of the Persians; and on the other, the weakness of the government, incapable of animating so great a mass, and of supporting the weight of so much business and application. At the court every thing was determined by the intrigues of women and the cabals of favourites, whose sole merit often consisted in flattering their prince, and soothing his passions. It was through their influence that officers were chosen, and the first dignities disposed of; by their opinion the services of the generals of armies were judged, and their rewards decided. The sequel will show, that from the same source arose the insurrection of provinces, the distrust of the greatest part of the governors, the discontent; and consequent revolt of the best officers, and the ill success of almost all the enterprises that were formed.

Artaxerxes, freed from the care and perplexity which the war with the Greeks had occasioned, applied himself to the terminating that of Cyprus, which had lasted several years, but had been carried on with little vigour, and turned the greatest part of his forces that way.

Evagoras reigned at that time in Salamis,⁴ the capital city of the Isle of Cyprus. He was descended from Teucer of Salamis,⁵ who at his return from Troy built this city, and gave it the name of his country. His descendants had reigned there from that time; but a stranger from Phœnicia, having disposed the lawful king, had taken his place, and to maintain himself in the usurpation had filled the city with barbarians, and subjected the whole island to the king of Persia.

Under this tyrant Evagoras was born, and great care was taken of his education. He was distinguished amongst the youth by the beauty of his aspect, the vigour of his body, and still more by the modesty and innocence of his manners,⁶ which are the greatest ornaments of that age. As he advanced in years, the greatest virtues, valour, wisdom, and justice were observed to shine forth in him. He afterwards carried these virtues to so conspicuous a height, as to give jealousy to those that were at the

¹ Isocrat. in Evag. p. 380.

² This Teucer was of Salamis, a little island near Athens celebrated for the famous sea-fight under Xerxes.

³ Et, qui ornât statem, poder. Cic.

⁴ Diod. l. xii. p. 74, 75.

⁵ Isocrat. in Panegy. p. 148.

⁶ Isocrat. in Panegy. p. 132—137. In Panath. p. 524, 525.

head of the government: who conceived justly that so brilliant a merit could not continue in the obscurity of a private condition: but his modesty, probity, and integrity, re-assured them; and they reposed an entire confidence in him, which he always repaid by an inviolable fidelity, without ever meditating their expulsion from the throne by violence or treachery.

A more justifiable means conducted him to it, Divine Providence, as Isocrates says, preparing the way for him. One of the principal citizens murdered the person upon the throne, and intended to seize Evagoras, and to rid himself of him, in order to secure the crown to himself; but that prince escaping his pursuit, retired to Soli, a city of Cilicia. His banishment was so far from abating his courage, that it gave him new vigour. Attended only with fifty followers, determined like himself to conquer or die, he returned to Salamis, and expelled the usurper, though supported by the credit and protection of the king of Persia. Having re-established himself in Salamis, he soon rendered his little kingdom very flourishing, by his great care in relieving his subjects, and by protecting them in every respect; by governing them with justice and benevolence; by making them active and laborious; by inspiring them with a taste for the cultivation of their lands, the breeding of cattle, commerce, and navigation. He trained them also for war, and made them excellent soldiers.

He was already very powerful, and had acquired great reputation, when Conon the Athenian general, after his defeat at Egospotamos, took refuge with him; not thinking it possible to find a safer asylum for himself, nor a more powerful support of his country. The resemblance of their manners and sentiments soon made them contract a strict amity with each other, which continued ever after, and proved equally advantageous to both. Conon possessed great influence at the king of Persia's court, which he employed with that prince, by the

A. M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399. means of Ctesias, his physician, to accommodate his differences with his host Evagoras, and happily effected it.

Evagoras and Conon engaged in the great design of subverting, or at least of reducing, the great power of Sparta, which had rendered itself formidable to all Greece, concerted together the means for the attainment of that end. They were both citizens of Athens; the latter by birth, and the other by right of adoption; a privilege which great services and zeal for that republic had merited.

A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. The satraps of Asia saw with pain their country ravaged by the Lacedæmonians, and found themselves in great difficulties from not being in a condition to make head against them. Evagoras demonstrated to them, that it was necessary to attack the enemy as well by sea as land; and he contributed not a little, through the influence he still had with the king of Persia, to Conon's being appointed general of his fleet. The celebrated victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidos was the consequence, and gave the mortal wound to that republic.

The Athenians,⁸ in acknowledgment of the important services which Evagoras and Conon had rendered them with Artaxerxes, erected statues in honour of them.

Evagoras,⁹ on his side, extending his conquests from city to city, endeavoured to make himself master of the whole island. The Cypriots had recourse to the king of Persia. That prince, alarmed by the rapid progress of Evagoras, the effects of which he apprehended, and conscious of what importance it was to him to prevent an island's falling into the hands of an enemy, which was so favourably situated

for holding Asia Minor in awe, promised them an immediate and powerful support, without declaring openly, however, against Evagoras.

Being employed elsewhere by more important affairs,⁴ he could not keep his word with them so soon as he expected, and had engaged.

That war of Cyprus continued six years, and the success with which Evagoras supported it against the great king, ought to have banished from the minds of the Greeks all terror of the Persian name, and united them against the common enemy. It is true, the succours sent by Artaxerxes, till then, were inconsiderable, as they were also the two following years. During all this time it was less a real war, than a preparation for war: but when he had disengaged himself from the Greeks,⁵ he applied to it vigorously, and attacked Evagoras with all his forces.

The land army, commanded by Orontes his son-in-law, consisted of 300,000 men, and the fleet of 300 galleys; of which Tiribazus, a Persian of the highest rank and greatest reputation, was admiral. Gaos, his son-in-law, commanded under him. Evagoras, on his side, assembled as many troops and ships as he could; but they were a handful, in comparison with the formidable preparations of the Persians. His fleet was composed of only fourscore and ten galleys, and his army scarce amounted to 20,000 men. As he had abundance of light vessels, he laid snares for those that carried the provisions of the enemy, sunk a great number, took many, and prevented the rest from arriving; which occasioned a famine amongst the Persians, and gave rise to violent seditions, which could only be appeased by the arrival of fresh convoys from Cilicia. Evagoras strengthened his fleet with sixty galleys, which he caused to be built, and fifty sent him by Achoris king of Egypt, with all the money and corn he could have occasion for.

Evagoras, with his land forces, attacked immediately a part of the enemy's army, which was separate from the rest, and entirely routed it. This first action was soon followed by another at sea, in which the Persians were worsted for some time, till animated by the warm reproaches and remonstrances of their admiral, they resumed courage, and obtained a complete victory. Salamis was immediately besieged by sea and land. Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his son Pythagoras, quitted it in the night with ten galleys, and sailed for Egypt, to engage the king to support him vigorously against the common enemy. He did not obtain from him all the aid he expected. At his return he found the city in exceeding distress; and finding himself without resource or hope, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were, that he should abandon all the cities of Cyprus except Salamis, where he should content himself to reign; that he should pay an annual tribute to the king, and remain in obedience to him as a servant to a master. The extremity to which he was reduced, obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were; but he could never resolve to comply with the last, and persisted always in declaring, that he could only treat as a king with a king. Tiribazus who commanded the siege, would abate nothing of his pretensions.

Orontes, the other general, jealous of his colleague's glory, had written secretly to court against him, accusing him, amongst other things, of forming designs against the king, and assigned in support of his accusation his continuing to hold a secret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, and his manifest endeavour to attach to himself the chiefs of the army, by force of presents, promises, and an obliging demeanour not natural to him. Artaxerxes, upon these letters, believed he had no time to lose in stifling a conspiracy which he considered as ready to break out. He despatched orders immediately to Orontes, to seize

⁴ Isocrat. in Evag. p. 333—395.

⁵ Pausan. lib. 5.

⁶ Diod. l. xiv. p. 311.

⁷ Isocrat. in Paneg. p. 135, 136

⁸ Diod. l. xv. p. 329—333

Tiribazus, and send him to court in chains, which was immediately put in execution. Tiribazus, upon his arrival, demanded to be brought to trial in form; that the heads of the accusation should be communicated to him, and the proof and witnesses produced. The king, employed in other cares, had no leisure at that time to take cognizance of the affair.

Orontes, in the mean time, seeing that the besieged made a vigorous defence, and that the soldiers of the army, discontented with the removal of Tiribazus, quitted the service, and refused to obey him, was afraid affairs would take a bad turn with regard to himself. He therefore caused Evagoras to be spoken to underhand: the negotiation was resumed, the offers made at first by the latter were accepted, and the mortifying article, which had prevented the conclusion of the treaty, retrenched.

A. M. 3619. The siege was raised in consequence. Evagoras continued king of Salamis only, and engaged to pay an annual tribute.

It appears that this prince lived twelve or thirteen years after the conclusion of the treaty, for his death is dated in the year of the world 3632. His old age was attended with a happiness and tranquillity never interrupted with sickness or disease, the usual effect of a sober and temperate life. Nicocles, his eldest son, succeeded him, and inherited his virtues as well as throne. He celebrated his funeral with the utmost magnificence. The discourse, entitled *Evagoras*, composed by Isocrates to inspire the young king with the desire of treading in the steps of his father, and from which I have extracted the subsequent eulogium, served for his funeral oration. He also addressed another tract to Nicocles, which bears his name, wherein he gives him admirable precepts for governing well. I shall perhaps have occasion to speak further of them afterwards.

Eulogy and character of Evagoras.

Though Evagoras was only king of a little state, Isocrates, who was well able to judge of virtue and merit, compares him with the most powerful monarchs, and proposes him as the perfect model of a good king, convinced that it is not the extent of territory, but extent of mind and greatness of soul, that constitute great princes. In fact, he points out to us many qualities truly royal in him, and which ought to give us a very high idea of his merit.

Evagoras was not of the number of those princes who believe, that to reign, it is sufficient to be of the blood-royal; and that the birth which gives a right to the crown, gives also the merit and qualities necessary for wearing it with honour. He did not fancy that it could be supposed, since every other condition and station of life made a kind of apprenticeship necessary to succeed therein, that the art of reigning, the most difficult and important of all, should require no pains and preparation for its attainment. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions; a great fund of genius, a ready comprehension, a lively and quick penetration which nothing escaped, a solidity of judgment that immediately perceived what was necessary to be done; qualities which might seem to dispense with all study and application; and yet, as if he had been born without talents, and found himself obliged to supply by study what he might want by nature, he neglected no means for the embellishment of his mind, and devoted a considerable part of his time in instructing himself, in reflecting, meditating, and consulting the judgment and experience of others.

When he ascended the throne, his greatest care and application was to know mankind, in which the ability of a prince, and of those which are at the head of affairs, principally consists. He had, no doubt, prepared himself for that science by the study of history, which gives prudence by anticipation, supplies the place of experience, and teaches us what

the men are with whom we live, by what *they* have been in other ages. But we study men quite differently in themselves; by their manners, characters, conduct, and actions. The love of the commonwealth rendered him attentive to all persons who were capable of serving or hurting it. He applied himself to the discovery of their most secret inclinations and principles of action, and to the knowledge of their different talents and degrees of capacity, in order to assign to each his proper post, to bestow authority in proportion to merit, and to make the private and public good promote each other. He neither rewarded nor punished his subjects, says Isocrates, from the report of others, but solely upon his own knowledge and experience of them; and neither the virtues of the good, nor the vices of the bad, escaped his inquiry and penetration.

He had one quality very seldom found in those who possess the first rank, especially when they believe themselves capable of governing alone; I mean, a wonderful docility and attention to the opinion of others, which arose from a diffidence in his own abilities. With his great penetration, it did not seem necessary for him to have recourse to the counsel of others; yet he nevertheless made no resolution, and formed no enterprise, without having first consulted the wise persons he had placed about him in his court: instead of which, pride and presumption, the latent poison of sovereign power, incline the greatest part of those who arrive at thrones, either to ask no counsel at all, or not to follow it when they do.

Intent upon discovering what was excellent in every form of government and private condition of life, he proposed the uniting of all their best qualities and advantages in himself: affable and popular as in a republican state; grave and serious as in the council of the elders and senators; steady and decisive, after mature deliberation, as in a monarchy; a profound politician by the extent and rectitude of his views; an accomplished warrior, from intrepid valour in battle directed by a wise moderation; a good father, a good relation, a good friend, and, what crowns his eulogy in every circumstance of his character,³ always great, and always a king.

He supported his dignity and rank, not by an air of pride and haughtiness, but by a serenity of aspect, and a mild and easy majesty, resulting from innate virtue, and the testimony of a good conscience. He won the hearts of his friends by his liberality, and conquered others by a greatness of soul, to which they could not refuse their esteem and admiration.

But what was most royal in him, and attracted the entire confidence of his subjects, neighbours, and even enemies, was his sincerity, faith, and regard to all his engagements; and his hatred, or rather detestation, for all disguise, falsehood, and fraud. A single word from him had as much regard paid to it as the most sacred oath; and it was universally known, that nothing was capable of inducing him to violate it in the least circumstance whatever.

It was by all these excellent qualities that he effectually reformed the city of Salamis, and entirely changed its appearance in a very short time. He found it gross, savage, and barbarous, without any taste either for learning, commerce, or arms. What cannot a prince do that loves his people, and is beloved by them; who believes himself great and powerful only to render them happy; and knows how to set a just value upon, and do honour to, their labours, industry, and merit of every kind! He had not been many years upon the throne, before arts, sciences, commerce, navigation, and military discipline, were seen to flourish at Salamis; inasmuch that that city did not give place to the most opulent of Greece.

Isocrates often repeats, that in the praises which he gives Evagoras, of which I have only extracted a part, far from exaggerating any thing, he always falls short of truth. To what can we attribute a reign so wise, so just, so moderate, so constantly employed in rendering his subjects happy, and in promoting the public good? The condition of Evagoras before he came

¹ Isocrat. in Evag.

² Ἐν τῷ Σπρίν, καὶ ὁμοίῳ, καὶ βουλευσάμενος, τὴν ἀρετὴν χρόνον διέτριβεν.

³ Ὑπερβατικός; ὅτι τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο διέτριβεν

to govern, seems to me to have contributed very much to it. The being born a prince, and the never having experienced any other condition than that of master and sovereign, are, in my opinion, great obstacles to the knowledge and practice of the duties of that high station. Evagoras who came into the world under a tyrant, had long obeyed before he commanded. He had borne in a private and dependent life the yoke of an absolute and despotic power. He had seen himself exposed to envy and calumny, and had been in danger on account of his merit and virtue. Such a prince had only to be told, upon his ascending the throne, what was said to a great emperor: "You have not always been what you now are. Adversity has prepared you to make a good use of power. You have lived long amongst us, and like us. You have been in danger under bad princes. You have trembled for yourself, and known by experience how virtue and innocence have been treated."¹ What he had personally suffered, what he had feared for himself or others, what he had seen unjust and unreasonable in the conduct of his predecessors, had opened his eyes, and taught him all his duty. It sufficed to tell him, what the emperor Galba told Piso, when he adopted him for his associate in the empire: "Remember what you condemned or applauded in princes, when you were a private man. You have only to consult the judgment you then passed upon them, and to act conformably to it, in order to acquire full instruction in the art of reigning well."²

Trial of Tiribazus.

We have already said that Tiribazus,³ having been accused by Orontes of forming a conspiracy against the king, had been sent to court in chains. Gaos, admiral of the fleet, who had married his daughter, apprehending that Artaxerxes would involve him in the affair with his father-in-law, and cause him to be put to death upon mere suspicion, conceived he had no other means for his security than open revolt. He was very well beloved by the soldiers, and all the officers of the fleet were particularly attached to him. Without loss of time he sent deputies to Achoris, king of Egypt, and concluded a league with him against the king of Persia. On the other side, he warmly solicited the Lacedæmonians to come into that league, with assurances of making them masters of all Greece, and of establishing universally their form of government, at which they had long seemed to aspire. They hearkened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy this occasion of taking arms against Artaxerxes; the rather because the peace which they had a short time before concluded with him, by which they had given up the Greeks of Asia, had covered them with shame.

As soon as Artaxerxes had put an end to the war of Cyprus,⁴ he thought of concluding also the affair of Tiribazus. He had the justice to appoint for that purpose, as commissioners, three of the greatest noblemen of Persia, of distinguished probity, and of the highest reputation in his court. The affair came to an examination and a hearing on both sides. For so considerable a crime, as that of having conspired against the king's person, no other proofs were produced than the letter of Orontes; that is to say, of a declared enemy, studious to supplant his rival. Orontes was in hopes, from his credit at court, that the affair would not have been discussed in the usual forms, and that upon the memorial sent by him the accused would have been condemned without farther examination. But this was not the custom with the Persians. By an anciently established regulation, to

which, amongst other privileges, they had a right by birth, no person was ever to be condemned, without being first heard and confronted with his accusers. This was granted to Tiribazus, who answered to all the articles of the letter. As to his connivance with Evagoras, the very treaty concluded by Orontes was his apology; as it was absolutely the same as that prince had proposed to him, except one condition, which would have done honour to his master. As to his intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, the glorious treaty he had made them sign sufficiently explained whether his own or the king's interests were his motives for it. He did not deny his credit in the army; but how long, he inquired, had it been a crime to be beloved by the officers and soldiers? and he concluded his defence, by representing the long services he had rendered the king with inviolable fidelity; and especially his good fortune in having formerly saved his life, when he was hunting, and in great danger of being devoured by two lions. The three commissioners were unanimous in declaring Tiribazus innocent. The king restored him to his former favour, and, justly enraged at the black design of Orontes, let the whole weight of his indignation fall upon him. A single example of this kind against informers convicted of falsehood, would for ever shut the door against calumny. How many innocents have been destroyed for want of observing this rule, which even the Pagans considered as the basis of all justice, and the guardian of the public tranquillity.

SECTION VII.—THE EXPEDITION OF ARTAXERXES AGAINST THE CADUSIANS. HISTORY OF DATAMES THE CARIAN.

WHEN Artaxerxes had terminated the Cyprian war,⁵ he entered upon another against the Cadusians, who, it is probable, had revolted, and refused to pay the customary tribute; for authors say nothing as to the occasion of this war. Those people inhabited part of the mountains situate between the Euxine and Caspian seas, in the north of Media. The soil is there so ungrateful, and so little proper for cultivation, that no corn is sowed upon it. The people subsisted almost entirely upon apples, pears, and other fruits of that kind. Inured from their infancy to a hard and laborious life, they looked upon dangers and fatigues as nothing; and for that reason were well calculated for soldiers. The king marched against them in person at the head of an army of three hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Tiribazus attended him in this expedition.

Artaxerxes had not advanced far into the country when his army suffered extremely by famine. The troops could find nothing to subsist upon; and it was impossible to bring provisions from other places, as the roads were difficult and impracticable. The whole camp were reduced to eat their beasts of burden; and these soon became so scarce, that an ass's head was valued at sixty drachmas,⁶ and was very hard to be got at that price. The king's table itself began to fall short, and only a few horses remained, the rest having been entirely consumed.

In this melancholy conjuncture, Tiribazus contrived a stratagem which saved the king and army. The Cadusians had two kings, who were encamped separately with their troops. Tiribazus, who took care to be informed of all that passed, had been apprized that there was some misunderstanding between them, and that their jealousy of each other prevented their acting in concert, as they ought to have done. After having communicated his design to Artaxerxes, he went himself to one of the kings, and despatched his son to the other. They each of them informed the king to whom they applied, that the other had sent ambassadors to treat with Artaxerxes privately, and advised him to lose no time, but to make his peace directly, in order that the conditions of it might be the more advantageous; promising to assist them with their whole credit. The fraud succeeded. The Pagans thought it might allowably be used with enemies.⁷

¹ Trajan.

² Quam utile est ad usum secundorum per adversa venire! Vixisti nobiscum, periclitatus es, timuisti. Quam tunc erant innocentium vita scis, et expertus es. *Plin. in Panegy.*

³ Utilissimus quidem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum delektor, cogitare quid aut nolueris sub alto principe, aut volueris. *Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.*

⁴ *Ibid. l. xv. p. 334, 335.*

⁵ Diodorus postpones the decision of this affair till after the war with the Cadusians, of which we shall soon speak. This seems very improbable.

⁶ *Plut. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024.*

⁷ Thirty livres.

⁸ Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirit? *Virgil.*

Ambassadors set out from both princes respectively, from the one with Tiribazus, and from the other with his son.

As this double negotiation lasted some time, Artaxerxes began to suspect Tiribazus; and his enemies, taking that opportunity, forgot nothing to his prejudice that might ruin him in the king's opinion. That prince already repented the confidence he had reposed in him, and thereby gave room for those who envied him to vent their calumnies and invectives. Upon what does the fortune of the most faithful subjects depend with a credulous and suspicious prince! Whilst this passed, arrived Tiribazus on his side, and his son on the other, each with ambassadors from the Cadusians. The treaty being concluded with both parties, and the peace made, Tiribazus became more powerful than ever in his master's favour, and returned with him.

The king's behaviour in this march was much admired. Neither the gold with which he was covered, nor his purple robes, nor the jewels that glittered all over him, and were worth 36,000,000 of livres,¹ prevented his taking an equal share in the whole fatigue with the meanest soldier. He was seen, with his quiver at his back and his shield on his arms, to dismount from his horse, and march foremost in those rugged and difficult roads. The soldiers, observing his patience and fortitude, and animated by his example, became so light, that they seemed rather to fly than walk. At length he arrived at one of his palaces, where the gardens were kept in admirable order, and there was a park of great extent and well planted, which was the more surprising, as the whole country about it was entirely naked, and bore no kind of trees. As it was the depth of winter, and the cold was excessive, he gave the soldiers permission to cut down the wood in this park, without sparing the finest trees, either pines or cypresses. But the soldiers not being able to resolve to fell timber of such exceeding beauty and stateliness, the king took an axe, and began by cutting the finest and largest tree himself; after which the troops had no farther scruples, but cut down all the wood they wanted, and kindled as many fires as were necessary to enable them to pass the night without any inconvenience. When we reflect how much value noblemen generally set upon their gardens and houses of pleasure, we must feel pleased with Artaxerxes's generosity in making this sacrifice, which argued great goodness of heart, and a sensibility for the distresses and sufferings of his soldiers. But he did not always support that character.

The king had lost in this enterprise a great number of his best troops, and almost all his horses: and as he imagined that he was despised upon that account and the ill success of his expedition, he became very much out of humour with the grandees of his court, and put to death a great number of them in the emotions of his wrath, and more out of distrust, and the fear of their attempting something against him. For fear in a suspicious prince is a very destructive and bloody passion; whereas true courage is gentle, humane, and averse to all jealousy and suspicion.

One of the principal officers that perished in this expedition against the Cadusians, was Camisares, by nation a Carian, and governor of Leuco-Syria, a province enclosed between Cilicia and Cappadocia. His son Datames succeeded him in that government, which was given him in consideration of the good services he had also rendered the king in the same expedition. He was the greatest captain of his time; and Cornelius Nepos, who has given us his life, prefers Amilcar and Hannibal alone to him, amongst the barbarians. It appears from this life, that no one ever excelled him in boldness, valour, and ability in inventing schemes and stratagems, in activity in the execution of his designs, in presence of mind to decide instantly, and to find resources upon the most desperate occasions; in a word, in every thing that regards the science of war. It seems that nothing was wanting to his having acquired a more illustrious

name, than a more spacious theatre, and perhaps as historian who would have given a more minute narrative of his exploits. For Cornelius Nepos, according to his general plan, could not relate them otherwise than in a very succinct manner.

He began to distinguish himself particularly by the execution of a commission that was given him to reduce Thyus, a very powerful prince, and governor of Paphlagonia, who had revolted against the king. As he was his near relation, he thought it incumbent upon him at first to try the methods of lenity and conciliation, which almost cost him his life, through the treachery of Thyus, by the ambuscades he laid for him. Having escaped so great a danger, he attacked him with open force; though he saw himself abandoned by Ariobarzanes, satrap of Lydia, Ionia, and all Phrygia, whom jealousy prevented from giving him aid. He took his enemy prisoner, with his wife and children; and knowing with what joy the king would receive the news, he endeavoured to make it the more sensibly felt by the pleasure of a surprise. He set out with his illustrious prisoner, without giving the court any advice, and made long marches, to prevent its being known by report before his arrival. When he came to Susa, he equipped Thyus in a very singular manner. He was a man of a very tall stature, of a haggard and terrible aspect, a black complexion, with the hair of his head and beard very long. He dressed him in a magnificent habit, put a collar and bracelets of gold about his neck and arms, and added to this equipage all the ornaments of a king, as in fact he was. For himself, in the coarse habit of a peasant, and clad like a hunter, armed with a club in his right hand, he led Thyus in his left in a leash, like a wild beast that had been taken in the toils. The novelty of the sight drew the whole city after it; but nobody was so much surprised and pleased as the king, when he saw them approach in that pleasant masquerade. The rebellion of a prince, very powerful in his country, had given Artaxerxes great and just alarm, and he did not expect to have seen him so soon in his hands. So sudden and successful an execution gave him a higher opinion than ever of the merit of Datames.

To express his sense of it, he gave him an equal share in the command of the army designed against Egypt, with Pharnabazus and Tithraustes, the two principal persons in the state, and even appointed him general in chief when he recalled Pharnabazus.

When he was upon the point of setting out for that expedition, Artaxerxes ordered him to march directly against Aspis, who had made the country where he commanded in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia revolt. The commission was of little importance for an officer who had been appointed general, and besides very dangerous, because it was necessary to go in quest of the enemy in a very remote country. The king soon perceived his error, and countermanded him: but Datames had set out directly with a handful of men, and marched night and day, judging that diligence alone, and not a great number of troops, was all that was necessary to surprise and vanquish the enemy. It happened according to his expectation, and the couriers despatched by the king, met Aspis in chains upon the road to Susa.

Nothing was talked of at the court but Datames. No one knew which to admire most, his ready obedience, his wise and enterprising bravery, or his extraordinary success. So glorious a reputation gave offence to the courtiers in power. Enemies in secret to each other, and divided by a contrariety of interests, and a competition in their pretensions, they united together against a superior merit which reproached their defects, and was therefore a crime in their acceptance. They conspired to ruin him in the king's opinion, and succeeded but too well. As they besieged him perpetually, and he was not upon his guard against persons who appeared so well affected to his service, they inspired him with jealousy and suspicion, against the most zealous and faithful of his officers.

An intimate friend of Datames, who held one of the highest posts at the court, apprized him of what

¹ Twelve thousand talents.

² Corn. Nep. in vit. Datames.

was passing, and of the conspiracy which had been formed against him, and had already rendered the king disaffected towards him. He represented to him, that if the Egyptian expedition, with which he was charged, should take a bad turn, he would find himself exposed to great dangers: that it was the custom of kings to attribute good successes to themselves and their auspicious fortune only, and to impute the bad to the faults of their generals, and to make them responsible for these at the peril of their heads: that he ran the greater risk, as all that were about the king's person and had any ascendant over him, were his declared enemies, and had sworn his destruction.

Upon this advice, Datames resolved to quit the king's service, though without doing any thing hitherto contrary to the fidelity which he owed him. He left the command of the army to Mandrocles of Magnesia, departed with his own troops to Cappadocia, seized Paphlagonia, which joined it, allied himself secretly with Ariobarzanes, raised troops, took possession of the fortresses, and put good garrisons in them. He received advice, that the Pisidians were arming against him. He did not wait their attack, but made his army march thither under the command of his youngest son, who had the misfortune to be killed in a battle. However lively the father's affliction might be upon that occasion, he concealed his death, lest the bad news should discourage his troops. When he approached near the enemy, his first care was to take possession of an advantageous post. Mithrobarzanes,¹ his father-in-law, who commanded the horse, believing his son entirely ruined, determined to go over to the enemy. Datames, without concern or emotion, caused a rumour to be spread throughout the army, that it was only a feint concerted between him and his father-in-law, and followed him close, as if he designed to put his troops into a disposition for charging the enemy in two different quarters. The stratagem had all the success he expected from it. When they joined battle, Mithrobarzanes was treated as an enemy on both sides, and cut to pieces with his troops. The army of the Pisidians was put to flight, and left Datames master of the field, and of all the rich booty found in the camp of the conquered.

Datames had not till then declared openly against the king, the actions we have related being only against governors, with whom he might have particular differences, which, as we have observed before, was common enough. His own eldest son, called Scismas, made himself his accuser, and discovered his whole designs to the king. Artaxerxes was highly alarmed. He knew all the merit of this new enemy, and that he did not engage in any enterprise without having maturely considered all its consequences, and taken the necessary measures to secure its success; and that hitherto the execution had always corresponded with the wisdom of his projects. He sent an army against him into Cappadocia of almost 200,000 men, of which 20,000 were horse, all commanded by Autophradates. The troops of Datames did not amount to the twentieth part of the king's; so that he had no resource but in himself, the valour of his soldiers, and the happy situation of the post he had chosen. For in that consisted his chief excellence; never captain having better known how to take his advantages and choose his ground, when he was to draw up an army in battle.

His army, as I have observed, was far inferior to that of the enemy. He had posted himself in a situation where they could not surround him; where, upon the least movement they made, he could attack them with very considerable advantage; and where, had they resolved to fight, their odds in number would have been absolutely useless to them. Autophradates

well knew, that according to all the rules of war, he ought not to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture: but he observed at the same time, that it would be disgraceful for him, with so numerous an army, to retreat, or to continue any longer in inaction before a handful of enemies. He therefore gave the signal. The first attack was rude; but the troops of Autophradates soon gave way, and were entirely routed. The victor pursued them for some time with great slaughter. There were only 1000 men killed on the side of Datames.

Several battles, or rather skirmishes, were fought afterwards, in which the latter was always victorious because, perfectly knowing the country, and succeeding especially in stratagems of war, he always posted himself advantageously, and engaged the enemy in difficult ground, from whence they could not extricate themselves without loss. Autophradates seeing all his endeavours ineffectual, and his supplies entirely exhausted, and despairing of ever being able to subject by force so artful and valiant an enemy, suggested an accommodation, and proposed to him, the being restored to the king's favour upon honourable conditions. Datames was not ignorant that there was little security for him in such a choice, because princes are seldom reconciled in earnest with a subject who has failed in his obedience, and to whom they see themselves in some sort obliged to submit. However, as despair alone had hurried him into the revolt, and he had always retained at heart sentiments of zeal and affection for his prince, he joyfully accepted offers which would put an end to the violent condition in which his misfortune had engaged him, and afford him the means of returning to his duty, and of employing his talents for the service of the prince to whom they were due. He promised to send deputies to the king; upon which ensued a cessation of arms, and Autophradates retired into Phrygia, which was his government.

Datames was not deceived. Artaxerxes, furiously enraged against him, had changed the esteem and affection which he formerly professed for him, into an implacable hatred. Finding himself incapable of conquering him by force of arms, he was not ashamed to employ artifice and treachery; means unworthy every man of honour, and how much more so of a prince! He hired several murderers to assassinate him; but Datames was so happy as to escape their ambuscades. At length Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, to whom the king had made magnificent promises, if he could deliver him from so formidable an enemy, having insinuated himself into his friendship, and having long treated him with all the marks of the most entire fidelity, in order to acquire his confidence, took the advantage of a favourable opportunity when he was alone, and stabbed him with his sword before he was in a condition to defend himself.

Thus fell this great captain in the snares of a pretended friendship,² who had always made it a point of honour to observe the most inviolable fidelity towards those with whom he had any engagements. Happy had he always piqued himself also upon being as faithful a subject as he was a true friend; and if he had not, in the latter part of his life, sullied the lustre of his heroic qualities by the ill use he made of them; which neither the fear of disgrace, the injustice of those who envied him, the ingratitude of his master for the services he had rendered him, nor any other pretext, could sufficiently authorize.

I am surprised that, worthy as he was, from his uncommon virtues, of being compared to the greatest persons of antiquity, his merit has remained in a manner buried in silence and oblivion. His great actions and exploits are however worthy of being preserved in history. For it is in such small bodies of troops as those of Datames, where every energy is exerted, where prudence directs, and where chance has no share, that the abilities of a general appear in their full light.

¹ Docet eum magno fore in periculo, siquid, illo imperante, in Aegypto adversus accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversus hominibus tribuant, secundis fortune suæ; quo facili fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum periculum, quorum ductu res malè geruntur nuncientur. Illum fore majore fore in discrimine, quod, quibus rex maxime obediat, eos habent inimicissimos. Cor. Nep.

² Diod. l. xv. p. 399.

¹ Ita vir, qui multos consilio, neminem perfidia, cœteris simulata capus est amicitia. Cor. Nep.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

BOOK IX. CONTINUED.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF SOCRATES ABRIDGED.

As the death of Socrates is one of the most considerable events of antiquity, I think it incumbent on me to treat that subject with all the extent it deserves. With this view I shall go somewhat back, in order to give the reader a just idea of this Prince of Philosophers.

Two authors will supply me principally with what I have to say upon the subject:—Plato and Xenophon, both disciples of Socrates. It is to them that posterity is indebted for many of his discourses (as that philosopher left nothing in writing,¹) and for an ample account of all the circumstances of his condemnation and death. Plato was an eye-witness of the whole, and relates, in his *Apology*, the manner of Socrates's accusation and defence; in his *Crito*, his refusal to make his escape out of prison; in his *Phædon*, his admirable discourse upon the immortality of the soul, which was immediately followed by his death. Xenophon was absent at that time, and upon his return to his native country, after the expedition of the younger Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes: so that he wrote his *Apology* of Socrates only from the report of others; but his actions and discourses in his four books of memorable things, he repeats from his own knowledge. Diogenes Laertius has given us the life of Socrates, but in a very dry and abridged manner.

SECTION I.—BIRTH OF SOCRATES. HE APPLIES AT FIRST TO SCULPTURE; THEN TO THE STUDY OF THE SCIENCES: HIS WONDERFUL PROGRESS IN THEM. HIS TASTE FOR MORAL PHILOSOPHY: HIS MANNER OF LIVING, AND SUFFERINGS FROM THE ILL HUMOUR OF HIS WIFE.

SOCRATES was born at Athens, A. M. 3533. in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.² His father Sophroniscus, was a sculptor, and his mother Phænarete a midwife. Hence we may observe, that meanness of birth is no obstacle to true merit, in which alone solid glory and real nobility consist. It appears from the comparisons which Socrates often used in his discourses, that he was neither ashamed of his father's nor mother's profession. He was surprised that a sculptor should employ his whole attention to fashion an insensible stone into the likeness of a man,³ and that a man should take so little pains not to resemble an insensible stone. He would often say,⁴ that he exercised the function of a midwife with regard to the mind, in making it bring forth all its thoughts; and this

was indeed the peculiar talent of Socrates. He treated subjects in so simple, natural, and clear an order, that he made those with whom he disputed say what he wished, and find an answer themselves to all the questions he proposed to them. He at first learned his father's trade, in which he made himself very expert. In the time of Pausanias,⁵ there was a Mercury and the Graces still to be seen at Athens of his workmanship; and it is to be presumed, these statues would not have found a place among those of the greatest masters in the art, if they had not been thought worthy of it.

Crito is reported to have taken him out of his father's shop,⁶ from admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion he entertained that it was inconsistent for a young man, capable of the greatest things, to continue perpetually employed upon stone with a chisel in his hand. He was the disciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been pupil to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philosopher. His first study was physics, the works of nature, and the motions of the heavens, stars, and planets, according to the custom of those times, wherein only that part of philosophy was known; and Xenophon assures us that he was very well acquainted with it.⁷ But after having found, by his own experience,⁸ how difficult, abstruse, and intricate, and, at the same time, of how little use that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the first, as Cicero remarks, who conceived the thought of bringing down philosophy from heaven, to place it in cities, and introduce it into private houses; humanizing it, if I may use that expression, and rendering it more familiar, more useful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying it solely to what might make them more rational, just, and virtuous. He thought it was a sort of folly to devote the whole vivacity of his mind,⁹ and employ all his time, in inquiries merely curious, and involved in impenetrable darkness, and absolutely incapable of contributing to the happiness of mankind; whilst he neglected to inform himself in the ordinary duties of life, and to learn what is conformable, or opposite to piety, justice, and probity; in what fortitude, temperance, and wisdom consist; what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are necessary for commanding and ruling

¹ Paus. l. iv. p. 506.

² Diog. p. 101.

³ Lib. iv. Memorab. p. 710.

⁴ Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit à cælo, ut in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis querere. Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* l. v. n. 10.

⁵ Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus à rebus occultis, et ab ipsa natura, involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocasse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse: ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quereretur; cælestia autem vel procul esse à nostra cogitatione conaret, vel si maxime cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferro. Cic. *Acad. Quest.* l. i. n. 15

⁶ Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 710.

⁷ Socrates, cujus ingenium varisque sermones immortalitati scriptis suis Plato tradidit, litteram nullam reliquit Cic. de *Orat.* l. iii. n. 57.

⁸ Diog. Laert. in. Soc. p. 100.

⁹ Diog. Laert. in. Soc. p. 110.

¹⁰ Plat. in Theatet. p. 149, &c.

well. We shall see in the sequel the use he made of this study.

It was so far from preventing his discharging the duties of a good citizen, that it was the means of making him the more observant of them. He bore arms, as did all the people of Athens; but with more pure and elevated motives. He made many campaigns, was present in many actions, and always distinguished himself by his valour and fortitude. He was seen, towards the end of his life, giving in the senate, of which he was a member, the most shining proofs of his zeal for justice, without being intimidated by the greatest present dangers.

He had accustomed himself early to a sober, severe, laborious life; without which it seldom happens, that men are capable of discharging the greatest part of the duties of good citizens. It is difficult to carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. He looked upon it as a divine perfection to be in want of nothing;¹ and believed, that the less we are contented with, the nearer we approach to the Divinity. Seeing the pomp and show displayed by luxury in certain ceremonies,² and the infinite quantity of gold and silver employed in them: "How many things," said he, congratulating himself on his condition, "do I not want!"—*Quantis non eget!*

His father left him fourscore minæ,³ that is to say, about two hundred pounds, which he lent to one of his friends who had occasion for that sum. But the affairs of that friend having taken an ill-turn, he lost the whole, and suffered that misfortune with such indifference, and tranquillity, that he did not so much as complain of it. We find in Xenophon's (*Economics*),⁴ that his whole estate amounted to no more than five minæ, or twelve pounds. The richest persons of Athens were among his friends, who could never prevail upon him to accept any share of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not ashamed to declare it: "If I had money,"⁵ said he, one day in an assembly of friends, "I should buy me a cloak." He did not address himself to any body in particular, but contented himself with that general information. His disciples contended for the honour of making him this small present; which was being too slow, says Seneca; their own observation ought to have anticipated both the want and the demand.

He generously refused the offers and presents of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, who was desirous of having him at his court; adding, that he could not go to a man who could give him more than it was in his power to return. Another philosopher does not approve this answer. "Would it have been making a prince a small return," says Seneca, "to undeceive him in his false ideas of grandeur and magnificence; to inspire him with a contempt for riches; to show him the right use of them; to instruct him in the great art of reigning; in a word, to teach him how to live, and how to die? But," continues Seneca, "the true reason which prevented his going to the court of that prince, was, that he did not think it consistent for him to seek a voluntary servitude, whose liberty even a free city could not tolerate." *Noluit ire ad voluntariam servitutem is cuius libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit.*⁶

The peculiar austerity of his life did not render him gloomy and morose,⁷ as was common enough with the philosophers of those times. In company and conversation he was always gay and facetious,⁸ and the life and soul of the entertainment. Though

he was very poor, he piqued himself upon the neatness of his person and house, and could not endure the ridiculous affectation of Antisthenes, who all ways wore dirty and ragged clothes. He told him once, that through the holes in his cloak, and the rest of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be discerned.

One of the most distinguishing qualities of Socrates, was a tranquillity of soul, that no accident, no loss, no injury, no ill treatment, could ever alter. Some have believed, that he was by nature hasty and passionate, and that the moderation, to which he had attained, was the effect of his reflections, and of the efforts he had made to subdue and correct himself; which would still add to his merit. Seneca tells us,⁹ that he had desired his friends to apprise him whenever they saw him ready to fall into a passion, and that he had given them that privilege over him, which he took himself with them. Indeed, the best time to call in aid against a passion, which has so violent and sudden a power over us, is when we are yet ourselves, and in cool blood.¹⁰ At the first signal, the least hint, he either softened his tone, or was silent. Finding himself exasperated against a slave, *I would beat you, says he, if I were not angry.—Caderem te, nisi irascerer.*¹¹ Having received a box on the ear, he contented himself with only saying, with a smile, *It is a misfortune not to know when to put on a helmet.*¹²

Without going out of his own house, he found enough to exercise his patience in all its extent, Xantippe, his wife, put it to the severest proofs by her capricious, passionate, violent disposition. It seems that, before he took her for his companion, he was not ignorant of her character; and he says himself in Xenophon, that he had expressly chosen her,¹³ from the conviction, that if he should be capable of bearing her insults there would be nobody, though ever so difficult to endure, with whom he could not live. If this was the view with which he married her, it was certainly fully answered. Never was a woman of so violent and fantastical a spirit, and so bad a temper. There was no kind of abuse or injurious treatment, which he had not to experience from her. She would sometimes be transported with such an excess of rage, as to tear off his cloak in the open street;¹⁴ and even one day, after having vented all the reproaches her fury could suggest, she emptied a pot of foul water upon his head: at which he only laughed, and said, *That so much thunder must needs produce a shower.*

Some ancient authors write, that Socrates married a second wife,¹⁵ named Myrto, who was the grand daughter of Aristides the Just, and that he suffered exceedingly from them both, as they were continually quarrelling with each other, and never agreed, but in loading him with reproaches, and offering him the grossest insults. They pretend that, during the Peloponnesian war, after the pestilence had swept off great part of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, to retrieve the sooner the ruins of the republic, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the same time, and that Socrates took the benefit of this new law. Those authors found this circumstance solely upon a passage in a treatise on nobility, ascribed to Aristotle. But, besides that, according to Plutarch himself, Panætius, a very grave author, has fully refuted this opinion, neither Plato nor Xenophon, who were well acquainted with all that related to their master, say any thing of this second marriage of Socrates; and, on another side, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who have treated at large all the particulars of the Peloponnesian war, are alike silent in regard to the pretended decree of Athens, which permitted bigamy. We may see, in

¹ Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 731.

² Socrates in pompâ, cum magna vis auri argenteoque fortior; Quam multa non desidero, inquit! *Cic. Tus. Quest.* l. v.

³ Liban. In Apolog. Socrat. p. 640.

⁴ Xenoph. Econ. p. 222.

⁵ Socrates amicis audientibus: Emissem, inquit, pallium, si nummos haberem. Neminem poposcit, omnes admonuit. A quo acciperet, ambitus fuit.—Post hoc quisque propravertit, cædè d; jam Socrati deficit. *Senec. de Benef.* l. vii. c. 24.

⁶ Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6.

⁷ Elian. l. iv. c. 11. and l. ix. c. 35.

Xenoph. In Conviv.

⁹ Senec. de Irâ, l. iii. c. 15.

¹⁰ Contra potens malum, et apud nos gratiosum, dum conspicimus, et nostri sumus, advocamus.

¹¹ Senec. de Irâ, l. i. c. 15.

¹² Ibid. l. iii. c. 11.

¹³ Xen. In Conviv. p. 876.

¹⁴ Diog. In Socrat. p. 112.

¹⁵ Plut. In Aristid. p. 335. Athen. l. xiii. p. 355. Diog. Laert. In Socrat. p. 105.

the first volume of the memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, a dissertation of Monsieur Hardion's upon this subject; wherein he demonstrates, that the second marriage of Socrates, and the decree respecting bigamy, are supposititious facts.

SECTION II.—OF THE DEMON, OR FAMILIAR SPIRIT OF SOCRATES.

OUR knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the Genius, which he pretended, assisted him with its counsel and protection in the greatest part of his actions. It is not agreed amongst authors what this Genius was, commonly called, *The Demon of Socrates*, from the Greek word *Δαίμων*, that signifies something of a divine nature, conceived as a secret voice, a sign, or such an inspiration as diviners are supposed to have had: this Genius dissuaded him from the execution of his designs when they would have been prejudicial to him, without ever inducing him to undertake any action: *Essc divinum quoddam, quod Socrates demonium appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellent, si, supē revocanti.*¹ Plutarch,² in his treatise, entitled *Of the Genius of Socrates*, relates the different sentiments of the ancients concerning the existence and nature of this Genius. I shall confine myself to that which seems the most natural and reasonable of them all, though he does not lay much stress upon it.

We know that the Divinity alone has a clear and unerring knowledge of futurity: that man cannot penetrate into its darkness but by uncertain and confused conjectures: that those who succeed best in that research, are such, as by a more exact and studied comparison of the different causes capable of influencing future events, discern with greater force and perspicuity, what will be the result and issue of the conflict of those different causes in conducting to the success or miscarriage of an effect or enterprise. This foresight and discernment has something of divine in it, exalts us above the rest of mankind, approximates us to the Divinity, and makes us participate in some measure in his counsels, and designs, by giving us an insight and foreknowledge, to a certain degree, of what he has ordained concerning the future. Socrates had a just and piercing judgment, joined with the most exquisite prudence. He might call this judgment *Δαίμων*, something divine, using indeed a kind of equivocal expression, without attributing to himself, however, the merit due to his wisdom in forming conjectures with regard to the future. The Abbe Fraguier comes very near the same opinion in the dissertation he has left upon this subject in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.³

The effect,⁴ or rather function, of this Genius, was to stop and prevent his acting without ever inducing him to act. He received also the same impulse, when his friends were going to engage in any unlucky affair, which they communicated to him; and several instances are related, wherein they found themselves under much inconvenience from not having believed him. Now what other signification can be given to this, than that it implies, under mysterious terms, a mind, which, by its own lights, and the knowledge of mankind, has attained a sort of insight into futurity? And if Socrates had not intended to lessen in his own person the merit of an unerring judgment, by attributing it to a kind of instinct; if at bottom he had desired any thing to be understood, besides the general aid of the divine wisdom, which speaks in every man by the voice of reason; would he have escaped, says Xenophon, the imputation of arrogance and falsehood?⁵

God has always prevented me from speaking to you,⁶ says he to Alcibiades, whilst the tenderness of your age would have rendered my discourses of no utility to you. But I conceive I may now enter into a dispute with you, as an ambitious young man, for

whom the laws open a way to the dignities of the republic.—Is it not visible here, that prudence prevented Socrates from conversing seriously with Alcibiades at a time when grave and serious conversation would have given him a disgust, of which he might perhaps never have got the better? And when, in the dialogue upon the Republic, Socrates ascribes his avoiding public business to inspiration from above, does he mean any thing more than what he says in his Apology, that a just and good man, who, in a corrupt state, intermeddles with the government, is not long without perishing? If when he was going to appear before the judges that were to condemn him,⁷ that divine voice does not make itself heard to prevent him, as it was accustomed to do upon dangerous occasions, the reason is, that he did not deem it a misfortune for him to die, especially at his age, and in his circumstances. Every body knows what his prognostication had been long before, with respect to the unfortunate expedition of Sicily. He attributed it to his demon, and declared it to be the inspiration of that spirit. A wise man, who sees an affair ill concerted, and conducted with precipitation, may easily prophesy the event of it, without the aid of a demon's inspiration.

It must be allowed, however, that the opinion which gives to men, genii and angels to direct and guide them, was not unknown even to the Pagans. Plutarch cites some verses of Menander,⁸ in which that poet expressly says, "That every man at his birth has a good Genius given him, which attends him during the whole course of his life as a guide and director."

Ἄνθρωποι δαίμονας ἑνὶ καὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον
Εὐδοκίαν ὑπομένειν καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν βίον
Ἄγαντες.

It may be believed with probability enough, that the Demon of Socrates, which has been so differently spoken of as to make it a question whether it was a good or bad angel, was no more than the force and rectitude of his judgment, which, acting according to the rules of prudence, and with the aid of a long experience, supported by wise reflections, made him foresee the events of those things, upon which he was either consulted, or deliberated himself.

I conceive, at the same time, that he was not sorry the people should believe him inspired, or that his acquaintance with futurity was the effect of a divinity, whatsoever that might be. That opinion might exalt him very much in the minds of the Athenians, and give him an authority, of which it is well known that the greatest persons of the Pagan world were very fond,⁹ and which they endeavoured to acquire by secret communications, and pretended conferences, with some divinity: but it likewise drew the jealousy of many of the citizens upon him.

SECTION III.—SOCRATES DECLARED THE WISEST OF MANKIND BY THE ORACLE OF DELPHI.

THIS declaration of the oracle,¹⁰ so advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the inflaming envy, and stirring up of enemies against him, as he tells us himself in his Apology, wherein he recounts the occasion, and true meaning, of that oracle.

Chærephon, a zealous disciple of Socrates, happening to be at Delphi, demanded of the oracle, whether there was a wiser man than Socrates in the world: the priestess replied, there was none. This answer puzzled Socrates extremely, and he could

¹ Lib. vi. de Rep. p. 496. Apolog. Soc. p. 31, 32.

² Apolog. Soc. p. 40.

³ De anim. tranquil. p. 474.

⁴ Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zaleucus pretended, that his laws had been dictated to him by Minerva. Numa Pompilius boasted his conferences with the goddess Egeria. The great Scipio Africanus made the people believe that the gods gave him secret counsels. Even Sertorius's kind had something divine in it.

⁵ Plat. in Apolog. p. 21, 22.

⁶ Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 122.

⁷ Tom. iv. p. 368.

⁸ Memorab. l. i. p. 703.

⁹ Pag. 580.

¹⁰ Plat. in Theog. p. 129.

¹¹ Plat. in Alcib. p. 150.

scarce comprehend the meaning of it. For, on the one side, he well knew, says he of himself, that there was no wisdom in him, neither little nor great; and, on the other, he could not suspect the oracle of falsehood, the divinity being incapable of telling a lie. He therefore considered it attentively, and took great pains to penetrate the meaning of it. At first he applied himself to a powerful citizen, a statesman, and a great politician, who passed for one of the wisest men of the city, and who was himself still more convinced of his own merit than others. He found by his conversation that he knew nothing, and insinuated as much to him in terms sufficiently intelligible; which made him extremely odious to that citizen, and all who were present. He did the same by several others of the same profession, and all the fruit of his inquiry was, to draw upon himself a greater number of enemies. From the statesman he addressed himself to the poets, whom he found still fuller of self-esteem, but really more void of knowledge and wisdom. He pursued his inquiries to the artisans, and could not meet with one, who, because he succeeded in his own art, did not believe himself very capable and fully informed in all other points of the greatest consequence; which presumption was the almost universal failing of the Athenians. As they had naturally abundance of wit, they pretended to know every thing, and believed themselves capable of pronouncing upon all matters. His inquiries amongst strangers were not more successful.

Socrates afterwards entering into and comparing himself with all those he had questioned, discovered, that the difference between him and them was, that they all believed they knew what they did not know, and that, for his part, he sincerely avowed his ignorance. From thence he concluded, that GOD alone is truly wise, and that the true meaning of his oracle was to signify, that all human wisdom was no great matter, or, to speak more properly, was nothing at all. And as to the oracle's naming me, it no doubt did so, says he, by way of setting me up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men, The wisest amongst you is he, who knows, like Socrates, that there is no real wisdom in him.

SECTION IV.—SOCRATES DEVOTES HIMSELF ENTIRELY TO THE INSTRUCTION OF THE YOUTH OF ATHENS. AFFECTION OF HIS DISCIPLES FOR HIM. THE ADMIRABLE PRINCIPLES WITH WHICH HE INSPIRES THEM, BOTH WITH RESPECT TO GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION.

AFTER having related some particularities in the life of Socrates, it is time to proceed to that in which his character principally and peculiarly consisted; I mean, the pains he took to instruct mankind, and particularly to form the youth of Athens.

He seemed, says Libanius,¹ the common father of the republic, so attentive was he to the happiness and advantage of all his countrymen. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown gray, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it.

He had no open school like the rest of the philosophers,² nor set times for his lessons. He had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a professor's chair. He was the philosopher of all times and seasons. He taught in all places, and upon all occasions; in walking, conversation, at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the public as-

semblies of the senate or people, in prison itself, and when he drank the poison, he philosophized, says Plutarch, and instructed mankind. And from thence the same judicious author takes occasion to establish a great principle on the subject of government, which Seneca before had placed in its full light.³ To be a public man, says he, it is not necessary to be actually in office, to wear the robe of judge or magistrate and to sit in the highest tribunals for the administration of justice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the fine names of orators, prætors, and senators, if they want the merit of those characters, ought to be regarded as private persons, and often deserve to be confounded with the lowest and vilest of the populace. But whoever knows how to give wise counsel to those who consult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inspire them with sentiments of probity, equity, generosity, and love of their country; such a man, says Plutarch, is the true magistrate and ruler, in whatsoever condition or place he be.

Such was Socrates. The services he did the state, by the instructions he gave their youth, and the disciples he formed, are inexpressibly great. Never had master a greater number, nor more illustrious. Had Plato been the only one, he would be worth a multitude. Upon the point of death he blessed and thanked God for three things:⁴ that he had endowed him with a rational soul, that he was born a Greek, and not a barbarian, and that he had placed his birth in the life-time of Socrates. Xenophon had the same advantage.⁵ It is said, that one day Socrates met him in the street, and stopping him with his staff, asked him whether he knew where provisions were sold? It was not difficult to answer this question. But Socrates having demanded in what place men learned virtue, and seeing this second question put him to a stand: "If you desire to know it," continued the philosopher, "follow me, and you shall be informed." Which he did immediately, and was afterwards the first who collected and published his master's discourses.

Aristippus,⁶ upon a conversation with Ischomachus, in which he had introduced some strokes of Socrates' doctrine, conceived so ardent a passion to become his disciple, that he grew lean and wan in consequence of it, till he could go to the fountain head, and imbibe his fill of a philosophy, that taught the knowledge of evil, and its cure.

What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, explains still better how high the eagerness of Socrates' disciples ran, to receive the benefit of his instructions. There was at that time an open war between Athens and Megara,⁷ which was carried on with so much animosity, that the Athenians obliged their generals to take an oath to lay waste the territory of Megara twice a year, and prohibited the Megarians to set foot in Attica upon pain of death. This decree could not extinguish nor suspend the zeal of Euclid. He left his city in the evening in the disguise of a woman, with a veil upon his head, and came to the house of Socrates in the night, where he continued till the approach of day, when he returned in the same manner he came.

The ardour of the young Athenians to follow him was incredible. They left father and mother, and

¹ Habet ubi se etiam in privato latè explicat magnus animus—Ita delinquit (vir ille) ut ubicunque otium suum absconderit, prædare velit et singulis et universis, ingenio, voce, concilio. Nec enim is solus reip. prædest. qui candidatus extrahit, et tuetur roas, et de pace belloque censeat, sed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute instruit animos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque cursu ruentes prestat ac retrahit, et ac nihil aliud, cerè moratur, in privato publicum negotium agit. An ille plus præstat, qui inter peregrinos et cives, aut urbanus prætor aduentibus assessoris verba pronunciat; quàm qui docet, quid sit iustitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid decorum intellectus, quàm gratuitum bonum sit conscientia? *Seneca de tranquill. animi*, c. lii.

² Plut. in Mario, p. 433.

³ Diog. in Xenoph. p. 190.

⁴ Plut. de curios. p. 516.

⁵ Plut. in Peric. p. 188.

⁶ Aul. Gel. Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 10.

¹ Socrates in omnibus ferè sermonibus sic disputat, ut nihil affirmet ipse, refellit alios; nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum, cùmque præstare cetera, quòd illi, què nesciant, scire se putant; ipse se nihil scire id unum sciat, quòd eamque rem se arbitrari ab Apolline omnium sapientissimum esse dictum, quòd hæc esset una omnis sapientia, non arbitrari se scire quòd nesciat. *Cic. Acad. Quest. l. i. n. 15. 16.*

² In Apol. Socrat. p. 641.

Plut. an seni sit ger. resp. p. 706.

renounced all parties of pleasure, to attach themselves to him, and to hear his discourses. We may judge of this by the example of Alcibiades, the most ardent and fiery of all the Athenians. The philosopher, however, never spared him, and was always careful to calm the sallies of his passions, and to rebuke his pride which was his great disease. I have before related some instances of this temper of his. One day when Alcibiades was boasting of his wealth,¹ and the great estates in his possession (for this it is which generally puffs up the pride of young people of quality,) he carried him to a geographical map, and asked him to find Attica. It was so small it could scarcely be discerned upon that draught; he found it, however, though with some difficulty; but upon being desired to point out his own estate there, "It is too small," says he, "to be distinguished in so little a space."—"See then," replied Socrates, "what consequence you attach to an imperceptible spot of land." This reasoning might have been urged much farther still. For what was Attica compared to all Greece, Greece to Europe, Europe to the whole world, and the world itself to the vast extent of the infinite *ocea* which surround it? What an insect, what a nothing, is the most powerful prince of the earth in the midst of this abyss of bodies and immense spaces, and what a portion of it does he occupy!

The young people of Athens, dazzled with the glory of Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, and full of a wild ambition, after having received for some time the lessons of the sophists, who promised to make them very great politicians, conceived themselves capable of every thing, and aspired at the highest employments. One of these,² named Glauco, had taken it so strongly into his head to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, though not yet twenty years old, that none of his family or friends were able to divert him from a design so little suited to his age and capacity. Socrates, who had an affection for him upon account of Plato, his brother, was the only person that could prevail upon him to change his resolution.

Meeting him one day, he accosted him with so much address and dexterity, that he engaged him to give him the hearing, which was already a great point gained. "You are desirous, then, of governing the republic?" said he to him.—"True," replied Glauco.—"You cannot have a more noble design," answered Socrates: "for if you succeed, you will have it in your power to serve your friends effectually, to aggrandize your family, and to extend the confines of your country. You will make yourself known not only at Athens, but throughout all Greece; and perhaps your renown, like that of Themistocles, may spread abroad amongst the barbarous nations. In short, wherever you are, you will attract the respect and admiration of the whole world."

So smooth and insinuating a prelude was extremely pleasing to the young man, who was attacked on the blind side. He stayed willingly, without requiring to be pressed so to do, and the conversation continued. "Since you desire to be esteemed and honoured, no doubt your view is to be useful to the public?"—"Certainly."—"Tell me then, I beg you, in the name of the gods, what is the first service you propose to render the state?" As Glauco seemed at a loss, and meditated upon what he should answer: "I presume," continues Socrates, "it is to enrich it, that is to say, to augment its revenues."—"Exactly so."—"You are well versed then, undoubtedly, in the revenues of the state, and know perfectly to what they may amount? You have not failed to make them your particular study, in order that, if a fund should happen to fail on a sudden by any unforeseen accident, you might be able to supply the deficiency by another?"—"I protest," replied Glauco, "that never entered into my thoughts."—"At least you will tell me to what the expenses of the republic

amount; for you must know the importance of retrenching such as are superfluous?"—"I own I am as little informed in this point as the other."—"You must therefore defer your design of enriching the state till another time; for it is impossible you should do it, whilst you are unacquainted with its revenues and expenses."

"But," said Glauco, "there is still another means, which you have not mentioned. A state may be enriched by the ruin of its enemies."—"You are in the right," replied Socrates. "But that depends upon its being the strongest; otherwise it incurs the danger of losing what it has. For which reason, he who talks of engaging in a war, ought to know the forces on both sides; that if he finds his own party strongest, he may boldly advise the war, and if weakest, dissuade the people from undertaking it. Now, do you know the strength of our republic, and that of our enemies by sea and land? Have you a state of them in writing? Be so kind to let me see it."—"I have it not at present," said Glauco.—"I see then," said Socrates, "that we shall not soon enter into a war, if you are charged with the government; for you have abundance of inquiries to make, and much pains to go through, before you will resolve upon it."

He ran over in this manner several other articles of no less importance, with which Glauco appeared equally unacquainted; till he brought him to confess how ridiculous those people were, who have the rashness to intrude themselves into the administration of affairs, without any other preparation for the service of the public than that of a high esteem for themselves, and an immoderate ambition of rising to the first places and dignities. "Have a care, dear Glauco," said he to him, "lest a too warm desire of honours should deceive you into pursuits that may cover you with shame, by setting your incapacity and slender abilities in full light."

Glauco improved from the wise admonitions of Socrates, and took time to inform himself in private before he ventured to appear in public. This is a lesson for all ages, and may be very useful to persons in all stations and conditions of life.

Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early upon public employments;¹ but first to take pains to improve their minds by the knowledge necessary to their success in them. "A man must be very simple,"² said he, "to believe that the mechanic arts are to be acquired without the help of proper masters, and that the knowledge requisite in governing states, which is the highest degree of human prudence, demands no previous labour and application." His great care, in regard to those who aspired at public employments, was to form their manners upon the solid principles of probity and justice; and especially to inspire them with a sincere love of their country, with the most ardent passion for the public good, and a high idea of the power and goodness of the gods; because, without these qualities, all other abilities serve only to render men more wicked, and more capable of doing evil. Xenophon has transmitted to us a conversation of Socrates with Euthydemus, upon Providence, which is one of the finest passages to be found in the writings of the ancients.

"Did you never reflect within yourself," says Socrates to Euthydemus, "how much care the gods have taken to bestow upon man all that is necessary for him?"—"Never, I assure you," replied he.—"You see," continued Socrates, "how necessary light is, and how precious that gift of the gods ought to appear to us."—"Without it," added Euthydemus, "we should be like the blind, and all nature as if it were dead: but because we have occasion for intervals of relaxation, they have also given us the night for our repose."—"You are in the right; and for this we ought to render them continued praises and thanksgiving. They have ordained that the sun that bright and luminous star, should preside over the day to distinguish its different parts, and that

¹ *Ælian*. l. iii. c. 28.

² *Xenoph. Memorab.* l. iii. p. 772—774.

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¹ *Xenoph. Memorab.* l. iv. p. 800.

Ibid. p. 792

its light should serve not only to discover the wonders of nature, but to dispense over every part life and heat; and at the same time, they have commanded the moon and stars to illumine the night, which of itself is dark and obscure. Is there any thing more worthy of admiration than this variety and vicissitude of day and night, of light and darkness, of labour and rest;—and all this for the convenience and good of man?" Socrates enumerates in like manner the infinite advantages we receive from fire and water for the necessities of life; and continuing to observe upon the wonderful attention of Providence in all that regards us: "What say you," pursued he, "upon the sun's return after winter to revisit us: and that as the fruits of one season wither and decay, he ripens new ones to succeed them? that having rendered man this service, he retires, lest he should incommode him by excess of heat; and then, after having receded to a certain point, which he could not pass without putting us in danger of perishing with cold, that he returns in the same track to resume his place in those parts of the heavens where his presence is most beneficial to us? And because we could neither support the cold nor heat, if we were to pass in an instant from the one to the other, are you not struck with admiration that this luminary approaches and removes so slowly, that the two extremes arrive by almost insensible degrees? Is it possible not to discover, in this disposition of the seasons of the year, a providence and goodness attentive not only to our necessities, but even to our delights and enjoyments?"

"All these things," said Enthydemus, "make me doubt whether the gods have any other employment than to shower down their gifts and benefits upon mankind. There is one point, however, that puts me to a stand, which is, that the brute animals partake of all these blessings as well as ourselves."—"Yes," replied Socrates: "but do you not observe, that all these animals subsist only for man's service? The strongest and most vigorous of them he subjects at his will; he makes them tame and gentle, and employs them with great advantage in war, tillage, and the other occasions of life."

"What if we consider man in himself?" Here Socrates examines the diversity of the senses, by the ministry of which man enjoys all that is best and most excellent in nature; the vivacity of his mind, and therefore of his reason, which exalts him infinitely above all other animals; the wonderful gift of speech, by the means of which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally, publish our laws, and govern states.

"From all this," says Socrates, "it is easy to discern that there are gods, and that they have man in their particular care, though he cannot discover them by his senses. Do we perceive the thunder whilst it crushes every thing which opposes it? Do we distinguish the winds whilst they make such dreadful havoc before our eyes? Our soul itself, which is so intimately connected with us, which moves and actuates us, is it visible; can we behold it?—It is the same with regard to the gods, of whom none are visible in the distribution of their favours. This GREAT GOD himself!" (these words are remarkable, and demonstrate that Socrates acknowledged one supreme GOD, the Author of all being, and superior to all others, who were only the ministers of his will,) "this GREAT GOD who has formed the universe, and supports the stupendous work, whose every part is finished with the utmost goodness and harmony; he who preserves them perpetually in immortal vigour, and causes them to obey him with a never-failing punctuality, and a rapidity not to be followed by our imagination: this God makes himself sufficiently visible by the endless wonders of which he is author; but continues always invisible in himself. Let us not then refuse to believe even what we do not see; and let us supply the defects of our corporeal eyes, by using those of the soul;

but especially let us learn to render the just homage of respect and veneration to the Divinity, whose will it seems to be, that we should have no other perception of him than by his benefits vouchsafed to us. Now this adoration, this homage, consists in pleasing him, and we can only please him in doing his will."

In this manner Socrates instructed youth:² these are the principles and sentiments with which he inspired them; on the one side, a perfect submission to the laws and magistrates, in which he made justice consist; on the other, a profound regard for the Divinity, which constitutes religion. In things surpassing our understanding, he advises us to consult the gods; and as they impart themselves only to those that please them, he recommends above all things the making of them propitious by a prudent and regular conduct. "The gods are free,"³ says he, "and it depends upon them either to grant what we ask, or to give us directly the reverse of it." He cites an excellent prayer from a poet whose name has not come down to us: "Great God, give us, we beseech thee, those good things of which we stand in need, whether we crave them or not; and remove from us all those which may be hurtful to us, even though we implore them of thee." The vulgar imagined, that there are things which the gods observe, and others of which they take no notice; but Socrates taught, that the gods observe all our actions and words; that they penetrate into our most secret thoughts; are present in all our deliberations; and that they inspire us in all our actions.

SECTION V.—SOCRATES APPLIES HIMSELF TO DISCREDIT THE SOPHISTS IN THE OPINION OF THE YOUNG ATHENIANS. WHAT IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD OF THE IRONICAL CHARACTER ASCRIBED TO HIM.

SOCRATES found it necessary to guard the young people against a bad taste which had prevailed for some time in Greece. A set of assuming men arose, who, ranking themselves as the first sages of Greece, were in their conduct entirely the reverse. For instead of being infinitely remote from all avarice and ambition, like Pittacus, Bias, Thales, and the others, who made the study of wisdom their principal occupation, these men were ambitious and covetous, entered into the intrigues and affairs of the world, and made a trade of their pretended knowledge. They⁴ called themselves sophists.⁵ They wandered from city to city, and caused themselves to be cried up as oracles, and walked about attended by crowds of their disciples, who, through a kind of enchantment, abandoned the embraces of their parents to follow these proud teachers, whom they paid a great price for their instruction. There was nothing these masters did not profess:—theology, physics, ethics, arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, music, poetry, rhetoric, and history. The knew every thing, and could teach every thing. Their greatest supposed skill lay in philosophy and eloquence. Most of them, like Gorgias, valued themselves upon giving immediate answers to all questions that could be proposed to them. Their young disciples acquired nothing from their precepts, but a silly esteem for themselves, and a universal contempt for every body else; so that not a scholar quitted these schools, but was more impertinent than when he first entered them.

It was necessary to decry the false eloquence and bad logic of these proud teachers in the opinions of the young Athenians. To attack them openly, and dispute with them in a direct manner, by a connected discourse, was what Socrates could well have done, for he possessed in a supreme degree the talents of elocution and reasoning; but this was not the way to succeed against great haranguers, whose

² Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv. p. 803 & 805.

³ 'Επὶ θεῶν ἰστίον, εἴμαι, ὅσῳ καὶ δίδοναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τις ἐχόμενος τυχάνῃ καὶ τἀντιπρὸς τούτων. Plat. in Alcib. ii. p. 148.

⁴ Plat. in Apolog. p. 19, 20.

⁵ Sic enim appellantur hi qui ostentationis aut questus causa philosophantur. Cic. in Lucul. n. 129

¹ 'Παρά θεομορφίας πρὸς τοῦτο παύειν, αἱ ἡνιόχ μοῖν ἂν διορίσιν πολλά καὶ παντοῖα παρεκκλίνουσιν ἄλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἐρηνομένην.

sole aim was to dazzle their auditors with a vain glitter and rapid flow of words. He therefore took another course,¹ and employing the artifices and address of irony, which he knew how to apply with wonderful art and delicacy, he chose to conceal, under the appearance of simplicity and the affectation of ignorance, all the beauty and great force of his genius. Nature, which had given him so fine a soul, seemed to have formed his outside expressly for supporting the ironic character. He was very ugly, and, besides that, had something very dull and stupid in his physiognomy.² The whole air of his person, which had nothing but what was very common and very poor in it, perfectly corresponded with that of his countenance.

When he happened to fall into the company of some one of those sophists,³ he proposed his doubts with a diffident and modest air, he asked simple questions in a plain manner, and as if he had been incapable of expressing himself otherwise, made use of trivial comparisons, and allusions taken from the meanest employments. The sophist heard him with a scornful attention, and instead of giving him a precise answer, had recourse to his common-place phrases, and talked a great deal without saying any thing to the purpose. Socrates, after having praised (in order not to enrage) his adversary, entreated him to adapt himself to his weakness, and to descend so low as him, by satisfying his questions in a few words; because neither his wit nor memory was capable of comprehending or retaining so many fine and exalted notions, and all his knowledge was confined to question and answer.

This passed in a numerous assembly, and the teacher could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his entrenchment, by obliging him to answer his questions succinctly, he carried him on from one to another, to the most absurd consequences; and after having reduced him either to contradict himself, or be silent, he complained that the learned man would not vouchsafe to instruct him. The young people, however, perceived the incapacity of their master, and changed their admiration for him into contempt. Thus the name of sophist became odious and ridiculous.

It is easy to judge that men of the sophists' character, of which I have now spoken, who were in high credit with the great, who lorded it amongst the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; and the rather, because they had been assailed in the two most sensible points, their fame and their interest. Socrates,⁴ for having endeavoured to unmask their vices and discredit their false eloquence, experienced from these men, who were equally corrupt and haughty, all that could be feared or expected from the most malignant envy and the most envenomed hatred; to which it is now time to proceed.

SECTION VI.—SOCRATES IS ACCUSED OF HOLDING BAD OPINIONS IN REGARD TO THE GODS, AND OF CORRUPTING THE ATHENIAN YOUTH. HE DEFENDS HIMSELF WITHOUT ART OR FEAR. HE IS CONDEMNED TO DIE

A. M. 3602. before the first year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, soon after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants out of

Athens, in the sixty-ninth year of his life; but the prosecution had been projected long before. The oracle of Delphi, which had declared him the wisest of mankind; the contempt into which he had brought the doctrine and morals of the sophists of his time, who were then in high reputation; the liberty with which he attacked all vice; the singular attachment of his disciples to his person and maxims had all concurred in alienating people against him, and had drawn abundance of envy upon him.

His enemies having sworn his destruction,⁵ and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, prepared the way for it at a distance, and at first attacked him in the dark, and by obscure and secret methods. It is said, that in order to sound the people's disposition towards Socrates, and to try whether it would ever be safe to cite him before the judges, they engaged Aristophanes to bring him upon the stage in a comedy, wherein the first seeds of the accusation meditated against him were sown. It is not certain whether Aristophanes was suborned by Anytus and the rest of Socrates's enemies to compose that satirical piece against him. It is very likely that Socrates's declared contempt for all comedies in general, and for those of Aristophanes in particular, whilst he professed an extraordinary esteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge of the philosopher. However it were, Aristophanes, to the disgrace of poetry lent his pen to the malice of Socrates's enemies, or his own resentment, and employed his whole genius and capacity to depreciate the best and most excellent man that ever the pagan world produced.

He composed a piece called *The Clouds*, wherein he introduces the philosopher perched in a basket and hoisted up amidst the air and clouds, from whence he delivers maxims, or rather the most ridiculous subtleties. A very aged debtor, who desires to escape the close pursuit of his creditors, comes to him to be taught the art of tricking them at law; to prove by unanswerable reasons that he owes them nothing; and, in a word, of a very bad, to make a very good, cause. But finding himself incapable of any improvement from the sublime lessons of his new master, he brings his son to him in his stead. This young man soon after quits this learned school so well instructed, that at their first meeting he beats his father, and proves to him by subtle but invincible arguments, that he has reason for treating him in that manner. In every scene where Socrates appears, the poet makes him utter a thousand impertinences, and as many impieties against the gods, and in particular against Jupiter. He makes him talk like a man of the greatest vanity and highest opinion of himself, with an equal contempt for all others, who out of a criminal curiosity is desirous of penetrating into what passes in the heavens, and of diving into the abysses of the earth; who boasts of having always the means of making injustice triumph; and who is not contented with keeping those secrets for his own use, but teaches them to others, and thereby corrupts youth. All this is attended with a refined raillery and wit, that could not fail of highly pleasing a people of so quick and delicate a taste as the Athenians, who were besides naturally jealous of all transcendent merit. They were so much charmed with it, that without waiting the conclusion of the representation, they ordered the name of Aristophanes to be set down above all his competitors.

Socrates, who had been informed that he was to be brought upon the stage, went that day to the theatre to see the comedy contrary to his custom; for it was not common for him to go to those assemblies, unless when some new tragedy of Euripides was to be performed, who was his intimate friend, and whose pieces he esteemed upon account of the solid principles of morality he took care to intersperse in them. It has, however, been observed, that he once had not patience to wait the conclusion of one of them, wherein the actor had advanced a dangerous maxim, but went out immediately, without consider

¹ Socrates in ironia dissimulantiq; longè omnibus lepore atque humanitate præstitit. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 270.

² Zopyrus physiognomon—stupidum esse Socratem dixit et barbum. Cic. de Nat. n. 10.

³ Socrates de se ipso detrahens in disputatione, plus tribuebat illi, quod volebat refellere. Ita cùm aliud diceret, atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est illa dissimulatione quam Græci γίγνισκιν vocant. Cic. Acad. Quest. l. iv. c. 15.

⁴ Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et cæteros sophistas, ut à Platone intelligi potest, lusus videmus à Socrate. Is enim percontando atque interrogando elicere solent eorum opiniones quibuscum diserebat, ut, ad ea, quæ ei respondissent, et quid videretur, diceret. Cic. de Finib. l. ii. n. 2.

⁵ Plat. in Apolog. p. 23

⁵ Ælian. l. ii. c. 13. Plat. in Apolog. Socris p. 10.

ing the injury which his withdrawing might do to his friend's reputation. He never went to comedies, unless that Alcibiades and Critias forced him thither against his will; as he was offended at the unbounded licentiousness which reigned in them, and could not endure to see the reputation of his fellow-citizens publicly torn in pieces. He was present at this without the least emotion, and without expressing any discontent; and some strangers being anxious to know who the Socrates intended by the play was, he rose up from his seat, and showed himself during the whole representation. He told those who were near him,¹ and were amazed at his indifference and patience, that he imagined himself at a great entertainment, where he was agreeably laughed at, and that it was necessary to be able to bear a joke.

There is no probability, as I have already observed, that Aristophanes, though he was not Socrates's friend, had entered into the black conspiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of occasioning his destruction. It is more probable, that a poet who diverted the public at the expense of the principal magistrates and most celebrated generals, was also willing to make them laugh at the expense of a philosopher. All the guilt was on the side of those who envied him, and his enemies, who were in hopes of making great use of the representation of this comedy against him. The artifice was indeed deep and well planned. In bringing a man upon the stage, he is only represented by his bad, weak, or equivocal qualities. That view of him is followed with ridicule: ridicule accustoms people to the contempt of his person, and contempt proceeds to injustice. For the world are naturally emboldened in insulting, abusing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of general contempt.

These were the first blows struck at him, and served as an essay and trial of the great affair meditated against him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out until twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republic might well occasion that long delay. For it was in that interval that the enterprise against Sicily happened, the event of which was so unfortunate, that Athens was besieged and taken by Lysander, who changed its form of government and established the thirty tyrants, who were not expelled till a very short time before the affair we speak of.

Melitus then appeared as accu-

A. M. 3603. ser, and entered a process in form
Ant. J. C. 401. against Socrates. His accusation consisted of two heads. The first was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities: the second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring that sentence of death ought to pass against him.

Never had accusation so little foundation, or even probability and pretext, as this. Socrates for forty years had made it his profession to instruct the Athenian youth. He had advanced no opinions in secret and in the dark. His lessons were given publicly, and in the view of great numbers of auditors. He had always observed the same conduct, and taught the same principles. What then could be Melitus's motive for this accusation after such a length of time? How came his zeal for the public good, after having been languid and drowsy for so many years, to awake on a sudden and become so violent? Is it pardonable in so zealous and worthy a citizen as Melitus would wish to appear, to have continued mute and inactive, whilst a person was corrupting the whole youth of that city, by instilling seditious maxims into them, and inspiring them with a disgust and contempt for the established governments? For he who does not prevent an evil when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it. These are the expressions of Libanius in a declamation of his called the *Apology of Socrates*.² But, continues he, allowing that Melitus, whether

through forgetfulness, indifference, or real and a serious engagements, never thought for so many years of entering an accusation against Socrates; how came it to pass, that in a city like Athens, which abounded with wise magistrates, and, what is more, with bold informers, so public a conspiracy as that imputed to Socrates should have escaped the eyes of those whom either the love of their country or invidious malignity rendered so vigilant and attentive? Nothing was ever less credible, or more void of all probability.

As soon as the conspiracy broke out,³ the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lysias, the most able orator of his time, brought him an elaborate discourse of his composing, wherein he had set forth the reasons and measures of Socrates in their fullest light, and interspersed the whole with tender and pathetic strokes,⁴ capable of moving the most obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleasure, and approved it very much; but as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric than the sentiments and fortitude of a philosopher, he told him frankly that it did not suit him. Upon which Lysias, having asked how it was possible to be well done, and at the same time not suit him;—In the same manner, said he, using, according to his custom, a vulgar comparison, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or shoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which, however, would not fit me. He persisted therefore inflexible in the resolution he had formed, not to demean himself by begging suffrages in the low abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence; he had no recourse either to solicitation or entreaty: he brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their sighs and tears. Nevertheless,⁵ though he firmly refused to make use of any voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the submissive posture of a suppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal: it was from a noble and intrepid assurance, resulting from greatness of soul, and the usual attendant upon consciousness of truth and innocence. So that his defence had nothing timorous or weak in it. His discourse was bold, manly, generous, without passion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philosopher, with no other ornament than that of truth, and displaying throughout the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present, transcribed it afterwards, and without any additions composed from it the work which he calls the *The Apology of Socrates*, one of the most consummate master pieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it.

Upon the day assigned,⁶ the proceeding commenced in the usual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke. The worse his cause, and the less provided it was with proofs, the more occasion he had for address and art to cover its weakness. He omitted nothing that might render the adverse party odious; and instead of reasons, which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive glitter of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in observing that he could not tell what impression the discourse of his accusers might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part he scarce knew himself, such an artful colouring and likelihood had they given to their arguments, though there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.

I have already said that their accusation consisted of two heads.⁷ The first regards religion. Socrates inquires out of an impious curiosity into what passes in the heavens and in the bowels of the earth. He

¹ Cicer. l. i. de Orat. n. 231—233.

² Quint. l. xi. c. 1.

³ Hic et talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum consilium ad iudicium capitis, nec iudicibus supplex fuit: adhibuit liberam contumaciam a magnitudine animi ductam non a superbia. Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. i.

⁴ Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. Xenoph. in Apolog. Socrat. et in Memor.

⁵ Plat. in Apolog. p. 24.

⁶ Plat. de educ. liber. p. 10.

⁷ Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 645—646

does not acknowledge the gods adored by his country. He endeavours to introduce new deities; and, if he may be believed, an unknown god inspires him in all his actions. To make short, he believes there are no gods.

The second head relates to the interest and government of the state. Socrates corrupts the youth by instilling bad sentiments concerning the Divinity into them, by teaching them a contempt of the laws, and the order established in the republic; by declaring openly against the choice of the magistrates by lot,¹ by exclaiming against the public assemblies, where he is never seen to appear; by teaching the art of making the worst of causes good: by attaching the youth to himself out of a spirit of pride and ambition, under the pretence of instructing them; and by proving to children that they may treat their parents ill with impunity. He glories in a pretended oracle, and believes himself the wisest of mankind. He taxes all others with folly, and condemns without reserve all their maxims and actions; constituting himself by his own authority the general censor and reformer of the state. Notwithstanding which, the effects of his lessons may be seen in the persons of Critias and Alcibiades, his most intimate friends, who have done great mischiefs to their country, and have been the most wicked of citizens and the most abandoned of men.

This concluded with recommending to the judges to be very much upon their guard against the dazzling eloquence of Socrates, and to suspect extremely the insinuating and artificial turns of address which he would employ to deceive them.

Socrates began his discourse with this point,² and declared that he would speak to the judges as it was his custom to talk in his common conversation, that is to say, with much simplicity, and no art.

He then proceeds to particulars.³ Upon what foundation can it be alleged, that he does not acknowledge the gods of the republic; he who has been often seen sacrificing in his own house and in the temples? Can it be doubted whether he uses divination, since it is made a crime in him to report that he received counsels from a certain divinity; and is thence inferred that he aims at introducing new deities? But in this he innovates nothing more than others, who, putting their faith in divination, observe the flight of birds, consult the entrails of victims, and remark even words and accidental encounters—different means which the gods employ to give mankind a foreknowledge of the future. Old or new, it is still evident that Socrates acknowledges divinities, by the confession of even Melitus himself, who in his information avers that Socrates believes dæmons, that is to say, subaltern spirits, the offspring of the gods. Now every man who believes the offspring of the gods, believes the gods.

As to what relates to the impious inquiries into natural things imputed to him;⁴ without despising or condemning those who apply themselves to the study of physics, he declares that, as for himself, he had entirely devoted himself to what concerns moral virtue, the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as to a knowledge infinitely more useful than any other; and he calls upon all those who have been his hearers, to come forth and convict him of falsehood if he does not say what is true.

"I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worship of the gods as the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never made it my profession to teach, nor can envy, however violent against me, reproach me with ever having sold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me

in this respect, which is my poverty. Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them full leisure to question or answer me, I lend myself to every one who is desirous of becoming virtuous: and if amongst those who hear me, there are any that prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, of which I am not the cause, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be ascribed to me. My whole employment is to persuade the young and old not to entertain too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things, of whatsoever nature they be; but to let their principal regard be for the soul, which ought to be the chief object of their affection: for I incessantly urge to you, that virtue does not proceed from riches, but, on the contrary, riches from virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their source in the same principle.

"If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is most easy to convict me of falsehood. I see here a great number of my disciples; they have only to appear. But perhaps reserve and consideration for a master who has instructed them, will prevent them from declaring against me: at least their fathers, brothers, and uncles cannot, as good relations and good citizens, excuse themselves from standing forth to demand vengeance against the corrupter of their sons, brothers, and nephews. But these are the persons who take upon them my defence, and interest themselves in the success of my cause.

"Pass on me what sentence you please,⁵ Athenians; but I can neither repent nor change my conduct. I must not abandon nor suspend a function which God himself has imposed on me. Now it is He who has charged me with the care of instructing my fellow-citizens. If, after having faithfully kept all the posts wherein I was placed by our generals at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death should at this time make me abandon that in which the Divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to pass my life in the study of philosophy for the instruction of myself and others; this would be a most criminal desertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal as an impious man who does not believe the gods. Should you resolve to acquit me, on condition that I keep silence for the future, I should not hesitate to make answer,—'Athenians, I honour and love you, but I shall chuse rather to obey God than you,⁶ and to my latest breath shall never renounce philosophy, nor cease to exhort and reprove you according to my custom, by telling each of you when you come in my way. My good friend,⁷ and citizen of the most famous city in the world for wisdom and valour, are you not ashamed of having no other thoughts than that of amassing wealth, and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilst you neglect the treasures of prudence, truth, and wisdom, and take no pains in rendering your soul as good and perfect as it is capable of being?'

"I am reproached with abject fear and meanness of spirit,⁸ for being so busy in imparting my advice to every one in private, and yet having always avoided being present in your assemblies, to give my counsels to my country. I thought I had given sufficient proofs of my courage and fortitude, both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the senate, where I alone opposed the unjust sentence you pronounced against the ten captains, who had not taken up and interred the bodies of those who were killed or drowned in the sea-fight near the islands Arginusæ; and when, upon more than one occasion, I opposed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has prevented me from appearing in your assemblies? It is that Dæmon Athe-

¹ Socrates in reality did not approve this manner of electing the magistrates. He observed, that when a pilot, a musician, or an architect is wanted, nobody is willing to take him at a venture; though the faults of these people are far from being of such great importance as those errors which are committed in the administration of the republic. *Xenoph. Memorab. l. ii. § 1. p. 712.*

² Plat. p. 17. ³ Plat. p. 27. *Xenoph. p. 702.*

⁴ *Xenoph. p. 710.*

⁵ Plat. p. 28, 29.

⁶ *Ἦναι μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ μάλλον ἢ ἑμῖν.*

⁷ The Greek signifies *O best of men, O worthy friend*, which was an obliging manner of addressing.

⁸ Plat. p. 31.

nians, that voice divine, which you have so often heard me mention, and which Melitus has taken so much pains to ridicule. That spirit has attached itself to me from my infancy: it is a voice which I never hear, but when it would prevent me from persisting in something I have resolved, for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing. It is that which has always opposed me when I would have inter-meddled in the affairs of the republic; and its opposition was very reasonable; for I should have been amongst the dead long ago, had I been concerned in the measures of the state, without effecting any thing to the advantage of myself or our country. Do not take it ill, I beseech you, if I speak my thoughts without disguise, and with truth and freedom. Every man who would generously oppose a whole people, either amongst us, or elsewhere, and who inflexibly applies himself to prevent the violation of the laws and the practice of iniquity in a city, will never do so long with impunity. It is absolutely necessary for him who would contend for justice, if he has the slightest wish to live, to remain in a private station, and never to have any share in public affairs.

"For the rest,¹ Athenians, if, in the extreme danger in which I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of those who upon less emergencies have implored and supplicated their judges with tears, and have brought before them their children, relations and friends; it is not through pride and obstinacy, or any contempt for you, but solely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. It is fit that you should know, that there are amongst our citizens, those who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injustice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation which I have, whether true or false, would it be consistent for me, after all the lessons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myself, and to belie by my last act all the principles and sentiments of my past life?

"But without speaking of my fame, which I should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do not think it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to procure an acquittal by supplications; he ought to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does not sit upon the bench to show favour by violating the laws, but to do justice by conforming to them. He did not take an oath to favour whom he pleases; but to do justice where it is due. We ought not therefore to accustom you to perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed to it; for in so doing, both the one and the other of us equally injure justice and religion, and both become criminal.

"Do not therefore expect from me, Athenians, that I should have recourse amongst you to means which I believe neither honest nor lawful; especially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused of impiety by Melitus. For if I should influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident that I should teach you not to believe in the gods; and even in defending and justifying myself, should furnish my adversaries with arms against me, and prove that I believe in no divinity. But I am very far from such thoughts. I am more convinced of the existence of God than my accusers; and so convinced, that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge of me as you shall deem best for yourselves and me."

Socrates pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone.² His air, his action, his visage, bore no resemblance to that of a person accused: he seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without, however, losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. So noble and majestic a deportment displeased and gave offence. It is common for judges,³ who

look upon themselves as the absolute dispensers of life or death to such as are before them, to expect out of a secret tendency of mind, that they should appear in their presence with humble submission and respectful awe; an homage which they think due to their supreme authority.

This was what happened now. Melitus, however, had not at first the fifth part of the voices. We have reason to suppose that the judges assembled upon this occasion might amount to five hundred, without reckoning the president. The law condemned the accuser to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas,⁴ if he had not the fifth part of the suffrages. This law had been wisely established to check the boldness and impudence of calumniators. Melitus would have been obliged to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not joined him, and presented themselves also as the accusers of Socrates. Their influence drew over a great number of voices, and there were two hundred and eighty-one against Socrates, and consequently only two hundred and twenty for him. He wanted no more than thirty-one to have been acquitted,⁵ for he would then have had two hundred and fifty-one, which would have been the majority.

By this first sentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty, without decreeing against him any penalty.⁶ For when the law did not determine the punishment, and when a crime against the state was not in question (in which manner I conceive Cicero's expression, *fraus capitalis*, may be understood,) the person found guilty had a right to choose the penalty he thought he deserved. Upon his answer the judges deliberated a second time, and afterwards passed their final sentence. Socrates was informed that he might demand an abatement of the penalty, and change the condemnation of death into banishment, imprisonment, or a fine. He replied generously, that he would choose neither of those punishments, because that would be to acknowledge himself guilty.—"Athenians," said he, "to keep you no longer in suspense, as you oblige me to sentence myself according to what I deserve, I condemn myself, for having passed my life in instructing yourselves and your children; for having neglected with that view my domestic affairs, and all public employments and dignities; for having devoted myself entirely to the service of my country, in labouring incessantly to render my fellow-citizens virtuous: I condemn myself, I say, to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the expense of the republic for the rest of my life."⁷ This last answer so much offended the judges,⁸ that they condemned him to drink hemlock, a punishment very much in use amongst them.

This sentence did not shake the constancy of Socrates in the least.⁹ "I am going," said he, addressing himself to his judges with a noble tranquillity, "to suffer death by your order, to which nature had condemned me from the first moment of my birth; but my accusers will suffer no less from infamy and injustice by the decrees of truth. Did you expect from me, that to extricate myself out of your hands,

¹ About 257.

² The text varies in Plato: it says, thirty-three, or thirty; whence it is probably defective.

³ *Primis sententiis statuebant tantum iudices, damnarent an absolvent. Erat autem Athenis, reo damnato, si fraus capitalis non esset, quasi pena estimatio. Ex sententia, cum iudicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus, quam quasi estimationem commensurasse se maximè confiteretur. Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231, 232.*

⁴ It appears in Plato, that after this discourse, Socrates, without doubt to remove from himself an imputation of pride and contumacy, modestly offered to pay a fine proportionate to his indigence, that is to say, one mine (fifty livres), and that, at the solicitation of his friends, who had bound themselves for him, he rose in his offer to thirty mines. *Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 38.* But Xenophon positively asserts the contrary, p. 705. This difference may be reconciled, perhaps, by supposing that Socrates refused at first to make any offer, and that he suffered himself at length to be overcome by the earnest solicitations of his friends.

⁵ Cujus responsio sic iudices exarserunt, ut capitis hominem innocentissimum condemnarent. *Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 232*

⁶ Plat. p. 39.

¹ Plat. p. 34, 35

² Socrates ita in iudicio capitis pro se ipse dixit, ut non supplicet aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse iudicum. *Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231.*

³ Odit iudex fore litigantem securitatem; cumque sua cum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam postulat. *Quint. l. iv. 1.*

should have employed, according to the custom, flattery and pathetic expressions, and the timorous and grovelling behaviour of a suppliant? But in trials, as well as war, an honest man ought not to use all sorts of means for the preservation of his life. It is equally dishonourable both in the one and in the other, to ransom it only by prayers and tears, and all those other abject methods which you see every day practised by people in my present condition."

Apollodorus, who was one of his friends and disciples, having advanced to him to express his grief for his dying innocent: "What," replied he, with a smile, "would you have me die guilty?"

Plutarch,¹ to show that only our weakest part, the body, is in the power of man, but that there is another infinitely more noble part of us entirely superior to their threats, and inaccessible to their attacks, cites these admirable words of Socrates, which are more applicable to his judges than his accusers: *Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot hurt me.* As if he had said, in the language of the Pagans: Fortune may deprive me of my goods, my health, and my life; but I have a treasure within me, of which no external violence can deprive me; I mean virtue, innocence, fortitude, and greatness of mind.

This great man,² fully convinced of the principle he had so often inculcated to his disciples—that guilt the only evil a wise man ought to fear,—chose rather to be deprived of some years which he might perhaps have to live, than to forfeit in an instant the glory of his whole past life, in dishonouring himself for ever by the shameful behaviour he was advised to observe towards his judges. Seeing that his contemporaries had but a slight knowledge of him, he referred himself to the judgment of posterity; and, by the generous sacrifice of the remnant of a life already far advanced, acquired and secured to himself the esteem and admiration of all succeeding ages.

SECTION VII.—SOCRATES REFUSES TO ESCAPE OUT OF PRISON. HE PASSES THE LAST DAY OF HIS LIFE IN DISCOURSING WITH HIS FRIENDS UPON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL. HE DRINKS THE POISON. PUNISHMENT OF HIS ACCUSERS. HONOURS PAID TO HIS MEMORY.

AFTER the sentence had been passed upon him, Socrates,³ with the same intrepid aspect with which he had held the tyrants in awe, went forward towards the prison, which lost that name, says Seneca, when he entered it; and became the residence of virtue and probity. His friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during thirty days, which passed between his condemnation and death. The cause of that long delay was, the Athenians sent every year a ship to the isle of Delos, to offer certain sacrifices; and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time that the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel, as a signal of its departure, till the same vessel should return. So that sentence having been passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had sufficient opportunity to present itself before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his constancy to the proof, not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event which nature always abhors. In this sad condition he did not cease to enjoy that

profound tranquillity of mind which his friends had always admired in him.⁴ He conversed with them with the same temper he had always expressed; and Crito observes, that the evening before his death he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He even at that time composed a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of *Æsop's* fables into verse.

The day before, or the same day that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning to let him know that mournful news, and at the same time to inform him that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the jailor was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, *whether he knew any place out of Attica where people did not die?* Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding arguments upon arguments to induce his consent, and to engage him to resolve upon his escape. Without mentioning the inconsolable grief he should suffer for the death of such a friend, how should he support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have saved him, but that he would not sacrifice a small part of his wealth for that purpose? Could the people ever be persuaded that so wise a man as Socrates would not quit his prison, when he might do it with all possible security? Perhaps he might fear to expose his friends, or to occasion the loss of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty. Ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preservation of Socrates? Even strangers themselves dispute that honour with them; many of whom have come expressly with considerable sums of money to purchase his escape; and declare, that they should think themselves highly honoured to receive him amongst them, and to supply him abundantly with all he should have occasion for. Ought he then to abandon himself to enemies, who have occasioned his being condemned unjustly; and can he think it allowable to betray his own cause? Is it not essential to his goodness and justice to spare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But if all these motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned with regard to himself, can he be insensible to the interests of his children? In what a condition does he leave them? And can he forget the father, only to remember the philosopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praised his zeal, and expressed his gratitude: but before he could accede to his opinion, was for examining whether it was just for him to depart out of prison without the consent of the Athenians. The question, therefore, here is to know, whether a man condemned to die, though unjustly, can without a crime escape from justice and the laws? I do not know, whether amongst us, there are many persons to be found who would believe that this could be made a question.

Socrates begins with removing every thing foreign to the subject, and comes immediately to the bottom of the affair. "I should certainly rejoice extremely, my dear Crito, if you could persuade me to quit this place, but cannot resolve to do so without being first persuaded. We ought not to concern ourselves for what the people may say, but for what the sole Judge of all that is just or unjust shall say, and that alone is truth. All the considerations you have alleged, as money, reputation, family, prove nothing, unless you show me that what you propose is just and lawful. It is a received and constant principle with us, that all injustice is shameful and fatal to him that commits it, whatever men may say, or whatever good or evil may ensue from it. We have always reasoned from this principle even to our latest days, and have never departed in the least from it. Would it be possible, dear Crito, that at our age our most serious discourses should resemble those of infants, who say Yes and No almost in the same breath, and have no fixed and

¹ De anim. tranquil. p. 475.

² Multum vir sapientissimus quod supponebat ex vita sibi petere, quâ quid præterisset: et quando ab hominibus sui temporis partim intelligebatur, posterum se judicium reservavit, brevi detrimentum jam ultimæ sæculetæ ævum seculorum omnium consecutus. Quint. l. i. c. 1.

³ Socrates eodem illo vultu, quo aliquando solus triginta tyrannos in ordinem redegebat, carcerem intravit, ignominium ipsi loco detracturus. Neque enim poterat carere videri, in quo Socrates erat. Senec. in Consol. ad Helent. c. xiii.

Socrates carcerem intrando purgavit, omniq; honestio ex via reddidit. Id. de vit. beat. c. xxvii.

⁴ Plat. in Criton.

determinate notion?"—At each proposition he waited Crito's answer and assent.

Let us therefore resume our principles, and endeavour to make use of them at this time. It has always been a maxim with us, that it is never allowable upon any pretence whatsoever to commit injustice, not even in regard to those who injure us, nor to return evil for evil; and that when we have once engaged our word, we are bound to keep it inviolable; no interest being capable to dispense with it. Now, if at the time I should be ready to make my escape, the laws and republic should present themselves in a body before me, what could I answer to the following questions which they might put to me? 'What are you going to do, Socrates?' Is flying from justice in this manner aught else than ruining entirely the laws and the republic? Do you believe that a state can subsist, after justice is not only no longer in force in it, but is even corrupted, subverted, and trod under foot by individuals? But, it may be said, the republic has done me injustice, and has sentenced me wrongfully. 'Have you forgot,' the laws would reply, 'that you are under an agreement with us to submit your private judgment to that of the republic? You were at liberty, if our government and regulations did not suit you, to retire and settle yourself elsewhere: but a residence of seventy years in our city sufficiently denotes that our regulations have not displeased you, and that you have complied with them from an entire knowledge and experience of them, and out of choice. In fact you owe all you are, and all you possess, to them; birth, nurture, education, and establishment: for all these proceed from the tuition and protection of the republic. Do you believe yourself free to break through engagements with her, which you have confirmed by more than one oath? Though she should intend to destroy you, can you render her evil for evil, and injury for injury? Have you a right to act in that manner towards your father and mother; and do you not know that your country is more considerable, and more worthy of respect before God and man, than either father or mother, or all the relations in the world together; that your country is to be honoured and revered, to be complied with in her excesses, and to be treated with tenderness and kindness even in her most violent proceedings? in a word, that she is either to be reclaimed by wise counsels and respectful remonstrances, or to be obeyed in her commands, and all she shall decree suffered without murmuring? As for your children, Socrates, your friends will render them all the services in their power; at least the Divine Providence will not fail them. Resign yourself therefore to our reasons, and take the counsel of those who have given you birth, nurture, and education. Set not so high a value upon your children, your life, or any thing in the world, as upon justice; that when you appear before the tribunal of Pluto, you may not be at a loss to defend yourself in the presence of your judges. But if you demean yourself otherwise, we shall continue your enemies as long as you live, without ever affording you relaxation or repose; and when you are dead, our sisters, the laws in the regions below, will be as little favourable to you; knowing that you have been guilty of using your utmost endeavours to destroy us.'

Socrates observed to Crito, that he seemed actually to hear all he had said, and that the sound of these words echoed so continually in his ears, that they entirely engrossed him, and left him no other thoughts or words. Crito, agreeing in fact that he had nothing to reply, continued silent, and withdrew from his friend.

At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was in a manner the signal for the death of Socrates.¹ The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was sick, repaired to the prison early in the morning. The jailer desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at that time signifying to the prisoner that he was to die the same day. Presently after they

entered, and found Socrates, whose chains had been taken off,² sitting by Xantippe his wife, who held one of his children in her arms. As soon as she perceived them she uttered piercing cries, sobbing, and tearing her face and hair, and made the prison resound with her complaints. "Oh my dear Socrates, your friends are come to see you this day for the last time!" He desired that she might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and conversed with them with his usual cheerfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was most important, and well suited to his present condition; that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse was a question introduced in a manner by chance, Whether a true philosopher ought not to desire and take pains to die? This proposition, taken too literally, implied an opinion that a philosopher might kill himself. Socrates shows that nothing is more unjust than this notion; and that man, appertaining to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor quit life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happiness which he expects in another life, and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject, from which conversation Plato's admirable dialogue, entitled *Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very near the same as are made at this day. This treatise is too long for me to attempt an abstract of it.

Before he answers any of these objections,³ he deplores a misfortune common enough amongst men, who, in consequence of hearing ignorant persons, that contradict and doubt every thing, dispute, and believe there is nothing certain. "Is it not a great misfortune, dear *Phædon*, that having reasons which are true, certain, and very easy to be understood, there should, however, be persons in the world who are not at all affected with them, from their having heard those frivolous disputes wherein all things appear sometimes true and sometimes false. These unjust and unreasonable men, instead of blaming themselves for these doubts, or imputing them to the narrowness of their own capacities, by ascribing the defect to the reasons themselves, proceed at length to a detestation of them, and believe themselves more judicious and better informed than all others, because they imagine they are the only persons who comprehend that there is nothing true or certain in the nature of things."

Socrates demonstrates the injustice of this proceeding. He observes, that of two things equally uncertain, wisdom enjoins us to choose that which is most advantageous with least hazard. "If what I advance," says he, "upon the immortality of the soul proves true, it is good to believe it; and if after my death it proves false I shall still have drawn from it in this life this advantage,—of having been less sensible here of the evils which generally attend human life." This reasoning of Socrates⁴ (which is real and true in the mouth of a Christian alone) is very remarkable. If what I say is true, I gain every thing, whilst I hazard very little: and if false, I lose nothing; on the contrary, I am still a great gainer.

Socrates does not confine himself to the mere speculation of this great truth, that the soul is immortal; he draws from it useful and necessary conclu-

¹ At Athens as soon as sentence was pronounced upon a criminal, he was unbound, and considered as the victim of death, whom it was no longer lawful to keep in chains.

² Plat. p. 90. 91.

³ Monsieur Pascal has expatiated upon this reasoning in his seventh article, and deduced from it a demonstration of infinite force.

⁴ Plat in *Phæd.* p. 59, &c.

sions for the conduct of life, in explaining what the hope of a happy eternity demands from man, that it be not frustrated, and that instead of attaining the rewards prepared for the good, they do not experience the punishment allotted for the wicked. The philosopher here sets forth these great truths, which a constant tradition, though very much obscured by fiction and fable, had always preserved amongst the Pagans: the last judgment of the righteous and wicked; the eternal punishments to which great criminals are condemned; a place of peace and joy without end for the souls that have retained their purity and innocence, or which during this life have expiated their offences by repentance and satisfaction; and an intermediate state, in which they purify themselves, for a certain time, from less considerable crimes that have not been atoned for during this life.

"My friends,¹ there is still one thing, which it is very just to believe; and this is, that if the soul be immortal, it requires to be cultivated with attention, not only for what we call the time of life, but for that which is to follow, I mean eternity; and the least neglect in this point may be attended with endless consequences. If death were the final dissolution of being, the wicked would be great gainers by it, as being delivered at once from their bodies, their souls, and their vices; but as the soul is immortal, it has no other means of being freed from its evils, nor any safety for itself, but in becoming very good and very prudent; for it carries nothing away with it but its good or bad deeds, its virtues or vices, which are commonly the consequence of the education it has received, and the causes of eternal happiness or misery.

"When the dead are arrived at the fatal rendezvous of departed souls, whither their demon² conducts them, they are all judged.³ Those who have passed their lives in a manner neither entirely criminal nor absolutely innocent, are sent into a place where they suffer pains proportioned to their faults, till being purged and cleansed of their guilt, and afterwards restored to liberty, they receive the reward of the good actions they have done in the body. Those who are judged to be incurable on account of the greatness of their crimes, who deliberately and wilfully have committed sacrileges and murders, and other such great offences, the fatal destiny that passes judgment upon them hurls them into Tartarus, from whence they never depart. But those who are found guilty of crimes, great indeed, but worthy of pardon; who have committed violence in the transports of rage against their father or mother, or have killed some one in a like emotion, and afterwards repented; these suffer the same punishment and in the same place with the last, but for a time only, till by their prayers and supplications they have obtained pardon from those they have injured.

"But, for those who have passed through life with peculiar sanctity of manners, delivered from their base earthly abodes as from a prison, they are received on high in a pure region which they inhabit; and, as philosophy has sufficiently purified them, they live without their bodies⁴ through all eternity in a series of joys and delights which it is not easy to describe, and which the shortness of my time will not permit me to explain more at large.

"What I have said will suffice, I conceive, to prove that we ought to endeavour strenuously throughout our whole lives to acquire virtue and wisdom; for you see how great a reward and how high a hope are proposed to us. And though the immortality of the soul were dubious, instead of appearing a certainty as it does, every wise man ought to assure himself that it is well worth his trouble to risk his belief of it in this manner. And, indeed, can there be a more glorious hazard? We ought to

enchant ourselves with this blessed hope, for which reason I have lengthened this discourse so much."

Cicero expresses these noble sentiments of Socrates with his usual delicacy. Almost at the very moment,⁵ says he, that he had held the deadly draught in his hands, he talked in such a manner as showed that he looked upon death not as a violence done to him, but as a means bestowed upon him of ascending to heaven. He declared that, upon departing out of this life, two ways are open to us: the one leads to the place of eternal misery for such souls as have sullied themselves here below in shameful pleasures and criminal actions; the other conducts those to the happy mansions of the gods who have retained their purity upon earth, and have led in human bodies a life almost divine.

When Socrates had done speaking,⁶ Crito desired him to give him and the rest of his friends his last instructions in regard to his children, and his other affairs, that by executing them they might have the consolation of doing him some pleasure. "I shall recommend nothing to you this day," replied Socrates, "more than I have always done, which is to take care of yourselves. You cannot do yourselves a greater service, nor do me and my family a greater pleasure." Crito having asked him afterwards in what manner he wished to be buried: "As you please," said Socrates, "if you can lay hold of me and I do not escape out of your hands." At the same time looking upon his friend with a smile; "I can never persuade Crito," says he, "that Socrates is he who converses with you, and disposes the several parts of his discourse: for he always imagines that I am what he is going to see dead in a little while. He confounds me with my carcass, and therefore asks me how I would be interred." In finishing these words he rose up and went to bathe himself in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then dismissed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid himself down upon his bed.

The servant of the Eleven entered at the same instant, and having informed him that the time for drinking the hemlock was come (which was at sunset), the servant was so much affected with sorrow, that he turned his back and fell a weeping. "See," said Socrates, "the good disposition of this man! Since my imprisonment he has often come to see me and to converse with me. He is more worthy than all his fellows. How heartily the poor man weeps for me!" This is a remarkable example, and might teach those who hold an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all prisoners, but more especially to persons of merit, if at any time they should happen to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates asked what it was necessary for him to do. "Nothing more," replied the servant, "than as soon as you have drunk of the draught to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed." He took the cup without any emotion or change in his colour or countenance, and regarding the man with a firm and a steady look, "Well," said he, "what say you of this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that there was only enough for one dose: "At least," continued he, "we may

* Cum penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, at non ad mortem truci, verum in cælum videtur ascendere. Ita enim censebat, itaque dixit: duas esse vias duplicemque cursum animarum à corpore excedentium. Nam, qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, et se totos libidinibus dedidissent, quibus carcerati velut domesticis vitibus atque flagitiis se inquinassent, is levium quoddam iter esse, acclivum à consilio deorum, qui autem se integros castosque servassent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, esequi ab his semper imitari deorum, his ad illa, à quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere. Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. i. n. 71. 73

• Pag. 115—118.

¹ Plat. p. 107.

² Daemon is a Greek word, which signifies spirit, genius, and, with us, angel.

³ Plat. p. 113, 114.

⁴ The resurrection of the body was unknown to the

my prayers to the gods, as it is our duty, and implore them to make our exit from this world and our last stage happy, which is what I most ardently beg of them." After having spoken these words, he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity, and a serenity of aspect not to be expressed.

Till then his friends, with great violence to themselves, had refrained from tears; but after he had drunk the potion, they were no longer their own masters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almost the whole conversation, began then to utter great cries, and to lament with such excessive grief as pierced the hearts of all that were present. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his usual mildness and good nature. "What are you doing?" said he to them; "I am amazed at you. Ah! what has become of your virtue? Was it not for this I sent away the women, that they might not fall into these weaknesses. For I have always heard say that we ought to die peaceably, and blessing the gods. Be at ease, I beg you, and show more constancy and resolution." These words filled them with confusion, and obliged them to restrain their tears.

In the meantime he kept walking to and fro; and when he found his legs grow weary, he lay down upon his back as he had been directed.

The poison then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt to prevent any thing from disturbing him in his last moments. "Crito," said he, and these were his last words, "we owe a cock to Æsculapius; discharge that vow for me, and pray do not forget it." Soon after which he breathed his last. Crito drew near and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates, in the first year of the 95th Olympiad, and the seventieth of his age. Cicero says he could never read the description of his death in Plato without tears.¹

Plato and the rest of Socrates's disciples apprehending the rage of his accusers was not satiated by that victim, retired to Megara to the house of Euclid, where they stayed till the storm blew over. Euripides, however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime they had committed in condemning the best of men to die upon such slight grounds, composed his tragedy called *Palamedes*, in which, under the name of that hero, who was also destroyed by a foul calumny, he deplored the misfortune of his friend. When the actor came to repeat this verse,

You doom the justest of the Greeks to perish;

the whole theatre, remembering Socrates by so marked a characteristic, melted into tears, and a decree passed to prohibit speaking any more of him in public. Some believed Euripides was dead before Socrates, and reject this anecdote.

Be this as it may, the people of Athens did not open their eyes till some time after the death of Socrates. Their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices were dispelled, and time having given them opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but discourses in favour of Socrates. The Academy, the Lyceum, private houses, public walks, and market places, seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. Here, said they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services? Athens was in universal mourning and consternation. The schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. The accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed. Melitus was condemned to die and the rest banished. Plutarch ob-

serves,² that all those who had any share in this black calumny, were in such abomination amongst the citizens, that no one would give them fire, answer them any question, nor go into the same bath with them, and had the place cleansed where they had bathed, as being polluted by their touching it; which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves.

The Athenians,³ not contented with having punished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him, of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, and placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demigod, which they called *Σωκρατεῖον*, that is to say, the chapel of Socrates.

SECTION VIII.—REFLECTIONS UPON THE SENTENCE PASSED ON SOCRATES BY THE ATHENIANS, AND UPON SOCRATES HIMSELF.

WE must be very much surprised, when on the one side we consider the extreme delicacy of the people of Athens, with respect to what regards the worship of the gods, which ran so high as to occasion their condemning the most eminent persons upon the simple suspicion of their failing in respect for them; and on the other, when we see the exceeding toleration, to call it no worse, with which the same people hear comedies every day, in which all the gods are turned into ridicule in a manner capable of inspiring the highest contempt for them. All Aristophanes's pieces abound with pleasantries, or rather buffooneries, of this kind; and if it is true, that this poet did not know what it was to spare the greatest men of the republic, it may be said also as justly, he spared the gods still less.

Such were the daily entertainments in the theatre, which the people of Athens heard not only without pain, but with such joy, pleasure, and applause, that they rewarded the poet with public honours who diverted them so agreeably. What was there in Socrates that came near this excessive license? Never did any person of the pagan world speak of the Divinity, or of the adoration due to him, in so pure, so noble, and so respectful a manner. He did not declare against the gods publicly received and honoured by a religion more ancient than the city; he only avoided imputing to them the crimes and infamous actions, which the popular credulity ascribed to them, and which were only calculated to depreciate and deride them in the minds of the people. He did not blame the sacrifices, festivals, nor the other ceremonies of religion; he only taught, that all pomp and outward show could not be agreeable to the gods without uprightness of intention and purity of heart.

This wise, this illumined, this religious man, however, with all his veneration and noble sentiments in regard to the Divinity, is condemned as an impious person by the suffrages of almost a whole people, without his accusers being able to instance one single avowed fact, or to produce any evidence that has the least appearance of probability.

From whence could so evident, so universal, and so determinate a contradiction arise amongst the Athenians? A people, abounding in other respects with wit, taste, and knowledge, must without doubt have had their reasons, at least in appearance, for a conduct so different, and sentiments so opposite, to their general character. May we not say, that the Athenians considered their gods in a double light? They confined their real religion to the public, solemn, and hereditary worship, as they had received it from their ancestors, as it was established by the laws of the state, had been practised from immemorial time, and especially confirmed by the oracles, auguries, offerings, and sacrifices. It is by this standard they regulated their piety; against which they could not suffer the least attempt whatsoever: it was of this worship alone that they were jealous, it was for these ancient ceremonies that they were such ardent zealots; and

¹ Quid dicam de Socrati, ejus mortis illacrymari soleo Antonem legens? *De nat. deor.* lib. iii. c. 82.

² De invid. et odio, p. 538.

Diag. p. 116

they believed, though without foundation, that Socrates was an enemy to them. But there was another kind of religion, founded upon fable, poetical fictions, popular opinions, and foreign customs; for this they were little concerned, and abandoned it entirely to the poets, to the representations of the theatre, and common conversation.

What grossness did they not attribute to Juno and Venus? No citizen would have wished that his wife or daughters should resemble those goddesses. Timotheus, the famous musician, having represented Diana upon the stage of Athens, transported with folly, fury, and rage, one of the spectators conceived he could not utter a greater imprecation against him, than to wish his daughter might resemble that divinity. It is better, says Plutarch, to believe there are no gods, than to imagine them of this kind; open and declared impiety being less profane, if we may be allowed to say so, than so gross and absurd a superstition.

However it be, the sentence, of which we have related the circumstances, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, which all the splendour of its glorious actions, for which it is otherwise so justly renowned, can never obliterate: and it shows at the same time what is to be expected from a people, gentle, humane, and beneficent at bottom, for such the Athenians really were, but volatile, proud, haughty, inconstant, wavering with every wind and every impression. It is therefore with reason that public assemblies have been compared to a tempestuous sea; as that element, like the people, though calm and peaceable of itself, is subject to be frequently agitated by a violence not its own.

As to Socrates, it must be allowed that the pagan world never produced any thing so great and perfect. When we observe to what a height he carries the sublimity of his sentiments, not only in respect to the moral virtues, temperance, sobriety, patience in adversity, the love of poverty, and the forgiveness of wrongs; but, what is far more considerable, in regard to the Divinity, his unity, omnipotence, creation of the world, and providence in the government of it; the immortality of the soul, its ultimate end and eternal destiny; the rewards of the good and the punishment of the wicked: when we consider this train of sublime knowledge, we ask ourselves whether it is a pagan who thinks and speaks in this manner; and are scarce persuaded that from so dark and obscure a stock as paganism, should shine forth such brilliant and glorious rays of light.

It is true, his reputation has not been unimpeached, and it has been affirmed that the purity of his manners did not correspond with that of his sentiments. This question has been discussed by the learned,¹ but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its full extent. The reader may see Abbé Fraguier's dissertation in defence of Socrates, against the reproaches made him upon account of his conduct. The negative argument he makes use of in his justification seems a very strong one. He observes, that neither Aristophanes in his comedy *The Clouds*, which is entirely directed against Socrates, nor his vile accusers in his trial, have advanced one word that tends to impeach the purity of his manners: and it is not probable that such violent enemies as those would have neglected one of the most likely methods to discredit him in the opinion of his judges, if there had been any foundation or probability for the use of it.

I confess, however, that certain principles of Plato, his disciple, held by him in common with his master, with respect to the nudity of the combatants in the public games, from which at the same time he did not exclude the fair sex; and the behaviour of Socrates himself, who wrestled naked, man to man with Alcibiades, give us no great idea of that philosopher's delicacy in point of modesty and bashfulness. What shall we say of his visit to Theodote,² a woman of Athens of indifferent reputation, only to assure him-

self with his own eyes of her extraordinary beauty which was much talked of, and of the precepts he gave her, in order to attract admirers and to retain them in her snares? Are such lessons very suitable to a philosopher? I pass over many other things in silence.

I am the less surprised after this, that several of the fathers have censured him in regard to the purity of his manners, and that they have thought fit to apply to him, as well as to his disciple Plato, what St. Paul says of the philosophers: ⁴ That God by a just judgment abandoned them to a reprobate mind, and the most shameful lusts, as a punishment; for that having clearly known there was but one true God, they had not honoured him as they ought, by publicly avowing their belief, and were not ashamed to associate with him an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions.

And in this, properly speaking, consists the crime of Socrates, which did not make him guilty in the eyes of the Athenians, but gave occasion for his being justly condemned by eternal Truth. She had illuminated his soul with the most pure and sublime lights of which the pagan world was capable; for we are not ignorant that all knowledge of God, even natural, cannot come but from himself alone. He held admirable principles on the subject of the Divinity. He agreeably rallied the fables of the poets upon which the ridiculous mysteries of his age were founded. He often spoke, and in the most exalted terms, of the existence of one only God, eternal, invisible, creator of the universe, supreme director and arbiter of all events, avenger of crimes and rewarder of virtues; but he had not the courage to bear public testimony to these great truths.⁵ He perfectly discerned the falsehood and absurdity of the pagan system; and nevertheless, as Seneca says of the wise man, and as he acted himself, he observed exactly all the customs and ceremonies, not as agreeable to the gods, but as enjoined by the laws. He acknowledged at bottom one only Divinity,⁶ and worshipped with the people that multitude of infamous idols which ancient superstition had heaped up during a long succession of ages. He held peculiar opinions in the schools, but followed the multitude in the temples. As a philosopher, he despised and detested the idols in secret; as a citizen of Athens and a senator, he paid them in public the same adoration with others: by so much the more worthy of blame, says St. Augustine, as this worship, which was only external and dissembled, seemed to the people to be the effect of sincerity and conviction.

And it cannot be said that Socrates altered his conduct at the end of his life, or that he then expressed a greater zeal for truth. In his defence before the people, he declared that he had always received and honoured the same gods as the Athenians: and the last order he gave before he expired, was to sacrifice in his name a cock to Æsculapius. Behold, then this prince of the philosophers, declared by the Delphic oracle the wisest of mankind, who notwithstanding his internal conviction of one only Divinity, dies in the bosom of idolatry, and professing to adore all the gods of the Pagan theology. Socrates is the more inexcusable in this, since, declaring himself a man expressly appointed by Heaven to bear witness to the truth, he fails in the most essential duty of the glorious commission he ascribes to himself. For if there be any truth in religion that we ought most particularly to avow, it is that which regards the

¹ Rom. eh. i. ver. 17-32.

² Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) sapiens servavit tanquam legibus jussa, non tanquam diis grata—Omniem istam ignobilitatem deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longa superstitio congegit, sic, inquit, adorabimus, ut meminimus cultum ejus magis ad morem, quam ad rem, pertinere—Sed iste, quem philosophia quasi liberum fecerat, tamen, quia illustris senator erat, coluit quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat adorabat—côdamnabilis, quôd illa, quæ mendaciter agebat, sic ageret, ut eum populus reverenter agere existimaret. *St. August. de civit. Dei. l. i. c. 10.*

³ Enim sapientes, quos philosophos vocant, scholas habebant dissentientes, et templa communia. *Id. lib. de ver. rel. c. i.*

⁴ Plat. de superstit. p. 170.

⁵ Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. iv. p. 372. Xenoph. Memorab. l. iii. p. 753-756.

unity of the Godhead, and the vanity of idol worship. In this his courage would have been well placed; nor would it have been any great difficulty to Socrates, determined besides as he was to die. But, says St. Augustin,¹ it was not these philosophers who were designed by God to enlighten the world, nor to bring men over from the impious worship of false deities to the holy religion of the true God.

We cannot deny Socrates to have been the hero of the Pagan world in regard to moral virtues. But to judge rightly of him, let us draw a parallel between this supposed hero and the martyrs of Christianity, who often were young children and tender virgins,

¹ Non sic iati nati erant, ut populorum suorum opinionem ad verum cultum veri Dei à simulacrorum superstitione atque ab hujus mundi vanitate converterent. *S. August. lib. de ver. rel. c. ii.*

and yet were not afraid to shed the last drop of the blood, to defend and confirm the same truths, which Socrates knew, without daring to assert them in public: I mean the unity of God, and the vanity of idols. Let us also compare the so much boasted death of this prince of philosophers, with that of our holy bishops, who have done the Christian religion so much honour, by the sublimity of their genius, the extent of their knowledge, and the beauty and excellence of their writings; a saint Cyprian, a saint Augustin, and so many others, who were all seen to die in the bosom of humility, fully convinced of their unworthiness and nothingness, penetrated with a lively fear of the judgments of God, and expecting their salvation from his sole goodness and condescending mercy. Philosophy inspires no such sentiments; they could proceed only from the grace of the Mediator, which Socrates was not thought worth to know.

THE ANCIENT

HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

BOOK X.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE GREEKS.

THE most essential part of history, and that which it concerns the reader most to know, is that which explains the character and manners as well of the people in general, as of the great persons in particular, of whom it treats; and this may be said to be in some sort the soul of history, while the facts are only the body.—I have endeavoured, as occasion offered, to paint in their true colours the most illustrious personages of Greece; it remains for me to show the genius and character of the people themselves. I shall confine myself to those of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the first rank amongst the Greeks, and shall reduce what I have to say upon this subject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Sigonius, Meursius, Potter, and several others, who have written upon Grecian antiquities, supply me with great lights, and are of much use to me in the subject which it remains for me to treat.

CHAPTER I.

OF POLITICAL GOVERNMENT.

THERE are three principal forms of government:—Monarchy, in which a single person reigns; Aristocracy in which the elders and wisest govern; and Democracy under which the supreme authority is lodged in the hands of the people. The most celebrated writers of antiquity, as Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Plutarch, give the preference to the first kind as including the most advantages with the fewest inconveniences. But all agree—and it cannot be too often inculcated—that the end of all government, and the duty of every one invested with it, be the form what it may, is to use his utmost endeavours to render those under his command happy and just, by

obtaining for them on the one side safety and tranquillity, with the advantages and conveniences of life; and on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to making them virtuous. As the pilot's aim, says Cicero,¹ is to steer his vessel happily into port, the physician's to preserve or restore health, the general's of an army to obtain victory; so a prince, and every man who governs others, ought to make the utility of the governed his ultimate aim; and to remember, that the supreme law of every just government is the good of the public, *Salus populi suprema lex esto.*² He adds, that the greatest and most noble function in the world, is to be the author of the happiness of a nation.

Plato in a hundred places esteems as nothing the most shining qualities and actions of those who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends I have mentioned, the virtue and happiness of the people; and he refutes at large, in the first book of his Republic,³ one Thrasymachus, who advanced, that subjects were born for the prince, and not the prince for his subjects; and that whatever promoted the interests of the prince or commonwealth, ought to be deemed just and lawful.

In the distinctions which have been made upon the several forms of government, it has been agreed, that that would be the most perfect which should unite in itself, by a happy mixture of institutions, all the advantages, and exclude all the inconveniences of the rest; and almost all the ancients have believed, that the Lacedæmonian government came nearest to this idea of perfection.⁴

¹ Tenes-ne igitur, moderatorem illum reip. quod referre velimus omnia?—Ut gubernatori cursus secundus, medicæ salus, imperatori victoria, sic huic moderatori reip. beata civium vita proposita est, et opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloriâ ampla, virtute honesta sit. Hujus enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorum volo. *Attic. l. viii. Epist. 10.*

² Cic. de leg. l. iii. n. 8.

³ Polyb. l. vi. p. 458, 459.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA.

FROM the time that the Heraclidæ had re-entered Peloponnesus, Sparta was governed by two kings, who were always of the same two families, descended from Hercules by two different branches; as I have observed elsewhere. Whether from pride and the abuse of despotic power on the side of the kings, or the desire of independence and an immoderate love of liberty on that of the people, Sparta, in its beginnings, was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occasioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Messene, two neighbouring cities equally powerful with itself, if the wise foresight of Lycurgus had not prevented the fatal consequences by the reformation which he made in the state. I have related it at large in the life of that legislator, and shall only touch here upon what regards the government.

SECTION I.—ABRIDGED IDEA OF THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT. ENTIRE SUBMISSION TO THE LAWS WAS IN A MANNER THE SOUL OF IT.

LYCURGUS restored order and peace in Sparta by the establishment of the senate. It consisted of twenty-eight senators, and the two kings presided in it. This august assembly, formed out of the wisest and most experienced men in the nation, served as a counterpoise to the two other authorities, that of the kings, and that of the people; and whenever the one attempted to overbear the other, the senate interposed, by joining the weakest, and thereby held the balance even between both. At length, to prevent this body itself from abusing its power, which was very great, a kind of curb was annexed to it, by the nomination of five Ephori, who were elected out of the people, whose office lasted only one year, but who had authority, not only over the senators, but the kings themselves.

The power of the kings was extremely limited, especially in the city, and in time of peace. In war they had the command of the fleets and armies, and at that time greater authority. However,¹ they had even then a kind of inspectors and commissioners assigned them, who served as a necessary council, and were generally chosen for that office from among those citizens who were out of favour with them, in order that there should be no connivance on their side, and the republic be the better served. There was almost continually some secret misunderstanding between the two kings; whether it proceeded from a natural jealousy between the two branches, or was the effect of the Spartan policy, to which their too great union might have given umbrage.

The Ephori had a greater authority at Sparta than the tribunes of the people at Rome. They presided in the election of the magistrates, and called them to an account for their administration. Their power extended even to the persons of their kings, and of the princes of the blood royal, whom they had a right to imprison, which right they actually used in the case of Pausanias. When they sat upon their seats in the tribunal, they did not rise up when the kings entered, which was a mark of respect paid them by all the other magistrates, and this seems to imply a kind of superiority in the Ephori in consequence of their representing the people; and it is observed of Agesilaus, that when he was seated upon his throne to dispense justice,² and the Ephori came in, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. It is very probable, that before him it was not usual for the kings to behave in that manner, since Plutarch relates this behaviour of Agesilaus as peculiar to him.

All public business was proposed and examined in the senate, and there it was that resolutions were passed. But the decrees of the senate were not of force unless ratified by the people.

There must have been exceeding wisdom in the laws established by Lycurgus for the government of

Sparta, because, as long as they were exactly observed, no commotions or seditions of the people were ever known in the city, no change in the form of government ever proposed, no private person usurped authority by violence, or made himself tyrant; the people never thought of depriving the two families, in which it had always been, of the sovereignty, nor did any of the kings ever attempt to assume more power than the laws permitted. This reflection,³ which both Xenophon and Polybius make, shows the idea they had of the wisdom of Lycurgus in political matters, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In fact, no other city of Greece had this advantage, and all of them experienced many changes and vicissitudes, for want of similar laws to perpetuate their form of government.

The reason of this constancy and stability of the Lacedæmonians in their government and conduct is, that in Sparta the laws governed absolutely, and with sovereign authority; whereas the greatest part of the other Grecian cities, abandoned to the caprice of private individuals, to despotic power, to an arbitrary and irregular sway, experienced the truth of Plato's saying: that the city is miserable,⁴ where the magistrates command the laws, and not the laws the magistrates.

The example of Argos and Messene, which I have already pointed out, would alone suffice to show how just and true that reflection is. After their return from the Trojan war,⁵ the Greeks, distinguished by the name of Dorians, established themselves in three cities of Peloponnesus, Lacedæmon, Argos, and Messene; and swore mutually to assist each other. These three cities, governed alike by monarchical power, had the same advantages; except that the two latter were far superior to the other in the fertility of the territory where they were situated. Argos and Messene, however, did not long preserve their superiority. The haughtiness of the kings, and the disobedience of the people, occasioned their fall from the flourishing condition in which they had been at first; and their example proved, says Plutarch, after Plato, that it was the peculiar favour of the gods which gave the Spartans such a man as Lycurgus, capable of prescribing so wise and reasonable a plan of government.

To support it without change, particular care was taken to educate the youth according to the laws and manners of the country; in order that, by being early engrafted into them, and confirmed by long habitude, they might become, as it were, a second nature. The hard and sober manner in which they were brought up, inspired them during the best of their lives with a natural taste for frugality and temperance that distinguished them from all other nations, and wonderfully adapted them to support the fatigues of war. Plato observes,⁶ that this salutary custom had banished from Sparta, and all the territory dependent upon it, drunkenness, debauchery, and all the disorders that ensue from them; inasmuch that it was a crime punishable by law to drink wine to excess even in the Bacchanalia, which every where else were days of license, and on which whole cities gave themselves up to the last excesses.

They also accustomed the children from their earliest infancy to an entire submission to the laws, magistrates, and all in authority; and their education,⁷ properly speaking, was no more than an apprenticeship of obedience. It was for this reason that Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, as to an excellent school, where they might learn the greatest and most noble of all sciences,⁸ to obey and to command, for the one naturally leads on to the other. It was not only the mean, the poor, and the ordinary citizens, who were subjected in this manner

¹ Xenophon. in Agesil. p. 651. Polyb. l. vi. p. 459

² Plat. l. iv. de leg. p. 715.

³ Plat. l. iii. de leg. p. 683—685. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 43.

⁴ Plat. l. i. de leg. p. 637.

⁵ Ὅτι τὸν πολεμικὸν νόμον μέγιστον εὐνοίας. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.

⁶ Μαθηματικὸν τῶν παιδικῶν τὸ κάλλιστον, ὁρμήν τε καὶ ἀρχήν. Plut. in Agesil. p. 606.

to the laws, but the rich, the powerful. The magistrates, and even the kings; and they distinguished themselves from the others only by a more exact obedience; convinced that such behaviour was the surest means to their being obeyed and respected themselves by their inferiors.

Hence came the so much celebrated answers of Demaratus.¹ Xerxes could not comprehend how the Lacedæmonians, who had no master to control them, should be capable of confronting dangers and death. "They are free and independent of all men," replied Demaratus, "but the law is above them and commands them; and that law ordains that they must conquer or die." Upon another occasion,² when somebody expressed their surprise, that being king he should suffer himself to be banished: "It is," says he, "because at Sparta the laws are stronger than the kings."

This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Agesilaus to the orders of the Ephori,³ when recalled by them to the support of his country; a delicate occasion for a king and a conqueror; but to him it seemed more glorious to obey his country and the laws,⁴ than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Asia.

SECTION II.—LOVE OF POVERTY INSTITUTED AT SPARTA.

To this entire submission to the laws of the state, Lycurgus added another principle of government no less admirable, which was to remove from Sparta all luxury, profusion, and magnificence; to bring riches absolutely into discredit, to make poverty honourable, and at the same time necessary, by substituting a species of iron money in the place of gold and silver coin, which till then had been current. I have explained elsewhere the measures that he used to make so difficult an undertaking succeed, and shall confine myself here to examining what judgment should be passed on it, as it affects a government.

Was the poverty to which Lycurgus reduced Sparta, and which seemed to prohibit that state all conquest, and to deprive it of all means of augmenting its force and grandeur, well adapted to render it powerful and flourishing? Does such a constitution of government, which till then had no example, nor has since been imitated by any state, evince a great fund of prudence and policy in a legislator? And was not the modification conceived afterwards under Lysander, of continuing private persons in their poverty, and restoring to the public the use of gold and silver coin, a wise amendment of what was too strained and excessive in that law of Lycurgus of which we are speaking?

It seems, if we consult only the common views of human prudence, that it is just to reason in this manner; but the event, which is an infallible evidence and arbiter in this place, obliges me to be of a quite different opinion. Whilst Sparta remained poor, and persisted in the contempt of gold and silver, which continued for several ages, she was still powerful and glorious; and the commencement of her decline may be dated from the time when she began to break through the severe prohibition of Lycurgus against the use of gold and silver money.

The education which he instituted for the young Lacedæmonians, the hard and sober life which he recommended with so much care, the laborious and violent exercises of the body prescribed by him, the abstraction from all other application and employment, in a word, all his laws and institutions show, that his view was to form a nation of soldiers, solely devoted to arms and military functions. I do not pretend absolutely to justify this scheme, which had its great inconveniences; and I have expressed my thoughts of it elsewhere. But, admitting this to be his view, we must confess that legislator showed

great wisdom in the means he took to carry it into execution.

The almost inevitable danger of a people solely trained up for war, who have always their arms in their hands, and that which is most to be feared is injustice, violence, ambition, the desire of increasing their power, of taking advantage of their neighbours' weakness, of oppressing them by force, of invading their lands under false pretences, which the lust of dominion never fails to suggest, and of extending their bounds as far as possible; all vices and extremes which are horrid in private persons, and the ordinary intercourse of life, but which men have thought fit to applaud as grandeur and glory in the persons of princes and conquerors.

The great care of Lycurgus was to defend his people against this dangerous temptation. Without mentioning the other means he made use of, he employed two which could not fail of producing their effect. The first was to prohibit all navigation and war at sea to his citizens.⁵ The situation of his city, and the fear lest commerce, the usual source of luxury and disorder, should corrupt the purity of the Spartan manners, might have a share in this prohibition. But his principal motive was to put it out of his citizens' power to project conquests, which a people shut up within the narrow bounds of a peninsula could not carry very far without being masters at sea.

The second means, still more efficacious, was to forbid all use of gold or silver money, and to introduce a species of iron coin in its stead, which was of great weight and small value, and could only be current at home. How with such money could foreign troops be raised and paid, fleets fitted out, and numerous armies kept up either by land or sea?

So that the design of Lycurgus, in rendering his citizens warlike, and putting arms into their hands, was not, as Polybius observes,⁶ and Plutarch after him, to make them illustrious conquerors, who might carry war into remote regions, and subject great numbers of people. His sole end was, that, shut up within the extent of the lands and domain left them by their ancestors, they should have no thoughts but of maintaining themselves in peace, and defending themselves successfully against such of their neighbours as should have the rashness to invade them; and for this they had occasion for neither gold nor silver, as they found in their own country, and still more in their sober and temperate manner of life, all that was sufficient for the support of their armies, when they did not quit their own lands, or the neighbouring territories.

Now, says Polybius, this plan once admitted, it must be allowed that nothing could be more wise nor more happily conceived than the institutions of Lycurgus, for maintaining a people in the possession of their liberty, and securing to them the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity. In fact, let us imagine a little republic, like that of Sparta, of which all the citizens are inured to labour, accustomed to live on little, warlike, courageous, intrepid; and that the fundamental principle of this small republic is to do no wrong to any one, nor to disturb its neighbours, nor invade their lands or property; but, on the contrary, to declare in favour of the oppressed against the injustice and violence of oppressors; is it not certain, that such a republic, surrounded by a great number of states of equal extent, would be generally respected by all the neighbouring nations, would become the supreme arbiter of all their quarrels, and exercise an empire over them, by so much the more glorious and lasting, as it would be voluntary, and founded solely upon the opinion which those neighbours would have of its virtue, justice and valour?

This was the end that Lycurgus proposed to himself.⁷ Convinced that the happiness of a city, like that of a private person, depends upon virtue, and

¹ Herod. . vii. c. 145. 146.

² Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 290.

³ Idem. in Agesil. p. 603. 604.

⁴ Multo gloriosius duxit, si instituta patriæ parvasset, quam si bello superasset Asiam. *Curr. Nep. in Agesil. c. iv.*

⁵ *Ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ νόμοιο ἐκείνου οὐκ ἔμελλεν, καὶ ναυπηγεῖν Πλὴν. in instit. Lacon. p. 239.*

⁶ Polyb. l. vi. p. 491. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.

⁷ Plut. p. 38.

upon being well within itself, he regulated Sparta so as that it might always suffice to its own happiness; and act upon principles of wisdom and equity. From thence arose that universal esteem of the neighbouring people, and even of strangers, who asked from the Lacedæmonians neither money, ships, nor troops, but only that they would lend them a Spartan to command their armies; and when they had obtained their request, they paid him entire obedience with every kind of honour and respect. In this manner the Sicilians obeyed Gylippus, the Chalcidians, Brasidas, and all the Greeks of Asia, Lyander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaus; regarding the city of Sparta as a model for all others, in the arts of living and governing well.¹

The epocha of the declension of Sparta begins with the open violation of Lycurgus's laws. I do not pretend that they had always been exactly observed till that time, which was far from the case; but the spirit and genius of those laws had almost always prevailed with the majority of the persons who governed. As soon as the ambition of reigning over all Greece had inspired them with the design of having naval armies and foreign troops, and that money was necessary for the support of those forces, Sparta, forgetting her ancient maxims, saw herself reduced to have recourse to the barbarians, whom till then she had detested, and basely to make her court to the kings of Persia, whom she had formerly vanquished with so much glory; and that, only to draw from them some aids of money and troops against their own brethren, that is to say, against people born and settled in Greece like themselves. Thus had they the imprudence and misfortune to recall with gold and silver into Sparta, all the vices and crimes which the iron money had banished; and to prepare the way for the changes which ensued, and were the cause of their ruin. And this infinitely exalts the wisdom of Lycurgus, in having foreseen, at such a distance, what might strike at the happiness of his citizens, and provided salutary remedies against it in the form of government which he established at Sparta. We must not, however, attribute the whole honour of this plan to him alone. Another legislator, who had preceded him several ages, has a right to share this glory with him.

SECTION III.—LAWS ESTABLISHED BY MINOS IN CRETE, THE MODEL OF THOSE OF SPARTA.

ALL the world knows, that Lycurgus had formed the plan of most of his laws upon the model of those observed in the island of Crete, where he passed a considerable time for the better studying of them. It is proper I should give some idea of them here, having forgotten to do it in the place where it would have been more natural, that is, when I spoke for the first time of Lycurgus and his institutions.

Minos, whom fabulous history
A. M. 2720. calls the son of Jupiter, was the
Ant. J. C. 1284. author of these laws. He lived about 100 years before the Trojan war. He was a powerful, wise, and gentle prince; and still more estimable for his moral virtues than his military abilities. After having conquered the island of Crete, and several others in its neighbourhood, he applied himself to strengthen by wise laws the new state, of which he had possessed himself by the force of arms. The end which he proposed in the establishment of these laws,² was to render his subjects happy by making them virtuous. He banished idleness and voluptuousness from his estates, and with them luxury and effeminate pleasures, the fruitful sources of all vice. Well knowing that liberty is justly regarded as the most precious and greatest good, and that it cannot subsist without a perfect union of the people, he endeavoured to establish a kind of equality amongst them; which is the tie and basis of it, and well calculated to remove all envy, jealousy, hatred, and dissension. He did

not undertake to make any new divisions of lands nor to prohibit the use of gold and silver. He applied himself to the uniting of his subjects by other ties, which seemed to him neither less firm nor less reasonable.

He decreed, that the children should be all brought up and educated together, by troops and bands; in order that they might learn early the same principles and maxims. Their life was hard and sober. They were accustomed to be satisfied with little, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, to suffer courageously the blows they received, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance in which they carried arms in their hands, and which was afterwards called the Pyrrhic; in order, says Strabo, that, even to their very diversions, every thing might breathe, and form them for war. They were also made to learn certain airs of music, but of a manly, martial kind.

They were not taught either to ride, or to wear heavy armour;³ but in return, they were made to excel in drawing the bow, which was their most usual exercise. The reason of this was natural. Crete is not a flat even country, nor fit for breeding horses, as is that of the Thesalians, who were considered the best cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken country, full of hills and highlands, where heavy-armed troops could not exercise themselves in the horse-race. But as archers and light-armed soldiers, fit to execute the devices and stratagems of war, the Cretans pretended to hold the foremost rank.

Minos thought proper to establish in Crete a community of tables and meals. Besides several other great advantages which he found in this institution, as the introducing a kind of equality in his dominions, the rich and poor having the same diet, the accustoming his subjects to a frugal and sober life, the cementing friendship and unity between them by the usual gaiety and familiarity of the table, he had also in view the custom of war, in which the soldiers are obliged to eat together. It was the public that supplied the expenses of these tables.⁴ Out of the revenues of the state, a part was applied to the uses of religion and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the public meals. So that the women, children, and men of all ages, were fed at the cost, and in the name of the republic. In this respect, Aristotle gives the preference to the meals of Crete before those of Sparta, wherein private persons were obliged to furnish their proportion, and without it were not admitted into the assemblies; which was to exclude the poor.

After eating, the old men discoursed upon the affairs of the state.⁵ The conversation turned generally upon the history of the country, upon the actions and virtues of great men, who had distinguished themselves either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in the art of government; and the youth, who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose those great persons to themselves as their models for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

Minos,⁶ as well as Lycurgus, is reproached with having no other view in his laws than war; which is a very great fault in a legislator. It is true, this appears to have been his principal object, because he was convinced that the repose, liberty, and riches of his subjects were under the protection, and in a manner under the guard of arms and military knowledge; the conquered being deprived of all those advantages by the victor. But he was desirous that war should be made only for the sake of peace; and his laws are far from being confined to that sole object.

Amongst the Cretans, the cultivation of the mind was not entirely neglected, and care was taken to give the youth some tincture of learning. The works of Homer,⁷ of much latter date than the laws of Mi-

¹ Περὶ σύστασιν τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πόλιν, ὅπως παλαιότατον ἢ δὲ ἄριστον ἐνέχοντος βίου καὶ τεταγμένης ἐκείνης ἀποβλέποντος. ² Strab. l. x. p. 490.

³ Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 623.

⁴ Athen. l. iv. p. 143.

⁵ Ibid. p. 680.

⁶ Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 10.

⁷ Plat. de leg. l. ii. p. 696.

nos, were not unknown amongst them, though they set small value upon, and made little use of, foreign poets.¹ They were very curious in such knowledge as is proper to form the manners; and what is no small praise,² they piqued themselves upon thinking much and speaking little. The poet Epimenides,³ who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon, and was in great estimation there, was of Crete, and is by some placed in the number of the seven sages.

One of Mino's institutions, which Plato⁴ admires the most, was to inspire early into the youth a high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of the state, and not to suffer them to dispute or call in question the wisdom of their institutions; since they were to consider them not as prescribed and imposed by man, but as emanations of the divinity himself. Accordingly he had industriously apprised the people, that Jupiter himself had dictated them to him. He paid the same attention in regard to the magistrates and aged persons, towards whom he recommended honour should be particularly shown; and in order that nothing might violate the respect due to them, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth: a wise precaution, and one which would be of great utility in the ordinary practice of life!

The government of Crete was at first monarchical, of which Mino's has left a perfect model to all ages. According to him, as a great and most excellent man observes,⁵ the king has supreme power over the people, but the laws supreme power over him. He has an absolute power to do good, and his hands are tied up from doing evil. The laws intrust the people in his hands as the most sacred of deposits, upon condition that he shall be the father of his subjects. The same laws require, that a single man by his wisdom and moderation shall constitute the felicity of an infinite number of subjects; not that the subjects, by their misery and abject slavery, shall be subservient to the gratifications of the pride and low passions of a single man. According to him, the king ought to be abroad the defender of his country at the head of armies, and at home the judge of his people to render them good, wise, and happy. It is not for himself that the gods have made him king; he is only so for the service of his people. He owes to them his whole time, care, and affection; and is worthy of the throne, only as far as he forgets himself, and devotes himself to the public good. Such is the idea Mino's had of the sovereignty,⁶ of which he was a living image in his own person, and which Hesiod has perfectly expressed in two words, by calling that prince, *the most royal of mortal kings*, βασιλεύωντων βασιλεὺς: that is to say, that he possessed in a supreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king in all things.

It appears,⁷ that the authority of king was of no long duration, and that it gave place to a republican government, as Mino's had intended. The senate, composed of thirty senators, formed the public council. In that assembly the public affairs were examined, and resolutions taken; but they were of no force till the people had given them their approbation, and confirmed them by their suffrages. The magistrates, to the number of ten, established for maintaining good order in the state, and therefore called *Cosmi*,⁸ held the two other bodies of the state in check, and preserved the balance between them. In time of war the same persons commanded the army. They were chosen by lot, but only out of certain families. Their office was for life, and they were not accountable to any for their administration. Out of this company the senators were elected.

The Cretans made the slaves and mercenaries cultivate their lands, who were obliged to pay them a certain annual sum. They were called *Periæci*, probably from their being drawn from neighbouring

nations, whom Mino's had subjected. As they inhabited an island, and consequently a country separate from all others, the Cretans had not so much to fear from these vassals as the Lacedæmonians from the Helots, who often joined the neighbouring people against them. A custom anciently established in Crete,⁹ from whence it was adopted by the Romans, gives us reason to believe that the vassals who tilled the lands were treated with great mildness and humanity. In the feasts of Mercury, the masters waited on their slaves at table, and did them the same offices as they received from them the rest of the year:—precious remnants and traces of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, that seemed to inform the masters that their servants were of the same condition with themselves, and that to treat them with cruelty and pride was to renounce humanity.

As a prince cannot do every thing alone,¹⁰ and is obliged to associate co-operators with himself, for whose conduct he is accountable, Mino's charged his brother Rhadamanthus with a share in the administration of justice in the capital city, which is the most essential and indispensable function of sovereignty. He knew his probity, disinterestedness, ability, and constancy, and had taken pains to form him for so important an office. Another minister had the care of the rest of the cities through which he made a circuit three times a year, to examine whether the laws established by the prince were duly observed, and the inferior magistrates and officers religiously acquitted themselves of their duty.

Crete, under so wise a government, changed its aspect entirely, and seemed to have become the abode of virtue, probity, and justice, as we may judge from what fabulous history tells us of the honour Jupiter did these two brothers, in making them the judges of the infernal regions; for every body knows that fable is founded upon real history, though disguised under agreeable emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of fancy.

It was, according to fabulous tradition,¹¹ a law established from the beginning of time, that men on departing this life should be judged, in order to their receiving the reward or punishment due to their good or evil actions. In the reign of Saturn, and in the first years of that of Jupiter, this judgment was pronounced at the instant preceding death, which left room for every flagrant injustice. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and splendour of their power, and producing witnesses to depose in their favour because, as they were still alive, they dreaded their anger; the judges, dazzled with this vain show, and deceived by such false evidence, declared these princes innocent, and dismissed them with permission to enter into the happy abodes of the just. The same may be said in regard to the rich; but for the poor and helpless, calumny and malice pursued them even to this last tribunal, and found means to have them doomed for ever as criminals.

Fabulous history adds, that, upon reiterated complaints and warm remonstrances made to Jupiter upon this account, he changed the form of these trials. The time for them was fixed for the very moment after death. Rhadamanthus and Æacus, both sons of Jove, were appointed judges; the first for the Asiatics, the other for the Europeans; and Mino's over them to decide supremely in cases of doubt and obscurity. Their tribunal is situated in a place called *The Field of Truth*, because neither falsehood nor calumny can approach it. The greatest prince must appear there, as soon as he has resigned his last breath, deprived of all his grandeur, reduced to his naked self, without defence or protection, silent and trembling for his own doom, after having made the whole world tremble for theirs. If he be found guilty of crimes which are of a nature to be expiated, he is confined in Tartarus for a certain time only, and with assurances of being released as soon as he shall be sufficiently purified. But if his crimes are unpardonable, such as injustice

¹ Plat. in Solon. p. 84.

² Πολυπραγμον, πολλοῦ λόγου ἄνεστιν.

³ Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 641.

⁴ Ibid. p. 634.

⁵ Monsieur de Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray.

⁶ Plat. in Min. p. 320.

⁷ Arist. de Rep. l. ii. c. 10.

⁸ Κόσμος, order.

⁹ Athen. l. xiv. p. 639.

¹⁰ Plat. in Min. p. 330.

¹¹ Plat. in Gorg. p. 523—526. In Axioch. p. 371.

perjury, and the oppression of his people, he is cast into the same Tartarus, there to suffer eternal miseries. The just, on the contrary, of whatsoever condition they are, are conducted into the blest abodes of peace and joy, to partake of a felicity which shall have no end.

Who does not see that the poets, under the cover of these fictions, ingenious indeed, but little to the honour of the gods, intended to give us the model of an accomplished prince, whose first care is to render justice to his people, and to depict the extraordinary happiness Crete enjoyed under the wise government of Minos? This happiness did not expire with him. The laws he established subsisted in all their vigour even in Plato's time,¹ that is to say, more than 900 years after;² and they were considered as the effect of his long conversations for many years with Jupiter,³ who had condescended to become his teacher, to enter into a familiarity with him as with a friend,⁴ and to form him in the great art of reigning with a secret complacency, as a favourite disciple and a tenderly beloved son. It is in this manner Plato explains these words of Homer, *Διὸς μεγάλου δαίμονος*:⁵ the most exalted praise, according to him, that can be given to a mortal, and which that poet ascribes only to Minos.

Notwithstanding so shining and solid a merit, the thestres of Athens resounded with imprecations against the memory of Minos; and Socrates, in the dialogue of Plato, which I have already often cited, observes upon, and gives the reason for them: but first he makes a reflection well worthy of being weighed: "When either the praise or dispraise of great men is in question, it is of the utmost importance," says he, "to make use of circumspection and wisdom; because upon that depends the idea men form to themselves of virtue and vice, and the distinction they ought to make between the good and the bad. For," adds he, "God conceives a just indignation when a prince is blamed who resembles himself, and on the contrary another praised who is directly the reverse. We must not believe that nothing is sacred but brass and marble (he speaks of the statues that were worshipped;) the just man is the most sacred, and the wicked the most detestable, of all beings in this world."

After this reflection, Socrates observes, that the source and cause of the Athenians' hatred of Minos was the unjust and cruel tribute he imposed upon them, in obliging them to send him, every nine years, seven young men and as many maids, to be devoured by the Minotaur: and he cannot avoid reproaching that prince with having drawn upon himself the abhorrence of a city like Athens, abounding with learned men, and of having sharpened the tongues of the poets against him, a dangerous and formidable race of men, from the poisoned shafts which they never fail to let fly against their enemies.

It appears from what I have repeated, that Plato imputes to this Minos of whom we are treating, the imposition of that cruel tribute. Apollodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch seem to be of the same opinion. The Abbé Banier alleges and proves that they are mistaken, and confound the first Minos, of whom we speak, with a second, his grandson, who reigned after him in Crete, and who, to avenge the death of his son Androgeus, killed in Attica, declared war against the Athenians, and imposed that tribute, to which Theseus put an end by killing the Minotaur. It would indeed be difficult to reconcile so inhuman and barbarous a conduct with what all antiquity relates of the goodness, lenity, and equity of Minos, and with the magnificent praises it bestows upon the polity and institutions of Crete.

It is true, that in after-times the Cretans degene-

rated very much from their ancient reputation, which at length they absolutely lost by an entire change of their manners, becoming avaricious, and so self-interested as to think that no gain was base, enemies of labour and regularity of life, professed liars and knaves; so that to *Cretize* became a proverb amongst the Greeks, implying to lie and to deceive. Every body knows that St. Paul⁷ cites against them as truth the testimony of one of their ancient poets (it is believed to be Epimenides,) who paints them in colours much to their dishonour. But this change of manners, at whatever time it took place, does not at all affect the probity of the ancient Cretans, nor the glory of Minos their king.

The most certain proof of that legislator's wisdom, as Plato⁸ observes, is the solid and lasting happiness which the sole imitation of his laws effected at Sparta. Lycurgus had regulated the government of that city upon the plan and idea of that of Crete; and it subsisted in a uniform manner for many ages, without experiencing the vicissitudes and revolutions so common in all the other states of Greece.

ARTICLE II

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS.

THE government of Athens was neither so permanent nor so uniform as that of Sparta, but suffered various alterations, according to the diversity of times and conjunctures. Athens, after having long been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, assumed entire liberty, which gave place, however, for some years to the tyrannic power of the Pisistratide, but was soon after re-established, and subsisted with splendour till the defeat in Sicily, and the taking of the city by the Lacedæmonians. The latter subjected them to the thirty tyrants, whose authority was not of long duration, and gave place again to liberty which continued amidst various events during a long series of years, till the Roman power had subdued Greece, and reduced it into a province.

I shall consider in this place only the popular government, and shall examine in particular five or six heads of it: the foundation of their government according to Solon's establishment; the different parts of which the republic consisted; the council or senate of Five Hundred; the assemblies of the people; the different tribunals for the administration of justice, the revenues or finances of the republic. I shall be obliged to dwell more at large upon what regards the government of Athens, than I have upon that of Sparta, because the latter is almost sufficiently known, from what has been said of it in the life of Lycurgus.⁹

SECTION I.—FOUNDATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS ACCORDING TO SOLON'S PLAN.

SOLON was not the first who established the popular government at Athens.¹⁰ Theseus long before him had traced out the plan, and begun the execution of it. After having united the twelve towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three bodies that of the nobility, to whom the superintendence of religious affairs and all offices were confided; the labourers, or husbandmen, and the artisans. He had proposed the establishment of a kind of equality between the three orders. For if the nobles were considerable by their honours and dignities, the husbandmen had the advantage from their utility to the public, and the necessity there was for their labours; and the artisans had the superiority to both the other bodies from their number. Athens, properly speaking, did not become a popular state till the establishment of the nine Archons, whose authority continued only for one year, whereas before it lasted for ten; and it was not till many years after that Solon, by the wisdom of his laws, confirmed and regulated this form of government.

¹ Plat. in Min. p. 321.

² Ibid. p. 319.

³ Et Jovia arcanis Minos admixtus, Horat.

⁴ This poetical fiction is perhaps taken from the Holy Scriptures, which say of Moses: "And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend."—Erod. xxxiii. 11.

⁵ Odys. T. ver. 179.

⁶ Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. iii.

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⁷ Κρέτις ἀπὸ ψεύδεται, καὶ ἐπὶ Σπέρτα, γυναικίς ἀγροῖ. The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.—Titus i. 12.

⁸ Plat. p. 320.

⁹ Page 267—275

¹⁰ Plat. in Thea. p. 10, 11.

Solon's great principle was to establish as much as possible a kind of equality amongst his citizens,¹ which he regarded with reason as the foundation and essential point of liberty. He resolved therefore to leave the public employments in the hands of the rich, as they had been till then; but to give the poor also some share in the government, from which they were excluded. For this reason he made an estimation of what each individual was worth. Those who were found to have an annual revenue of 500 measures, as well in grain as liquids, were placed in the first class, and called the *Penacosioedemni*, that is, those who had a revenue of 500 measures. The second class was composed of such as had 300, and could maintain a horse for war; these were called *horsemen* or *knights*. Those who had only 200, were in the third class, and were called *Zugitæ*.² Out of these three classes alone the magistrates and commanders were chosen. All the other citizens who were below these three classes, and had less revenues, were comprised under the name of *Thetæ*, i. e. hirelings, or rather workmen labouring with their hands. Solon did not permit them to hold any office, and granted them only the right of giving their suffrages in the assemblies and trials of the people, which at first seemed a very slight privilege, but at length was found to be a very great advantage, as will appear in the sequel. I do not know whether Solon foresaw it, but he used to say, that the people were never more obedient and submissive, than when they possessed neither too much nor too little liberty;³ which comes very near Galoa's expression, when,⁴ in order to induce Piso to treat the Roman people with mildness and lenity, he desires him to remember,⁵ that he was going to command men who were incapable of bearing either entire liberty or absolute subjection.

The people of Athens,⁶ being become more haughty after their victories over the Persians, pretended to have a right to share in all the public offices and magistracy: and Aristides, to prevent the disorders which a too tenacious opposition might have occasioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point. It appears, however, from a passage in Xenophon,⁷ that the people contented themselves with those offices from whence some profit arose, and left the more important ones to the magistrates, and left the more important ones to the magistrates, and left the more important ones to the magistrates.

The citizens of the first three classes paid every year a certain sum of money,⁸ to be laid up in the public treasury: the first a talent,⁹ the Knights half a talent, and the *Zugitæ* ten minæ.¹⁰

As the proportion of revenue determined the order of the classes, as their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to rise to a superior class.

If Plutarch,¹¹ may be believed, Solon formed two councils, which were the two anchors, as it were, of the commonwealth, to secure it from being shaken by the commotions of the assemblies of the people. The first was the Areopagus; but it was much more ancient than his institutions, and he only reformed it, and gave it new lustre, by augmenting its power. The second was the council of the Four Hundred, that is, 100 of each tribe; for Cécrops, the first king of the Athenians, had divided the people into four tribes. Clisthenes long after him changed that order, and established ten. It was in this council of the Four Hundred that all affairs were considered before they were proposed to the assembly of the people, as we shall soon explain.

I do not mention here another division of the peo-

ple into three parties or factions, which till the time of Pisistratus were a continual source of troubles and seditions. One of these three parties was formed out of those who inhabited the highlands; and these favoured popular government: the other, out of those who lived in the plains; and they were for oligarchy: and the third out of the people upon the coast; and these held the mean between both.

It is necessary, for the better understanding what we have now said, to enter into a more particular account of the Athenian people.

SECTION II.—OF THE INHABITANTS OF ATHENS.

THERE were three sorts of inhabitants of Athens;¹² citizens, A. M. 3690. strangers, and servants. In the Ant. J. C. 314 account taken by Demetrius Phalereus in the cxxvth Olympiad, their number amounted to 21,000 citizens, 10,000 strangers, and 40,000 servants.¹³ The number of citizens was almost the same in the time of Cécrops, and less under Pericles.

1. Of the Citizens.

A citizen could only be such by birth or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was necessary to be born of a father and mother both free, and Athenians. We have seen that Pericles restored in all its force this law, which had not been exactly observed, and which he himself some short time after infringed. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon strangers; and those whom they had so adopted enjoyed almost the same rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was sometimes granted as an honour and mark of gratitude to those who had rendered great services to the state; as to Hippocrates; and even kings have sometimes canvassed that title for themselves or their children. Evagoras, king of Cyprus, thought it much to his honour.

When the young men had attained the age of twenty, they were enrolled upon the list of citizens after having taken an oath; and it was only in virtue of that public and solemn act that they became members of the state. The form of this oath is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and Pollux¹⁴ have preserved in the following words: "I will never dishonour the profession of arms, nor save my life by a shameful flight. I will fight to my last breath for the religion and civil interests of the state, in concert with the other citizens, and alone if occasion be. I will not bring my country into a worse condition than I found it, but will use my utmost endeavours to make it more flourishing. I will always submit myself to the laws and magistrates, and to whatsoever shall be ordained by the common consent of the people. If any one shall violate, or attempt to annul, the laws, I will not disguise or conceal such an enterprise, but will oppose it either alone or in conjunction with my fellow-citizens; and I will constantly adhere to the religion of my forefathers. To all which I call to witness Agraules, Enyalios, Mars, and Jupiter." I leave the reader to his own reflections upon this august ceremony, well adapted to inspire the love of their country in the hearts of the young citizens.

The whole people at first had been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was subdivided into several parts, which were called *tribes*, *pagi*. It was by these two titles that the citizens were described in the public acts. *Melitus*, *de tribu Cécropide*, *de pago Pittihensi*.

2. Of the Strangers.

I call those by that name who, being of a foreign country, came to settle at Athens or in Attica, whether for the sake of commerce, or the exercising any trade. They were termed *μέτοικοι*, *inquilini*. They had no share in the government, nor votes in the assembly of the people, and could not be admitted into any office. They put themselves under the pro-

¹ Plot. in Solon, p. 87.

² It is believed they were so called from their being ranked under the Knights and the Thetæ; as in the galleys those who rowed in the middle were termed *Zugitæ*; their place was between the Thalamitæ and Thranitæ.

³ Plot. in Solon, p. 110.

⁴ Tacit. Hist. l. x. c. 16.

⁵ Imperatoris es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem possunt nec totam libertatem.

⁶ Plot. in Aristid. p. 332.

⁷ Xenoph. de rep. Athen. p. 601

⁸ Pollux. l. viii. c. 10.

⁹ One thousand French crowns

¹⁰ Five hundred livres.

¹¹ In Solon, p. 88

¹² Athen. l. vi. p. 272.

¹³ The text says, *μετρίους τετρακισμύρια* four hundred thousand; which is a manifest error.

¹⁴ Pollux, l. viii. c. 9.

lection of some citizens, as we find from a passage of Terence,¹ and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and services, as the clients did at Rome to their patrons. They were bound to observe all the laws of the republic, and to conform entirely to all its customs. They paid a yearly tribute to the state of twelve drachmas;² and in default of payment were made slaves, and exposed to sale. Xenocrates,³ the celebrated but poor philosopher, was very near experiencing this misfortune, and was being carried to prison; but Lycurgus, the orator, having paid the tax, released him from the hands of the farmers of the public revenues; a kind of men who in all times have been very little sensible to merit, with the exception of an exceeding few of their number. That philosopher, meeting some time after the sons of his deliverer, told them: "I pay your father the favour he has done me with usury, for all the world praises him upon my account."

3. Of the Servants.

These were of two kinds. The one who were free, and not able to get their bread by their work, were obliged by the bad state of their affairs to go into service, and their condition was reputable and not laborious. The service of the other was forced and constrained: these were slaves who had either been taken prisoners in war, or bought of such as trafficked publicly in them. They formed part of the property of their masters, who disposed absolutely of them, but generally treated them with great humanity. Demosthenes observes,⁴ in one of his harangues, that the condition of servants was infinitely more gentle at Athens than any where else. There was in that city an asylum and place of refuge for slaves, where the bones of Theseus had been interred, and that asylum still subsisted in Plutarch's time. How glorious was it for Theseus, that his tomb should do that, 1200 years after his death, which he had done himself during his life, and continue the protector of the oppressed as he had been!

When the slaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity,⁵ they had their action against their masters, who were obliged to sell them to others, if the fact was sufficiently proved. They could ransom themselves even against their masters' consent,⁶ when they had laid up money enough for that purpose. For out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their masters, they kept the remainder for themselves, and made a stock which was at their own disposal. Private persons, when they were satisfied with their services, often gave these slaves their liberty; and the same favour was often granted them by the public, when the necessity of the times obliged the state to put arms in their hands and enlist them amongst the citizens.

The humane and equitable manner in which the Athenians treated their servants and slaves, was an effect of the good temper natural to that people, and very remote from the austere and cruel severity of the Lacedæmonians towards their Helots, which often brought their republic to the very brink of destruction. Plutarch,⁷ with great reason condemns this rigour. He thinks it proper to habituate one's self always to mercy, even with regard to beasts, were it only, says he, to learn by that means to treat men well, and to serve, as it were, an apprenticeship to humanity and benevolence. He relates, upon this occasion, a very singular fact, and one well calculated to give an idea of the character of the Athenians. After having finished the temple called *Hecatompædon*, they set all the beasts of burden at liberty, that had been employed in the work, and assigned them six pasturages as consecrated animals. And it was said, that one of these beasts having come to offer itself at the work, and put itself at the head of those that drew the carts to the cita-

del, walking foremost, as if to exhort and encourage them, the Athenians ordained by a decree that the creature should be maintained at the public expense till its death.

SECTION III.—OF THE COUNCIL OR SENATE OF FIVE HUNDRED.

IN consequence of Solon's institutions, the people of Athens had a great share and authority in the government. Appeals might be brought to their tribunals in all cases; they had a right to cancel the old laws and establish new ones; in a word, all important affairs, whether relating to war or peace, were decided in their assemblies. In order that their determinations should be made with more wisdom and maturity, Solon had instituted a council, composed of 400 senators, 100 out of each tribe, which were then four in number; and they prepared and digested the affairs which were to be laid before the people, as we shall soon explain more at large. Cleisthenes, about 100 years after Solon, having increased the number of the tribes to ten, augmented also that of the senators to 500, each tribe supplying fifty. This was called the council, or senate, of the Five Hundred. They received their stipend out of the public treasury.

They were chosen by lot, in which they made use of black and white beans, which were mingled and shaken in an urn; and each tribe gave in the names of those who aspired to that trust, and had the revenue assigned by the laws to qualify them for it. None could be admitted under the age of thirty. After inquiry made into the manners and conduct of the candidate, he was made to take an oath, whereby he engaged to give at all times the best council he could to the people of Athens, and never to depart in the least from the tenor of the laws.

This senate assembled every day, except upon the days appointed for festivals. Each tribe in its turn furnished those who were to preside in it, called *Prytanes*,⁸ and this rank was decided by lot. This presidency continued thirty-five days, which being reckoned ten times, amounts to the number of days, except four, of the lunar year followed at Athens. This time of the presidency, or prytanism, was divided into five weeks, regard being had to the five tens of the *Prytanes*, who were to preside in them, and every week seven of these ten *Prytanes* drawn by lot presided, each their day, and were denominated *Heisites*, that is to say, *presidents*. He who was so for the day,⁹ presided in the assembly of the senators and in that of the people. He was charged with the public seal, as also with the keys of the citadel and treasury.

The senators, before they assembled, offered a sacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva, under the additional appellation of *givers of good counsel*,¹⁰ to implore from them the prudence and understanding necessary to form wise deliberations. The president proposed the business which was to be considered in the assembly. Every one gave his opinion in his turn, and always standing. After a question had been settled, it was drawn up in writing, and read with a loud voice. Each senator then gave his vote by scrutiny, by putting a bean into the urn. If the white beans carried it, the question passed, otherwise it was rejected. This sort of decree was called *ὑψηλόν*, or *Προβούλευμα*, as much as to say, a preparatory resolution. It was afterwards laid before the assembly of the people, where, if it was received and approved, it had the force of a law, if not, its authority subsisted only one year. This shows with what wisdom Solon established this council, to inform and direct the people, to fix their inconstancy, to check their temerity, and to impart to their deliberations a prudence and maturity not to be expected in a confused and tumultuous assembly composed of a great number of citizens, most of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the public good. The reciprocal dependency and mutual concurrence of the

¹ *Thais putri se commendavit in clientelam at fidem: Nobis dedit sese.* *Ænæch.* Act. 5. scen. ult.

² Six livres. ³ Plut. in Flamin. p. 375.

⁴ Philip. 3. ⁵ Plut. de superstit. p. 166.

⁶ Plaut. in Casin. ⁷ Plut. in Catone, p. 338, 339.

⁸ Πρυτάνεις.

⁹ He was called Ἐπιστάτης.

¹⁰ Βουλῆς, βουλευσία.

two bodies of the state, which were obliged to lend each other their authority, and remained equally without force when without union and a good understanding, were besides a method judiciously contrived for supporting a wise balance between the two bodies; the people not being able to enact any thing without its being first proposed and approved by the senate, nor the senate to pass any decree into a law till it had been ratified by the people.

We may judge of the importance of this council by the matters which were treated in it; the same, without any exception, as were laid before the people:—wars, taxes, maritime affairs, treaties of peace, alliances; in a word, whatever related to government; without mentioning the account which they obliged the magistrates to give on quitting their offices, and the frequent decisions and judgments upon the most serious and important affairs.

SECTION IV.—OF THE AREOPAGUS.

THIS council took its name from the place where it held its meetings called *the quarter*,¹ or *hill of Mars*, because, according to some, Mars had been cited thither to trial for a murder committed by him. It was believed to be as ancient as the nation. Cicero and Plutarch attribute the institution of it to Solon; but he only re-established it by giving it more lustre and authority than it had had till then, and for that reason was looked upon as its founder. The number of the senators of the Areopagus was not fixed; at certain times they amounted to two or three hundred. Solon thought proper that only those who had borne the office of archon should be honoured with that dignity.

This senate had the care of seeing the laws duly observed, of inspecting the manners of the people, and especially of judging in criminal cases. They held their sittings in an open place, and during the night. The former very probably to avoid being under the same roof with the criminals, and not to defile themselves by such an intercourse with them; the latter, that they might not be softened by the sight of the guilty, and might judge solely according to justice and the laws. It was for the same reason, that, in presence of these judges, the orators were not permitted to use any exordium or peroration, nor allowed to excite the passions, but were obliged to confine themselves solely to the subject matter of their cause. The severity of their judgments was exceedingly dreaded, particularly in regard to murder, and they were highly attentive to inspire their citizens with horror for that crime. They² condemned a child to be put to death for making it his pasture to put out the eyes of quails; conceiving this sanguinary inclination as the mark of a very wicked disposition, which might one day prove fatal to many, if it were suffered to grow up with impunity.

The affairs of religion, as blasphemies against the gods, contempt of the sacred mysteries, differ in species of impiety, and the introduction of new ceremonies and new divinities, were also brought before this tribunal. We read in Justin Martyr,³ that Plato, who in his travels in Egypt had acquired great lights concerning the unity of God, when he returned to Athens, took great care to dissemble and conceal his sentiments, for fear of being obliged to appear, and give an account of them before the Areopagus; and we know that St. Paul was traduced before them, as teaching a new doctrine,⁴ and endeavouring to introduce new gods.

These judges were in great reputation for their probity, equity, and prudence, and generally respected. Cicero, in writing to his friend Atticus, upon the fortitude, constancy, and wise severity of the Roman senate, thinks he makes a great encomium

upon it in comparing it with the Areopagus. *Senatus, 5* *Ἀρεὸς, παγος, nil constantius, nil severius, nil fortius.* Cicero must have conceived a very advantageous idea of it, to speak of it as he does in the first book of his Offices. He compares the famous battle of Salamis,⁶ in which Themistocles had so great a part, with the establishment of the Areopagus, which he ascribes to Solon; and makes no scruple to prefer, or at least to equal, the legislator's service to that for which Athens was obliged to the general of its army. "For in reality," says he, "that victory was useful to the republic only for once, but the Areopagus will be so throughout all ages, as by the wisdom of that tribunal, the laws and ancient customs of the Athenian state are preserved. Themistocles did no service to the Areopagus, but the Areopagus abundantly contributed to the victory of Themistocles; because the republic was at that time directed by the wise counsels of that august senate."

It appears from this passage of Cicero, that the Areopagus had a great share in the government, and I do not doubt but it was consulted upon important affairs. Cicero here perhaps may have confounded the council of the Areopagus with that of the Five Hundred. It is certain, however, that the Areopagites were extremely active in the public affairs.

Pericles, who could never enter the Areopagus, because, chance having always been against him, he had not passed through any of the employments necessary to his admission, attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his point; which is a great blot in his reputation.

SECTION V.—OF THE MAGISTRATES.

OF these a great number were established for different functions. I shall speak only of the Archons, who are the most known. I have observed elsewhere that they succeeded the kings, and that their authority at first continued during life. It was afterwards limited to ten years, and reduced at last only to one. When Solon was commissioned to reform the government, he found them upon this foot, and to the number of nine. He did not abolish their office, but he very much diminished their power.

The first of these nine magistrates was called THE ARCHON, by way of eminence, and the year denominated from him: *Under such an Archon, such a battle was fought.*⁷ The second was called THE KING, which was a remnant and vestige of the authority to which they had succeeded. The third was THE POLEMARCH, who at first commanded the armies, and always retained that name, though he had not the same authority, of which, however, he had yet preserved some part. For we have seen, in speaking of the battle of Marathon, that the polemarch had a right to vote in the council of war, as well as the ten generals then in command. The six other archons were called by the common name, THEMOTHETE, which implies that they had a particular superintendence over the laws, in order to their being duly observed. These nine archons had each of them a peculiar province, and were judges in certain affairs allotted to their cognizance. I do not think it necessary to enter into the particulars of their duty, nor into those of many other employments and offices established for the administration of justice, for the levying of taxes and tributes, for the preservation of good order in the city, for supplying it with provisions; in a word, for every thing relating to commerce and civil society.

¹ Ad Attic. l. i. ep. 13.

² Quamvis Themistocles jure laudetur, et sit ejus nomen, quam Solonis, illustrius, citeturque Salamis carissimæ testis victoriæ, quæ antepontatur consilio Solonis ei, quo primum constituitur Areopagus: non mihi præclarum hoc, quam illud, judicandum est. Illud enim semel profuit hoc semper proderit civitati: hoc consilio leges Atheniensium, hoc majorum instituta servantur. Et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ejus Areopagum juverit: at ille adjuvit Themistoclem. Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus, qui à Solone erat constitutus. *Offic. l. i. n. 75.*

⁷ From thence he was also called *Ἐραπόγος*.

⁴ Ἀρεὸς παγος.

⁵ Nec mihi videntur Areopagites, eam damnaverunt puerum oculus coturnicem eruentem, aliud judicasse, quam id signum esse perniciosissime mentis, multisque malo futurum ei adolevisset. *Quintil. l. v. c. 9.*

⁶ Cohort. ad Græc.

⁷ Acts xvii 18—20.

SECTION VI.—OF THE ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.

THESE were of two sorts: the one ordinary and fixed to certain days, and for these there was no kind of summons: the other extraordinary, according to the different occasions that arose, and the people were informed of it by express proclamation.

The place for the assembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was the public market-place, sometimes a part of the city near the citadel, called *Παγ*, and sometimes the theatre of Bacchus.

The prytanes generally assembled the people. Some days before the assembly, bills were fixed up, wherein the business to be considered was set down.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give their suffrages. Those were liable to a penalty who failed of being present at the assembly, or who came late; and to induce their punctual attendance, a reward was annexed to it, at first of an obolus, which was the sixth part of a drachma, then of three oboli, which made about five pence French.

The assembly always began with sacrifices and prayers, in order to obtain from the gods the knowledge and understanding necessary to wise deliberations; and they never failed to add the most terrible imprecations against such as should wilfully advise any thing contrary to the public good.

The president proposed the affair upon which they were to deliberate. If it had been examined in the senate, and decided upon there, the resolution was read; after which those who wished to speak were invited to ascend the tribunal, that they might be the better heard by the people, and inform them in the matter proposed. The oldest generally spoke first, and then the rest according to their seniority. When the orators had done speaking, and given their opinion, that it was necessary, for instance, to approve or reject the decree of the senate, the people proceeded to vote; and the most common method of doing it was by holding up their hands, to denote their approbation, which was called *χειροτονία*. The assembly was sometimes adjourned till another day, because it was too late to distinguish the number of those that lifted up their hands, and to decide which party had the majority. After a resolution had been formed in this manner, it was reduced to writing, and read by an officer to the people with a loud voice, who confirmed it again by holding up their hands as before; after which the decree had the force of a law. And this was called *ψήφισμα*, from the Greek word *ψήφος*, which signifies a pebble, or small stone, because they were sometimes used in giving suffrages by scrutiny. All the great affairs of the republic were discussed in these assemblies. It was in them that new laws were proposed and old ones amended; every thing that related to religion and the worship of the gods examined; magistrates, generals, and officers created; their behaviour and conduct inquired into; peace or war concluded; deputies and ambassadors appointed; treaties and alliances ratified; freedom of the city granted; rewards and honours decreed to those who had distinguished themselves in war, or rendered great services to the republic; and punishments ordained for those who had behaved themselves ill, or had violated the laws of the state, and were banished by the ostracism. In fine, justice was administered, and judgment passed there, upon the most important affairs. We see from this account—which is, however, very imperfect—how far the people's power extended; and with what truth it may be said, that the government of Athens, though qualified by the aristocracy and the authority of the elders, was by its constitution democratical and popular.

I shall have occasion to observe in the sequel, of what weight the talent of eloquence must have been in such a republic; and in what great repute orators must have been in it. It is not easy to conceive how they could make themselves heard in so numerous an assembly, and where such a multitude of auditors were present. We may judge how great that was, from what has been said of it in two in-

stances. The first relates to the ostracism, and the other to the adoption of a stranger for a citizen. On each of these occasions it was necessary that no less than 6000 citizens should be present in the assembly.

I reserve for another place the reflections which naturally arise from what I have already related, and what still remains for me to say upon the government of Athens.

SECTION. VII.—OF TRIALS

THERE were different tribunals, according to the different nature of the affairs to be adjudged, but appeals might be brought to the people from all decrees of the other judges, and this it was that rendered their power so great and considerable. All the allies, when they had any cause to try, were obliged to repair to Athens, where they often remained a considerable time without being able to obtain audience, from the multiplicity of affairs to be adjudged. This law had been imposed upon them, in order to render them more dependent upon the people, and more submissive to their authority; instead of which, had they sent commissioners upon the spot, they would have been the sole persons to whom the allies would have made their court and paid their homage.

The parties pleaded their cause either in person or employed advocates to do it for them. The time allowed for the hearing was generally fixed, and a water-clock, called in Greek *ακρόβητα*, regulated its duration. The decree was passed by plurality of voices; and when the suffrages were equal, the judges inclined to the side of mercy, and acquitted the accused. It is remarkable that a friend was not obliged to give evidence against a friend.

All the citizens, even the poorest, and such as had no estates, were admitted into the number of the judges, provided they had attained the age of thirty, and were known to be persons of good morals. Whilst they sat in judgment, they held in their hands a kind of sceptre, which was a mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The judges' salary was different at different times. They had at first only an obolus a day, and afterwards three, at which their fee remained fixed. It was but a small matter in itself, but became in time a very great charge to the public, and exhausted the treasury without much enriching individuals. We may judge of this from what is related in Aristophanes's comedy of *The Wasps*, wherein the poet ridicules the fondness of the Athenians for trying causes, and their eager desire for the gain arising from it, which protracted and multiplied suits without end.

In this comedy, a young Athenian who was to act the part I have mentioned, of turning the judges and trials of Athens into ridicule, from a computation which he makes of the revenues paid into the public treasury, finds their amount to be 2000 talents.¹ He then examines how much of that sum falls to the share of the 6000 judges, with whom Athens was overrun, at three oboli a head per day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only 150 talents.² The calculation is easy. The judges were paid only ten months in the year, the other two being employed in festivals, when all proceedings at law were prohibited. Now three oboli a day paid to 6000 men, makes fifteen talents a month, and consequently 150 in ten months. According to this calculation, the most assiduous judge gained only seventy-five livres (about three guineas) a year. "What then becomes of the remainder of the 2000 talents?" cries the young Athenian.—"What?" replies his father, who was one of the judges, "it goes to those — but let us not expose the shame of Athens: let us always be for the people." The young Athenian goes on to insinuate that the remainder went to such as robbed the public treasury; to the orators, who incessantly flattered the people, and to those

¹ Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 664.

² About 250,000*l.* sterling. ³ About 7000*l.* sterling.

who were employed in the government and army. I have extracted this remark from the works of Father Brumoi the Jesuit, of which I have already made much use, where I have spoken of the public shows and dramatic representations.

SECTION VIII.—OF THE AMPHICTYONS.

THE famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though it was not peculiar to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, because it is often mentioned in the Grecian history, and I do not know whether I shall have a more natural occasion to introduce it.

The assembly of the Amphictyons was in a manner the holding of a general assembly of the states of Greece. The establishment of it is attributed to Amphictyon, king of Athens, and son of Deucalion, who gave it his name. His principal view in the institution of this council, was to unite in the sacred band of amity the several people of Greece admitted into it, and to oblige them by that union to undertake the defence of each other, and be mutually vigilant for the happiness and tranquillity of their country. The Amphictyons were also created to be protectors of the oracle of Delphi, and the guardians of the prodigious riches of that temple, and also to adjudge the differences which might arise between the Delphians and those who came to consult the oracle. This council was held at Thermopylae, and sometimes at Delphi itself. It assembled regularly twice a year; in the spring and autumn, and more frequently when affairs required.

The number of people or cities which had a right to sit in this assembly is not precisely known, and varied, without doubt, at different times. When the Lacedaemonians, in order to secure to themselves alone an influence over the decrees of this council, were desirous of excluding the Thessalians, Argives, and Thebans; Themistocles, in the speech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent that design from taking effect, seems to insinuate that there were only one-and-thirty cities at that time which had this right.

Each city sent two deputies, and consequently, had two votes in the council; and that without distinction, or the more powerful having any prerogative of honour or pre-eminence over inferior states in regard to the suffrages; the liberty upon which these nations valued themselves, requiring that every thing should be equal amongst them.

The Amphictyons had full power to discuss and determine finally in all differences which might arise between the Amphictyonic cities, and to fine the culpable in heavy penalties. They could employ not only the rigour of the laws in the execution of their decrees, but even raise troops, if it were necessary, to compel such as rebelled to submit to them. The three sacred wars undertaken by their order, of which I have spoken elsewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were installed into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, of which *Æschines*² has preserved the form; its runs to this effect: "I swear that I will never destroy any of the cities honoured with the right of sitting in the Amphictyonic council, nor turn their running waters out of their course either in times of war or peace. If any people shall make such an attempt, I hereby engage to carry the war into their country, to demolish their cities, towns, and villages, and to treat them in every respect as the most cruel enemies. Moreover, if at any time any person shall dare to be so impious as to steal and take away any of the rich offerings preserved in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, or shed any others in committing that crime, either by aiding or only counselling him therein, I will use my feet, hands, voice; in a word, all my powers and faculties, to avenge such sacrilege." That oath was attended with the most terrible imprecations and execrations: "That if any one infringes any thing contained in the oath I have now taken, whether private person, city,

or people, may that person, city, or people, be deemed accursed; and, as such, experience the whole vengeance of Apollo, Latona, Diana, and Minerva the fore-knower. May their country produce none of the fruits of the earth, and their women, instead of generating children resembling their fathers, bring forth nothing but monsters; and may their animals share in the same curse. May those sacrilegious men lose all their suits at law; may they be conquered in war, have their houses demolished, and be themselves and their children put to the sword." I am not astonished that after such terrible engagements, the holy war, undertaken by the order of the Amphictyons, should be carried on with so much rancour and fury. The religion of an oath was of great force with the ancients; and how much more regard ought to be had to it in the Christian world, which professes to believe that the violation of it shall be punished with eternal torments; and yet how many are there amongst us who make a jest of breaking through the most solemn oaths?

The authority of the Amphictyons had always been of great weight in Greece, but it began to decline exceedingly from the moment they condescended to admit Philip of Macedon into their body. For that prince, enjoying by this means all their rights and privileges, soon knew how to set himself above all law, and to abuse his power so far as to preside by proxy both in this illustrious assembly and in the Pythian games; of which games the Amphictyons were judges and agonothetæ in virtue of their office. With this Demosthenes reproaches him in his third Philippic: "When he does not deign," says he, "to honour us with his presence, he sends his slaves to preside over us." An odious but emphatical term, and highly characteristic of Grecian liberty, by which the Athenian orator designates the base and abject subjection of the greatest lords in Philip's court.

If the reader desires a more intimate knowledge of what relates to the Amphictyons, the dissertations of Monsieur Valois may be consulted, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*,³ wherein this subject is treated with great extent and erudition.

SECTION IX.—OF THE REVENUES OF ATHENS.

THE revenues, according to the passage of Aristophanes,⁴ which I have cited above, and consequently as they stood in the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to 2000 talents; that is to say, to 6,000,000 of livres. They are generally classed under four heads.

1. The first relates to the revenues arising from agriculture, the sale of woods, the produce of the silver mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the public. Amongst these may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandise, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as strangers.

In the history of Athens mention is often made of the silver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain situate between the Piræus and Cape Sunium, and those of Thrace, from whence many persons drew immense riches. Xenophon,⁵ in a treatise wherein he considers this subject at large, demonstrates how much the public might gain by industriously working these mines, from the example of many individuals who had been enriched by them. Hipponicus⁶ let his mines and 600 slaves to an undertaker, who paid him an obolus⁷ a day for each slave, clear of all charges, which amounted to a minn per day, about 2l. 5s. Nicina, who was killed in Sicily, farmed out his mines and 1000 slaves in the same manner, and with the same profit in proportion to that number.

2. The second species of revenue were the contributions paid to the Athenians by the allies for the common expenses of the war. At first, under Aristides they amounted to only 460 talents.⁸ Pericles augmented them almost a third, and raised them to 600, and some time after they were run up to 1300. Taxes,

¹ Vol. iii.

² De ration. reddituum.

³ Six oboli made a drachma, 100 drachmas a mina and 60 minas a talent.

⁴ Tit. vi.

⁵ Page 925.

⁶ A talent was worth 1000 crowns.

Plot. in Themist. p. 192.

⁷ *Æschin. in Orat. deper. maxime de Bello.*

which is the beginning were moderate and necessary, became thus in a little time excessive and exorbitant, notwithstanding all the protestations to the contrary made to the allies, and the most solemn engagements entered into with them.

3. A third sort of revenue were the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as strangers, in pressing occasions and emergencies of the state.

4. The fines laid upon persons by the judges for different misdemeanours, were applied to the uses of the public, and laid up in the treasury, with the exception of the tenth part of them, which was consecrated to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other divinities.

The most natural and legitimate application of these different revenues of the republic, was in paying the troops both by sea and land, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing the public buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But the greatest part of them, especially after Pericles's time, was misapplied to unnecessary uses, and often consumed in frivolous expenses; games, feasts and shows, which cost immense sums, and were of no manner of utility to the state.

SECTION X.—OF THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH.

I PLACE this article under the head of government, because all the most celebrated legislators have with reason believed that the education of youth was an essential part of it.

The exercise that served to form either the bodies or minds of the young Athenians (and as much may be said of almost all the people of Greece,) were dancing, music, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philosophy. It is clear, that I only skim over, and treat very slightly, these several articles.

1. Dancing. *Music.*

Dancing is one of those bodily exercises which was cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the ancients called the *Gymnastic*, divided, according to Plato,¹ into two kinds, the *Orchestic*, which takes its name from dancing, and the *Palastric*,² so called from a Greek word which signifies *wrestling*. The exercises of the latter kind principally conduced to form the body for the fatigues of war, navigation, agriculture, and the other uses of society.

Dancing had another end, and taught such rules of motion as were most proper to render the shape free and easy; to give the body a just proportion, and the whole person an unconstrained, noble, and graceful air, in a word, an external politeness, if we may be allowed to use that expression, which never fails to prepossess people in favour of those who have been formed to it early.

Music was cultivated with no less application and success. The ancients ascribed wonderful effects to it. They believed it well calculated to calm the passions, soften the manners, and even humanize nations naturally savage and barbarous. Polybius,³ a grave and serious historian, who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes the extreme difference between two nations of Arcadia, the one infinitely beloved and esteemed for the elegance of their manners, their benevolent inclinations, humanity to strangers, and piety to the gods; the other, on the contrary, generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion: Polybius, I say, ascribes this difference to the study of music (I mean, says he, the true and genuine music), industriously cultivated by the one, and absolutely neglected by the other nation.

After this it is not surprising that the Greeks should have considered music as an essential part in the education of youth. Socrates himself,⁴ at a very advanced age, was not ashamed of learning to play upon musical instruments.—Themistocles, however otherwise esteemed, was thought deficient in polite accomplish-

ments,⁵ because at an entertainment he could not touch the lyre like the rest of the company. Ignorance in this respect was deemed a defect of education;⁶ on the contrary, skill did honour to the greatest men. Epaminondas was praised for dancing and playing well upon the flute.⁷ We may observe in this place the different tastes and genius of nations. The Romans were far from having the same opinion with the Greeks in regard to music and dancing, and set no value upon them. It is very likely that the wisest and most sensible amongst the latter did not apply to them with any great industry; and Philip's expression to his son Alexander, who had shown too much skill in music at a feast, induces me to be of this opinion: *Are you not ashamed, said he, to sing so well?*

In other respects, there were some grounds for this esteem for dancing and music. Both the one and the other were employed in the most august feasts and ceremonies of religion, to express with greater force and dignity their acknowledgment to the gods for the favours they had vouchsafed to confer upon them. They formed generally the greatest and most agreeable part of their feasts and entertainments, which seldom or never began or ended without some odes being sung, like those in honour of the victors in the Olympic games, and on other similar subjects. They had a part also in war; and we know that the Lacedæmonians marched to battle dancing, and to the sound of flutes. Plato,⁸ the most grave philosopher of antiquity, considered both these arts not as simple amusements, but as having a great share in the ceremonies of religion and military exercises. Hence we see him very intent, in his books of laws, to prescribe judicious regulations with respect to dancing and music, in order to keep them within the bounds of utility and decorum.

They did not continue long within these restrictions. The licentiousness of the Grecian stage, on which dancing was in the highest vogue, and in a manner prostituted to buffoons and the most contemptible people, who made no other use of it than to awaken or cherish the most vicious passions; this licentiousness, I say, soon corrupted an art which might have been of some advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Music had a like destiny; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the depraving and perverting of dancing. Voluptuousness and sensual pleasure were the sole arbiters consulted as to the use which was to be made of both, and the theatre became a school of every kind of vice.

Plutarch,⁹ in lamenting that the art of dancing was much fallen from the merit which rendered it so estimable to the great men of antiquity, does not omit to observe, that it was corrupted by a vicious kind of poetry, and a soft effeminate music, with which it had formed an injudicious union, and which had taken place of that ancient poetry and music, which had something noble, majestic, and even religious and heavenly in them. He adds, that being made subservient to voluptuousness and sensuality, it exercised by their aid, a kind of tyrannical power in the theatres, which were become the public schools of criminal passions and gross vices, wherein no regard was paid to reason.

The reader, without my reminding him, will make the application of this passage of Plutarch to that sort of music with which our theatres resound at this day, and which, by its effeminate and wanton airs, has given the last wound to the little manly force and virtue that remained among us. Quintilian describes

¹ Themistocles, cdm in epulis recusasset lyram, habitus est indoctor. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. i. n. 4.

² Summam eruditionem Græci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus—dicebantque illi omnes; nec qui nesciebat, satis exultus doctrina putabatur. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. i. n. 4.

³ In Epaminondæ virtutibus commemoratum est saltasse eum commodè, scienterque tibia cantasse.—Sicilicet non eadem omnibus honesta sunt atque turpia, sed omnia majorum institutis judicantur. *Corn. Nep. in prefat. vit. Epam.*

⁴ De leg. l. vii.

⁵ *Sympos.* l. ix. qu. 15. p. 743.

¹ Ὀρχηστὴς, saltare.

² Πάλας.

³ Polyb. l. iv. p. 284-291.

⁴ Socrates, jam senex, instituti lyrà non erubescerebat. *Quintil.* l. i. c. 10.

the music of his times in these terms: *Quæ nunc in scenis effeminata, et impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minimâ, si quæ in nobis virilis roboris manebat, effinit.*¹

2. Of the other exercises of the body.

The young Athenians, and in general all the Greeks, were very careful to form themselves in all the exercises of the body, and to take lessons regularly from the masters of the Palæstræ. They called the places allotted for these exercises, Palæstræ or Gymnasia; which answers very near to our academies. Plato; in his books of laws, after having shown of what importance it was with a view to war, to cultivate strength and agility of the hands and feet, adds,² that far from banishing from a well-regulated republic the profession of the Athletæ, on the contrary, prizes ought to be proposed for all exercises that conduce to the improvement of the military art: such are those which render the body more active and fitter for the race; more hardy, robust, and supple; more capable of supporting great fatigues, and effecting great enterprises. We must remember, that there was no Athenian who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largest galleys. The citizens themselves performed this office, which was not left to slaves and criminals, as in these days. They were all destined to the trade of war, and often obliged to wear armour of iron from head to foot of a great weight. For this reason, Plato, and all the ancients, looked upon the exercises of the body as highly useful, and even absolutely necessary to the good of the public, and therefore this philosopher excludes only those which were of no service in war.

There were also masters who taught the youth to ride,³ and to handle their arms, or fence; and others whose business it was to instruct them in all that was necessary to be known, in order to excel in the art military, and to become good commanders. The whole science of the latter consisted in what the ancients called Tactics, that is to say, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of making military evolutions. That science was useful, but it was not sufficient. Xenophon⁴ shows its insufficiency, by producing a young man lately come from such a school, in which he imagined he had learnt every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a foolish esteem for himself, attended with perfect ignorance. He gives him, by the mouth of Socrates, admirable precepts as to the business of a soldier, and well calculated to form an excellent officer.

Hunting was also considered by the ancients as an exercise well calculated for forming youth to the stratagems and fatigues of war. It is for this reason that Xenophon, who was no less a great general than a great philosopher, did not think it below him to write a treatise expressly upon hunting,⁵ in which he descends to the minutest particulars; and points out the considerable advantages that may be derived from it, from being inured to suffer hunger, thirst, heat, cold, without being discouraged either by the length of the course, the difficulty of the cliffs and thickets through which it is often necessary to pass, or the small success of the long and painful fatigues which are often undergone to no purpose. He adds, that this innocent pleasure removes others equally shameful and criminal; and that a wise and moderate man would not, however, abandon himself so much to it as to neglect the care of his domestic affairs. The same author,⁶ in the *Cyropædia*, frequently praises hunting, which he looks upon as a real study of the art of war; and shows, in the example of his young hero, the good use that may be made of it.

3. Of the Exercises of the Mind.

Athens, properly speaking, was the school and abode of polite learning, arts, and sciences. The study of poetry, eloquence, philosophy, and mathe-

matics, was in great vogue there, and much cultivated by the youth.

The young people were first sent to learn grammar under masters who taught them regularly, and upon proper principles, their own language; by which they attained a knowledge of its whole beauty, energy, number, and cadence. Hence proceeded that fine taste which universally pervaded Athens,⁷ where, as history informs us, a simple herd-woman distinguished Theophrastus to be a foreigner, from the affectation of a single word in expressing himself. And from the same cause the orators were greatly apprehensive of letting fall the least injudicious expression, for fear of offending so refined and delicate an audience. It was very common for the young people to get the tragedies represented upon the stage by heart. We have seen, that after the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, many of them, who had been taken prisoners and made slaves, softened their slavery by reciting the works of Euripides to their masters, who, extremely delighted with hearing such sublime verses, treated them from henceforth with kindness and humanity. The compositions of the other poets had no doubt the same effect; and Plutarch tells us, that Alcibiades, when very young, having entered a school in which there was not a Homer, gave the master a box on the ear as an ignorant fellow, and one who dishonoured his profession.⁸

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly studied at Athens. It was that which opened the way to the highest offices, reigned absolute in the assemblies, decided the most important affairs of the state, and gave an almost unlimited power to those who had the talent of oratory in an eminent degree.

This therefore was the great employment of the young citizens of Athens, especially of those who aspired to the highest offices. To the study of rhetoric, they annexed that of philosophy. I comprise under the latter all the sciences which are either parts of, or relate to, it. The persons known to antiquity under the name of Sophists had acquired a great reputation at Athens, especially in the time of Socrates. These teachers, who were as presumptuous as avaricious, set themselves up for universals, scholars. Their chief strength lay in philosophy and eloquence, both of which they corrupted by the false taste and wrong principles which they instilled into their disciples. I have observed, in the life of Socrates, that philosopher's endeavours and success in discrediting them.

CHAPTER II.

OF WAR.

SECTION I.—THE NATIONS OF GREECE IN ALL TIMES VERY WARLIKE, ESPECIALLY THE LACE DEMONIANS AND ATHENIANS.

No people of antiquity (I except the Romans) can dispute the glory of arms and military virtue with the Greeks. During the Trojan war Greece signalized her valour in battle, and acquired immortal fame by the bravery of the captains she sent thither. This expedition was however, properly speaking, no more than the cradle of her infant glory; and the great exploits by which she distinguished herself there, were only her first essays and apprenticeship in the art of war.

There were in Greece several small republics, neighbours to one another by their situation, but widely distant in their customs, laws, characters, and particularly in their interests. This difference of manners and interests was a continual source and occasion of divisions amongst them. Every city, little satisfied with its own territory, was studious to aggrandize itself at the expense of its next neighbours, according as they lay most commodious for it. Hence all these little states, either out of ambition, and to

¹ Quintil. l. i. c. 10. ² Lib. viii. de leg. p. 832, 833

³ Plat. in Lachete, p. 181.

⁴ Memorab. l. iii. p. 761. &c.

⁵ De venatione.

⁶ Cyprip. l. i. p. 5, 6, and l. ii. p. 59, 60.

⁷ Cic. in Brut. n. 172. Quint. l. viii. c. 1. Plat. in Parm. p. 156.

⁸ In Alcib. p. 194

extend their conquests, or the necessity of a just defence, were always under arms; and by that continual exercise of war, there was formed throughout the whole of these nations a martial spirit, and an intrepidity of courage which made them invincible in the field; as appeared in the sequel, when the whole united forces of the East came to invade Greece, and made her sensible of her own strength, and of what she was capable of.

Two cities distinguished themselves above the rest, and held indisputably the first rank; these were Sparta and Athens: in consequence of which those cities, either successively or together, had the empire of Greece, and maintained themselves through a long series of time in a power which the sole superiority of merit, universally acknowledged by all the other states, had acquired them. This merit consisted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; of which both of them had given the most glorious proofs in the war against the Persians. Thebes disputed this honour with them for some years, by surprising actions of valour, which had something of prodigy in them; but this was but a short-lived blaze, which, after having shone out with exceeding splendour, soon disappeared, and left that city in its original obscurity. Sparta and Athens will therefore be the only objects of our reflections, as to what relates to war; and we shall join them together, in order to be the better able to form a notion of their characters, as well in what they resemble, as in what they differ from each other.

SECTION II.—ORIGIN AND CAUSE OF THE VALOUR AND MILITARY VIRTUE BY WHICH THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS ALWAYS DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES.

ALL the laws of Sparta and all the institutions of Lycurgus seem to have had no other object than war, and tended solely to the making the subjects of that republic a body of soldiers. All other employments, all other exercises, were prohibited amongst them. Arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, even husbandry itself, formed no part of their employment, and seemed in their eyes unworthy of them. From their earliest infancy no other taste was instilled into them but for arms; and indeed the Spartan education was wonderfully well adapted to that end. To go barefoot, to lie on the bare ground, to be satisfied with little meat and drink, to suffer heat and cold, to be exercised continually in hunting, wrestling, running on foot and horse-back, to be inured to blows and wounds so as to vent neither complaint nor groan; these were the rudiments of education of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them one day to support all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The habit of obeying, contracted from the most early years, respect for the magistrates and elders, a perfect submission to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempt, prepared them amazingly for military discipline, which is in a manner the soul of war, and the principle of success in all great enterprises.

Now one of these laws was to conquer or die, and never to surrender to the enemy. Leonidas with his 300 Spartans was an illustrious example of this; and his intrepid valour, extolled in all ages with the highest applauses, and proposed as a model to all posterity, had given the same spirit to the nation, and traced them out the plan they were to follow. The disgrace and infamy annexed to the violation of this law, and to such as quitted their arms in battle, confirmed the observance of it, and rendered it in a manner inviolable. The mothers recommended to their sons, when they set out for the field, to return either with or upon their bucklers. They did not weep for those who died with arms in their hands, but for those who preserved themselves by flight. Can we be surprised, after this, that a small body of such soldiers, with such principles, should put to a stand an innumerable army of barbarians?

The Athenians were not bred up so roughly as the people of Sparta, but had no less valour. The taste of the two nations was quite different in regard to

education and employment; but they attained the same end, though by different means. The Spartans knew only how to use their arms, and were soldiers alone: but amongst the Athenians (and we must say as much of the other people of Greece) arts, trades, husbandry, commerce, and navigation, were held in honour, and thought no disgrace to any one. These occupations were no obstacles to military skill and valour; they disqualified none for rising to the greatest commands and the first dignities of the republic. Plutarch observes, that Solon, seeing the territory of Attica was barren, applied himself to direct the industry of his citizens towards arts, trades, and commerce, in order to supply his country thereby with what it wanted on the side of fertility. This taste became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the state, and perpetuated itself amongst the people, out without lessening in the least their ardour for war.

The ancient glory of the nation, which had always distinguished itself by military bravery, was a powerful motive for not degenerating from the reputation of their ancestors. The famous battle of Marathon, wherein they had sustained alone the shock of the barbarians, and gained a signal victory over them, infinitely heightened their courage; and the battle of Salamis, in the success of which they had the greatest share, raised them to the highest pitch of glory, and rendered them capable of the greatest enterprises.

A noble emulation not to give place in merit to Sparta, the rival of Athens, and a keen jealousy of their glory, which during the war with the Persians contained itself within due bounds, were another strong incentive to the Athenians, who every day made new efforts to excel themselves, and sustain their reputation.

The rewards and honours granted to those who had distinguished themselves in battle: the monuments erected in memory of the citizens who had died in the defence of their country; the funeral orations publicly pronounced in the midst of the most august religious ceremonies, to render their names immortal—all conspired in the highest degree to eternize the valour of the Athenians particularly, and to make fortitude a kind of law and indispensable necessity to them.

Athens had a law by which it was ordained, that those who had been maimed in war should be maintained at the expense of the public. The same favour was granted to the fathers, and mothers, as well as to the children of such as had fallen in battle, and left their families poor and not in a condition to support themselves. The republic, like a good mother, generously took them into her care, and fulfilled towards them all the duties and procured them all the relief that they could have expected from those whose loss they deplored.

This exalted the courage of the Athenians, and rendered their troops invincible, though not very numerous. In the battle of Platen, where the army of the barbarians, commanded by Mardonius, consisted at the least of 300,000 men, and the united forces of the Greeks of only 108,200 men, there were in the latter only 10,000 Lacedæmonians, of which one half were Spartans, that is to say, inhabitants of Sparta, and 8,000 Athenians. It is true, each Spartan brought with him seven Helots, which made in all 35,000 men; but they were scarce ever reckoned as soldiers.

This shining merit, in point of martial valour, generally acknowledged by the other states, did not suppress in their minds all sentiments of envy and jealousy; as appeared once in relation to the Lacedæmonians. The allies, who were very much superior to them in number, could with difficulty endure to see themselves subjected to their order, and murmured against it in secret. Agesilaus, king of Sparta, without seeming to have any knowledge of their disgust, assembled the whole army; and after having made all the allies sit down on one side, and the

1 Plat. in Solon, p. 96. Plat. in Menex. p. 248, 249. Diog. Laert. in Solon, p. 37.

Lacedæmonians by themselves on the other, he caused proclamation to be made by a herald, that all smiths, masons, carpenters, (and so on, through the other trades,) should rise up. Almost all the allies did so, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, to whom all trades were prohibited. Agesilaus then smiling, "You see," said he, "how many more soldiers Sparta alone furnishes than all the rest of the allies together;" thereby intimating, that to be a good soldier, it was necessary to be only a soldier; that trade diverted the artisan from applying himself wholly to the profession of arms and the science of war, and prevented his succeeding so well in it as those who made it their sole business and exercise. But Agesilaus spoke and acted in that manner from his prejudice in favour of the Lacedæmonian education; for indeed those whom he wished to consider only as simple artisans, demonstrated by the glorious victories they obtained over the Persians, and even Sparta itself, that they were by no means inferior to the Lacedæmonians, entirely soldiers as they were, either in valour or military knowledge.

SECTION III.—DIFFERENT KINDS OF TROOPS OF WHICH THE ARMIES OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS WERE COMPOSED.

THE armies both of Sparta and Athens were composed of four sorts of troops: citizens, allies, mercenaries and slaves. The soldiers were sometimes marked in the hand, to distinguish them from the slaves, who had that character impressed upon their forehead. Interpreters believe, that it is in allusion to this double manner of marking, that it is said in the Revelation, that all were obliged "to receive the mark of the beast in the right hand, or in their foreheads;"¹ and that St. Paul says of himself,² "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

The citizens of Lacedæmonia were of two sorts; either those who inhabited Sparta itself, and who for that reason were called Spartans, or those who lived in the country. In Lycurgus's time the Spartans amounted to 9000, and the others to 30,000. This number seems to have been somewhat diminished in the time of Xerxes, as Demaratus, speaking to him of the Lacedæmonian troops, computes only 8000 Spartans. The latter were the flower of the nation; and we may judge of the value they set upon them, by the anxiety the republic expressed for the three or four hundred besieged by the Athenians in the small island of Sphacteria, where they were taken prisoners. The Lacedæmonians generally spared the troops of their country very much, and sent only a few of them into the armies; but even these few constituted their chief strength. When a Lacedæmonian general was asked, how many Spartans there were in the army; he answered, *as many as are necessary to repulse the enemy*. They served the state at their own expense, and it was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the public.

The greatest number of the troops in the two republics were composed of the *Allies*, who were paid by the cities which sent them.

The foreign troops, who were paid by the republic to whose aid they were called in, were styled *Mercenaries*.

The Spartans never marched without Helots, and we have seen that in the battle of Platæa every citizen had seven. I do not believe that this number was fixed, nor do I well comprehend for what service they were designed. It would have been very bad policy to have put arms into the hands of so great a number of slaves, generally much discontented with their masters' harsh treatment of them, and who consequently would have had every thing to fear from them in a battle. Herodotus, however, in the passage I have cited from him, represents them carrying arms in the field as light-armed soldiers.

The infantry consisted of two kinds of soldiers. The one were heavy armed, and carried great bucklers, lances, half-pikes, and scimitars and of these the

main strength of the army consisted. The other were light armed, that is to say, with bows and slings. They were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings as a first line, to shoot arrows, and fling javelins and stones at the enemy; and when they had discharged, they retired through the intervals behind the battalions as a second line, and continued their volleys.

Thucydides,³ in describing the battle of Mantinæa, divides the Lacedæmonian troops in this manner. There were seven regiments of four companies each, without including the Sciritæ, to the number of 600; these were horsemen, of whom I shall soon speak farther. The company consisted, according to the Greek interpreter, of 128 men, and was subdivided into four squadrons, each of thirty-two men. So that a regiment amounted to 512 men, and the seven made together 3584. Each squadron had four men in front and eight in depth, for that was the usual depth of the files, which the officers might change according as circumstances required.

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to use cavalry till after the war with Messene, where they perceived their want of it. They raised their horse principally in a small city not far from Lacedæmon, called *Sciras*, from whence these troops were denominated *Sciritæ*. They were always on the extremity of the left wing, and this was their post by right.

Cavalry was still more rare amongst the Athenians: the situation of Attica, broken with abundance of mountains, was the cause of this. It did not amount, after the war with the Persians, which was the time when the prosperity of Greece was at the highest, to more than 300 horse; but increased afterwards to 1200; a very small body, however, for so powerful a republic.

I have already observed, that amongst the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, no mention is made of the stirrup, which is very surprising. They threw themselves nimbly on horseback:—

Corpora saltu
Subjuncti in equos.—Æn. l. xii. ver. 287
And with a leap sit steady on the horse.

Sometimes the horse, trained early to that practice would bend his forelegs to give his master the opportunity of mounting with more ease;

Inde inclinatus collum submissus et arcos
De more, inflexis præbat scandere terga
Curiabus.—*Sil. Ital. de equo Casti Equi. Rom.*

Those whom age or weakness rendered heavy made use of a servant in mounting on horseback; in which they imitated the Persians, with whom it was the common custom. Gracchus caused handsome stones to be placed on each side of the great roads of Italy at certain distances from one another, to help travellers to get on horseback without the assistance of any body.⁴

I am surprised that the Athenians, expert as they were in the art of war, did not perceive that the cavalry was the most essential part of an army, especially in battles; and that some of their generals did not turn their attention that way, as Themistocles did towards maritime affairs. Xenophon was well capable of rendering them a similar service in respect to the cavalry, of the importance of which he was perfectly apprised. He wrote two treatises upon this subject; one of which regards the care it is necessary to take of horses, and how to acquire a knowledge of them, and to break them; which he treats with astonishing minuteness; and the other gives instructions for training and exercising the troopers themselves; both well worth the reading of all who profess arms. In the latter he states the means of placing the cavalry in honour, and lays down rules upon the art military in general, which might be of very great use to all those who are designed for the profession of arms.

¹ Thucyd. l. v. p. 310.

² Ἀναδελύξας με δεξιότητος, *Plin. in Grace* p. 838. This word ἀναδελύξας, signifies a servant who helped his master to mount on horseback.

³ Rev. xii. 16.

⁴ Gal. vi. 17.

have been surprised, in running over this second treatise, to see with what care Xenophon, a soldier and a pagan, recommends the practice of religion, a veneration for the gods, and the necessity of imploring their aid upon all occasions. He repeats this maxim in thirteen different places of a tract in other respects brief enough; and rightly judging that these religious insinuations might give some people offence, he makes a kind of apology for them, and concludes the piece with a reflection which I shall repeat entire in this place. "If any one," says he, "wonders that I insist so much here upon the necessity of not forming any enterprise without first endeavouring to render the Divinity favourable and propitious, let him reflect, that there are in war a thousand unforeseen and hazardous conjunctures, wherein the generals, vigilant to take advantages and lay ambuscades for each other, from the uncertainty of an enemy's motions, can take no other counsel than that of the gods. Nothing is doubtful or obscure with them. They unfold the future to whosoever they please, by the inspection of the entrails of beasts, by the singing of birds, by visions, or in dreams. Now we may presume, that the gods are more inclined to illuminate the minds of such as consult them not only in urgent necessities, but who at all times, and when no dangers threaten them, render them all the homage and adoration of which they are capable."

It was worthy of this great man to give the most important of instructions to his son Gryllus, to whom he addresses the treatise we mention, and who, according to the common opinion, was appointed to discipline the Athenian cavalry.

SECTION IV.—OF MARITIME AFFAIRS, FLEETS, AND NAVAL FORCES.

If the Athenians were inferior to the Lacedæmonians in cavalry, they had infinitely the advantage over them in naval affairs; and we have seen their skill in that department make them masters at sea, and give them a great superiority over all the other states of Greece. As this subject is very necessary to the understanding many passages in history, I shall treat it rather more extensively than I have other matters, and shall make great use of what the learned Father Don Bernard de Montfaucon has said of it in his books upon antiquity.

The principal parts of a ship were the prow or head, the poop or stern, and the middle, called in Latin *carina*, the hulk or waist.

The **PROW** was the part which projected beyond the waist or belly of the ship; it was generally adorned with paintings and different sculptures of gods, men, or animals. The beak, called *rostrum*, lay lower, and level with the water: it was a piece of timber which projected from the prow, armed with a spike of brass, and sometimes of iron. The Greeks termed it *ῥοστρον*.

The other end of the ship, opposite to the prow, was called the **POOP**. There the pilot sat and held the helm, which was an oar longer and larger than the rest.

The **WAIST** was the hollow of the vessel, or the hold.

The ships were of two kinds. The one were rowed with oars, which were ships of war; the other carried sails, and were vessels of burden, intended for commerce and transports. Both of them sometimes made use of oars and sails together, but that very rarely. The ships of war are also very often called long ships by authors, and by that name distinguished from vessels of burden.

The long ships were farther divided into two species: those which were called *actuaria naves*, and were very light vessels, like our brigantines; and those called only long ships. The first were usually termed *open ships*, because they had no decks. Of these light vessels there were some larger than ordinary, of which some had twenty, some thirty, and the others forty oars, half on one side, and half on the other, all on the same line.

The long ships, which were used in war, were of two sorts. Some had only one rank of oars on each

side; the others two, three, four, five, or a greater number, as far as forty; but these last were rather for show than use.

The long ships of one rank of oars were called *aphracti*; that is to say, uncovered, and had no decks; this distinguished them from the *cataphracti*, which had decks. They had only small platforms to stand on, at the head and stern, in the time of action.

The ships most commonly used in the battles of the ancients, were those which carried from three to five ranks or benches of oars, and were called *triremes* and *quinqueremes*.

It is a great question, and has given occasion for abundance of learned dissertations, how these benches of oars were disposed. Some will have it, that they were placed at length, like the ranks of oars in the modern galleys. Others maintain, that the benches of the biremes, triremes, quinqueremes, and so on to the number of forty in some vessels, were one above another. To support this last opinion, innumerable passages are cited from ancient authors, which seem to leave no manner of doubt in it, and are considerably corroborated by the evidence of Trajan's pillar, which represents these ranks one above another. Father Montfaucon, however, avers, that all the persons of greatest skill in naval affairs whom he had consulted, declared, that the thing conceived in that manner seemed to them utterly impossible. But reasoning is a weak proof against the experience of so many ages, confirmed by so many authors. It is true, that in admitting these ranks of oars to be disposed perpendicularly one above another, it is not easy to comprehend how they could be worked; but in the biremes and triremes of Trajan's pillar, the lower ranks are placed obliquely, and as it were rising by degrees.

In ancient times ships with several ranks of oars were not known: they made use of long ships, in which the rowers, however numerous they were, worked all upon the same line. Such was the fleet which the Greeks sent against Troy.¹ It was composed of 1200 sail; among which the galleys of Bœotia had each 120 men, and of those of Philoctetes 50; and this no doubt denotes the greatest and smallest vessels. Their galleys had no decks, but were built like common boats; which is still practised, says Thucydides, by the pirates, to prevent their being so soon discovered at a distance.

The Corinthians are said to have been the first who changed the form of ships;² and instead of simple galleys made vessels with three ranks, in order to add, by increasing the number of oars, to the swiftness and impetuosity of their motion. Their city, advantageously situated between two seas, was well adapted for commerce, and served as a staple for merchandise. After their example, the inhabitants of Corcyra, and the tyrants of Sicily, equipped also many galleys of three benches, a little before the war against the Persians. It was about the same time that the Athenians, animated by the forcible exhortations of Themistocles, who foresaw the war which soon after broke out, built ships of the same form, though even then the deck did not reach the whole length of the vessel; and from thenceforth they applied themselves to naval affairs with incredible ardour and success.

The beak of the prow (*rostrum*) was that part of the vessel of which most use was made in sea-fights. Ariston of Corinth³ persuaded the Syracusans, when their city was besieged by the Athenians, to make their prows lower and shorter; which advice gained them the victory. For the prows of the Athenian vessels being very high and very weak, their beaks struck only the parts above water, and for that reason did little damage to the enemy's ships; whereas those of the Syracusans, whose prows were strong and low, and their beaks level with the water, often sunk, at a single blow, the triremes of the Athenians.

Two sorts of people served on board these galleys.

¹ Thucyd. l. i. p. 8.

² Ibid. p. 10.

³ Diod. l. xiii. p. 141.

The one were employed in steering and working the ship, who were the rowers, *remiges*, and the mariners, *naulæ*. The rest were soldiers intended for the fight, and are denoted in Greek by the word *ιστάται*. This distinction did not prevail in the early times, when the same persons rowed, fought, and did all the necessary work of the ship, and this was also not wholly dissipated in later days. For Thucydides,¹ in describing the arrival of the Athenian fleet at the small island of Sphacteria, observes, that only the rowers of the lowest bench remained in the ships, and that the rest went on shore with their arms.

1. The condition of the rowers was very hard and laborious. I have already said that the rowers, as well as mariners, were all citizens and freemen, and not slaves or foreigners, as in these days. The rowers were distinguished by their several stages. The lower rank were called *thalamitæ*, the middle *zugitæ*, and the highest *thranitæ*. Thucydides remarks, that the latter had greater pay than the rest, because they worked with longer and heavier oars than those of the lower benches. It seems that the crew,² in order to pull in concert, and with the greater regularity, were sometimes guided by the singing of a man, and sometimes by the sound of an instrument; and this grateful harmony served not only to regulate the motion of their oars, but to diminish and soothe their toil.

It is a question amongst the learned, whether there was only one man to every oar in these great ships, or several, as in the galleys of these days.—What Thucydides observes concerning the pay of the thranitæ, seems to imply that they worked single. For if others had shared the work with them, wherefore had they greater pay given them than those who managed an oar alone, as the latter had as much, and perhaps more of the labour than they? Father Montfaucon believes that in the vessels of more than five ranks there might be several men to one oar.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the vessel, was called *nauclerus*, and was the principal officer. The second was the pilot, *gubernator*; his place was in the poop, where he held the helm in his hand, and steered the vessel. His skill consisted in knowing the coasts, ports, rocks, shoals, and especially the winds and stars; for before the invention of the compass, the pilot had nothing to direct him during the night but the stars.

2. The soldiers who fought in the ships were armed almost in the same manner with the land forces. There was no fixed number. The Athenians,³ at the battle of Salamis, had 180 vessels, and in each of their eighteen fighting men, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy-armed troops. The officer who commanded these soldiers was called *τρίηραρχος*, and the commander of the fleet, *ναυάρχος*; *ὁ στρατηγός*.

We cannot exactly ascertain the number of soldiers, mariners and rowers, that served on board each ship; but it generally amounted to 200, more or less, as appears from Herodotus's estimate of the Persian fleet in the time of Xerxes, and in other places where mention is made of that of the Greeks. I mean here the great vessels, the triremes, which were the species most in use.

The pay of those who served in these ships varied very much at different times. When the younger Cyrus arrived in Asia,⁴ it was only three oboli, which was half a drachma, or five-pence; and the treaty between the Persians and Lacedæmonians was concluded at that rate;⁵ which gives reason to believe

that the usual pay was three oboli. Cyrus, at I.yander's request added a fourth, which made sixpence-halfpenny a day. It was often raised to a whole drachma,⁶ about ten-pence French. In the fleet fitted out against Sicily, the Athenians gave a drachma a day to the troops. The sum of sixty talents,⁷ which the people of Egæta advanced to the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of sixty ships,⁸ shows that the pay of each vessel for a month amounted to a talent, that is to say, to about 140*l.*; which supposes that each ship's company consisted of 200 men, each of whom received a drachma, or ten-pence, a day. As the officers' pay was higher, the republic perhaps either furnished the overplus, or it was deducted out of the total of the sum advanced for a vessel, by abating something in the pay of the private men.

The same may be said of the land troops as has been said of the seamen, except that the cavalry had double their pay. It appears that the ordinary pay of the foot was three oboli a day, and that it was augmented according to times and occasions. Thimbron the Lacedæmonian,⁹ when he marched against Tissaphernes, promised a darick a month to each soldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels. Now a darick a month is four oboli a day. The younger Cyrus, to animate his troops, who were disheartened by the idea of a too long march, instead of one darick, promised one and a half to each soldier, which amounted to a drachma, or ten-pence French, a day.

It may be asked how the Lacedæmonians, whose iron coin, the only species current amongst them, would pass no where else, could maintain armies by sea and land; and where they found money for their subsistence. It is not to be doubted but they raised it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and still more from the cities to which they gave liberty and protection, or from those they had conquered from their enemies. Their second fund for paying their fleet and armies was the aids which they drew from the king of Persia, as we have seen on several occasions.

SECTION V.—PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE ATHENIANS.

PLUTARCH will furnish us with almost all the leading features upon this head. Every body knows how well he succeeds in copying nature in his portraits, and how well calculated he was to trace the character of a people whose genius and manners he had studied with so profound an attention.

1.¹⁰ *The people of Athens*,¹¹ says Plutarch, are easily provoked to anger, and as easily induced to resume sentiments of benevolence and compassion. History supplies us with an infinity of examples of this kind: the sentence of death passed against the inhabitants of Mitylene, and revoked the next day: the condemnation of the ten generals, and that of Socrates,—both followed with an immediate repentance and the most lively grief.

II. *They are better pleased with forming a prompt decision*,¹² and almost guessing at the result of an affair, than with giving themselves leisure to be informed in it thoroughly, and in all its extent.

Nothing is more surprising than this circumstance in their character, which it is very hard to conceive, as it seems almost incredible. Artificers, husbandmen, soldiers, mariners, are generally a heavy kind of people, and very dull in their conceptions; but the people of Athens were of a quite different turn. They had naturally a penetration, vivacity, and even delicacy of wit, that surprise us. I have already mentioned what happened to Theophrastus. He was cheapening something of an old woman of Athens that sold herbs:¹³ *No, Mr. Stranger*, said she, *you shall not*

¹ Thucyd. l. iv. p. 275.

² Musæum natura ipsa videtur ad tolerandam facilius abores veluti muneri nobis dedisse. Siquidem et remiges cantus hortator; nec solum in his operibus, in quibus plerumque conatus prævenire aliquam jucunda voce conspirat, et etiam singulorum fatigatis quælibet se rudi modulatione solatur. Quintil. l. i. c. 10.

³ Plut. in Themist. p. 119.

⁴ Xenoph. Hist. l. i. p. 441.

⁵ This treaty stipulated that the Persians should pay thirty minæ a month for each ship, which was half a talent: the whole amounted to three oboli a day for every man that served on board.

⁶ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 431.

⁷ About 8,400*l.* sterling

⁸ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415.

⁹ Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. l. vii.

¹⁰ Plut. de præcept. reip. ger. p. 793.

¹¹ Ὁ δὲ λαὸς Ἀθηναίων εὐκρινέος ἔστι πρὸς δόξαν, ἰσχυρὰ

δύο: πρὸς δόξαν.

¹² Μάλλον δὲ λίαν ὑπονοεῖν, ἢ διδασκασθαι καὶ ἡσύχῃ

δοκασμένον.

¹³ Cùm Theophrastus percontaretur ex ancilla quadam

quanti aliquid venderet, et respondisset illa, atque addidit

have it for less. He was much surprised to see himself treated as a stranger, who had passed almost his whole life at Athens, and piqued himself upon excelling all others in the elegance of his language. It was, however, from that she knew he was not of her country. We have seen that the Athenian soldiers knew the fine passages of the tragedies of Euripides by heart. Besides, these artificers and soldiers, from assisting at the public deliberations, were versed in affairs of state, and understood every thing at half a word. We may judge of this from the orations of Demosthenes, whose style we know is ardent, nervous, and concise.

III. As they are naturally inclined to relieve persons of a low condition and mean circumstances, so are they fond of conversations seasoned with pleasantry, and calculated to make people laugh.

They assisted persons of a mean condition,² because from such they had nothing to apprehend in regard to their liberty, and saw in them the characters of equality, and resemblance with themselves. They loved pleasantry, and in that showed they were men; but men abounding with good nature and indulgence, who understood raillery, who were not prone to take offence, nor over delicate in point of the respect due to them. One day when the assembly was fully formed, and the people had already taken their places, Cleon, after having made them wait his coming a great while, appeared at last with a wreath of flowers upon his head, and desired the people to adjourn their deliberations to the next day: "For to-day," said he, "I have business. I have been sacrificing to the gods, and am to entertain some strangers, my friends, at supper." The Athenians, setting up a laugh, rose, and broke up the assembly. At Carthage, it would have cost any man his life, who had presumed to vent such a pleasantry, and to take such a liberty with a proud,³ haughty, jealous, morose people, little disposed by nature to cultivate the graces, and still less inclined to humour. Upon another occasion the orator Stratocles, having informed the people of a victory, and in consequence caused sacrifices to be offered,—three days after, news came of the defeat of the army. As the people expressed their discontent and resentment upon the false information, he asked them "of what they had to complain, and what harm he had done them, in making them pass three days more agreeably than they would else have done?"

IV. They are pleased with hearing themselves praised, and yet readily bear to be ridiculed or criticized.⁴ The least acquaintance with Aristophanes and Demosthenes will show with what address and effect they employed praises and censure with regard to the people of Athens.

When the republic enjoyed peace and tranquillity,⁵ says the same Plutarch in another place, the Athenian people diverted themselves with the orators who flattered them; but in important affairs and emergencies of the state, they became serious, and gave the preference to those whose custom it had been to oppose their unjust desires: such as Pericles, Phocion, and Demosthenes.

V. They keep even those who govern them in awe, and show their humanity even to their enemies.⁶

The people of Athens made good use of the talents of those who distinguished themselves by their eloquence and prudence; but they were full of suspicion, and kept themselves always on their guard against their superiority of genius and ability; they

took pleasure in restraining their courage, and lessening their glory and reputation. This may be judged from the ostracism, which was instituted only as a curb on those whose merit and popularity ran too high, and which spared neither the greatest nor the most worthy persons. The hatred of tyranny and tyrants, which was in a manner innate in the Athenians, made them extremely jealous and apprehensive for their liberty with regard to those who governed.

As to what relates to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour; they did not make an insolent use of victory, nor exercise any cruelty towards the vanquished. The amnesty decreed after the tyranny of the Thirty, shows that they could not forget the injuries which they had undergone from them.

To these different characteristics, which Plutarch unites in the same passage of his works, some others may be added, extracted principally from the same author.

VI. It was from this fund of humanity and benevolence,⁷ of which I have now spoken, and which was natural to the Athenians, that they were so attentive to the rules of politeness, and so delicate in point of decorum—qualities one would not expect to find among the common people. In the war against Philip of Macedon,⁸ having intercepted one of his couriers, they read all the letters he carried, except that from Olympias his wife, which they returned sealed up and unopened, out of regard to conjugal love and secrecy, the rights of which are sacred, and ought to be respected even amongst enemies. The same Athenians having decreed that a strict search should be made after the presents distributed by Harpalus amongst the orators, would not suffer the house of Callicles, who was lately married, to be visited, out of respect for his bride, not long brought home. Such behaviour is not very common; and upon like occasions people do not always stand upon forms and politeness.

VII. The taste of the Athenians for all arts and sciences is too well known to require dwelling long upon it in this place. But we cannot see, without admiration, a people, composed for the most part, as I have said before, of artisans, husbandmen, soldiers, and mariners, carry delicacy of taste in every kind to so high a degree of perfection, which seems the peculiar attribute of a more exalted condition, and a nobler education.

VIII. It is no less wonderful that this people should have had such great views,⁹ and risen so high in their pretensions. In the war which Alcibiades made them undertake, filled with vast projects and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themselves to the taking of Syracuse or the conquest of Sicily, but had already grasped Italy, Peloponnesus, Libya, the Carthaginian states, and the empire of the sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules. Their enterprise failed, but they had formed it; and the taking of Syracuse, which seemed no great difficulty, might have enabled them to put it in execution.

IX. The same people, so great, and, one may say, so haughty in their projects, had nothing of that character in other respects. In what regarded the expense of the table, dress, furniture, private buildings, and, in a word, private life, they were frugal, simple, modest, and poor; but sumptuous and magnificent in every thing public, and capable of doing honour to the state. Their victories, conquests, wealth, and continual communication with the people of Asia Minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profusion amongst them.—Xenophon¹⁰ observes that a citizen could not be distinguished from a slave by his dress. The richest inhabitants and the most famous generals were not ashamed to go to market themselves.

X. It was very glorious for Athens to have produced and formed so many persons who excelled in

set, Ποσειδ, non potes minoris; tulit molestè, se non effugere hospitii speciem, cùm statim ageret Athenis, optimèque loqueretur. Cic. de Clar. Orat. n. 17.

1 ὥσπερ τὸν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ταπεινοῖς βέλτερον πρόθυμότερον, οὕτως τῶν λόγων τοὺς πειρημένους καὶ γυμνοῖς ἀσπαίεσαι καὶ πρῶτα.

2 Xenoph. de Athen. Rep. p. 691.

3 Πικρὸν, σκυρῆπτον, πρὸς παιδίαν καὶ χαρὶν ἀνδύοντων καὶ σκληρὸν.

4 Τοῖς μὲν ἱκανοῦσιν αὐτὸν μάστιγι χεῖρι, τοῖς δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἥκιστα διαχειρίζεται.

5 Puj. in Phocion, p. 746.

6 ὁδὲρ ἐστὶν ἄλλοι τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἳ αὐτοὶ φιλόδωρον ἔχρη τῶν πολέμων.

7 Πάτριον αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμφυτον ἐν τῷ φιλόδωρον. In Pelop. p. 230.

8 Plat. in Demetr. p. 698.

9 Μὴ γὰρ σπρῶν, μεγάλων ἐρίστηται. Plat.

10 De Rep. Athen. p. 693.

the arts of war and government; in philosophy, eloquence, poetry, painting, sculpture, and architecture: to have furnished alone more great men in every department than any other city of the world; if, perhaps, we except Rome, which had imbibed her information from Athens, and knew how to apply her lessons to the best advantage:¹ to have been in some sort the school, and tutor of almost the whole universe: to have served, and still continue to serve, as the model for all nations which pique themselves most upon their fine taste: in a word, to have set the fashion, and prescribed the laws of all that regards the talents and productions of the mind.

XI. I shall conclude this description of the Athenians with one more attribute which cannot be denied them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterprises; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. This was their darling passion, and the main-spring of their policy. We see them, from the commencement of the war with the Persians, sacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandon, without the least hesitation, their lands, estates, city, and houses, and remove to their ships, in order to fight the common enemy, whose view was to enslave them. What day could be more glorious for Athens, than that in which, when all the allies were trembling at the vast offers made her by the king of Persia, he answered his ambassador by the mouth of Aristides,² That all the gold and silver in the world was not capable of tempting them to sell their own liberty or that of Greece. It was from such generous sentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but preserved the rest of Europe, and all the western world from the invasion of the Persians.

These great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverse of them, such as we may imagine in a fluctuating, light, inconstant, capricious people, as were the Athenians.

SECTION VI.—COMMON CHARACTER OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND ATHENIANS.

I CANNOT refuse giving a place here to what M. Bossuet says upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The passage is long, but will not appear so; and will include all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both those states.

Amongst all the republics of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could have more wit than the Athenians, nor more solid sense than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleasure; the Lacedæmonian way of life was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but liberty at Athens tended to licentiousness: and, controlled by severe laws at Lacedæmon, the more restrained it was at home, the more ardent it was to extend itself by ruling abroad. Athens wished also to reign, but upon another principle, in which interest had a share with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation, and her sovereignty at sea had enriched her. To continue in the sole possession of all commerce, there was nothing she was not desirous of subjecting to her power; and her riches, which inspired this desire, supplied her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedæmon money was in contempt. As all the laws tended to make the latter a military republic, martial glory was the sole object that engrossed the minds of her citizens. From thence she naturally affected dominion; and the more she was above interest, the more she abandoned herself to ambition.

Lacedæmon, from her regular life, was steady and determinate in her maxims and measures. Athens was more lively and active, and the people too much masters. Philosophy and the laws had indeed the

most happy effects upon such exquisite natural parts as theirs; but reason alone was not capable of keeping them within due bounds. A wise Athenian,³ who knew admirably the genius of his country, informs us, that fear was necessary to those too ardent and free spirits; and that it was impossible to govern them, after that the victory at Salamis had removed their fears of the Persians.

Two things, then, ruined them; the glory of their great actions, and the supposed security of their present condition. The magistrates were no longer heard; and as Persia was afflicted with excessive slavery: so Athens, says Plato, experienced all the evils of excessive liberty.

Those two great republics, so contrary in their manners and conduct, interfered with each other in the design they had each formed of subjecting all Greece; so that they were always enemies, still more from the contrariety of their interests than from the incompatibility of their humours.

The Grecian cities were unwilling to submit to the dominion of either the one or the other: for besides that each was desirous of preserving their liberty, they found the empire of those two republics too grievous to bear. That of the Lacedæmonians was severe. That people were observed to have something almost brutal in their character. A government too rigid,⁴ and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, austere, and imperious in power: besides which, they could never expect to live in peace under the influence of a city, which being formed for war could not support itself, but by continuing perpetually in arms. So that the Lacedæmonians were desirous of attaining to command, and all the world were afraid they should do so.⁵

The Athenians were naturally more mild and agreeable.⁶ Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, in which feasts and games were perpetual; where wit, liberty, and the various passions of men daily exhibited new objects: but the inequality of their conduct disgusted their allies, and was still more insupportable to their own subjects. It was impossible for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people; that is to say, according to Plato, something more dangerous than the same excesses in a prince vitiated by flattery.

These two cities did not permit Greece to continue in repose. We have seen the Peloponnesian and other wars, which were always occasioned, or fomented, by the jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But the same jealousies which involved Greece in troubles, supported it in some measure, and prevented its falling into dependence upon either the one or the other of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this condition of Greece; and accordingly the whole mystery of their politics consisted in keeping up those jealousies, and fomenting those divisions. Lacedæmon, which was the most ambitious, was the first that gave them occasion to take a part in the quarrels of the Greeks. They engaged in them from the sole view of making themselves masters of the whole nation; and, industrious to weaken the Greeks by their own arms, they waited only the opportunity to crush them altogether. The states of Greece,⁷ in their wars, already regarded only the king of Persia, whom they called the Great King, or the King, by way of eminence, as if they had already reckoned themselves among the number of his subjects. But it was impossible that the ancient spirit of Greece should not revive, when they were upon the point of falling into slavery, and the hands of the barbarians.

The petty kings of Greece undertook to oppose this great king, and to ruin his empire. With a small army,⁸ but bred in the discipline we have related, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed it was not impossible to subvert their power. The divisions of Greece alone

¹ *Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes Intulit agresti Latio.* Horat. *Epist.* l. i. p. 2. Greece taken, took her savage victors' hearts, And polish'd rustic Latium with her arts.

² *Plut.* in Aristid. p. 342.

³ *Plat.* l. iii. de leg.

⁴ *Aristot. Polit.* l. i. p. 4.

⁵ *Plat.* de Rep. l. viii.

⁶ *Plat.* l. iii. de leg. *Isocrat. Panegy.*

⁷ *Polyp.* l. iii.

⁸ *Xenoph. de Rep. Lacœ*

put a stop to his conquests. The famous retreat of the 10,000, who, after the death of the younger Cyrus, in spite of the victorious troops of Artaxerxes, made their way in a hostile manner through the whole Persian empire, and returned into their own country; that action, I say, demonstrated to Greece more than ever, that their soldiery was invincible, and superior to all opposers; and that only their domestic divisions could subject them to an enemy too weak to resist their forces when united.

We shall see, in the series of this history, by what methods Philip, king of Macedon, taking advantage of these divisions, succeeded at length, partly by address and partly by force, in making himself little less than the sovereign of Greece, and by what means he obliged the whole nation to march under his colours against the common enemy. What he had only planned, his son Alexander brought to perfection; and showed to the wondering world how much ability and valour avail against the most numerous armies and the most formidable preparations.

CHAPTER III.

OF RELIGION.

It is observable, that in all ages and in every country the several nations of the world, however various and opposite in their characters, inclinations, and manners, have always united in one essential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a Supreme Being, and of external forms, calculated to evince such a belief. Into whatever country we cast our eyes, we find priests, altars, sacrifices, festivals, religious ceremonies, temples, or places consecrated to religious worship. Among every people we discover a reverence and awe of the Divinity; an homage and honour paid to him; and an open profession of an entire dependence upon him in all their undertakings, in all their necessities, in all their adversities and dangers. Incapable of themselves to penetrate into futurity and to ensure success, we find them careful to consult the Divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows, and offerings. It is by the same supreme authority they believe the most solemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is that which gives sanction to their oaths; and to it by imprecations is referred the punishment of such crimes and enormities as escape the knowledge and power of men. On all their private concerns, voyages, journeys, marriages, diseases, the Divinity is still invoked. With him their every repast begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprise formed, without his aid being first implored; to which the glory of the success is constantly ascribed by public acts of thanksgiving, and by the oblation of the most precious of the spoils, which they never fail to set apart, as appertaining by right to the Divinity.

No variety of opinion is discernible in regard to the foundation of this belief. If some few persons, depraved by false philosophy, presume from time to time to rise up against this doctrine, they are immediately disclaimed by the public voice. They continue singular and alone, without making parties, or forming sects; the whole weight of the public authority falls upon them; a price is set upon their heads; whilst they are universally regarded as execrable persons, the bane of civil society, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of commerce.

So general, so uniform, so perpetual a consent of all the nations of the universe, which neither the prejudice of the passions, the false reasoning of some philosophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary, can proceed only from a first principle, which forms a part of the nature of man; from an inward sentiment implanted in his heart by the author of his being; and from an original tradition as ancient as the world itself.

Such were the source and origin of the religion of

the ancients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of persisting in the purity and simplicity of these first principles: but the errors of the mind, and the vices of the heart, those sad effects of the corruption of human nature, have strangely disfigured their original beauty. There are still some faint rays, some brilliant sparks of light, which a general depravity has not been able to extinguish utterly; but they are incapable of dispelling the profound darkness of the gloom which prevails almost universally, and presents nothing to view but absurdities, follies, extravagancies, licentiousness, and disorder; in a word, a hideous chaos of frantic excesses and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than these principles laid down by Cicero?¹ That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a Supreme Being, who presides over all the events of the world and disposes every thing as sovereign lord and arbiter: that it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy: that he penetrates into, and is conscious of whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts: that he treats the just and the impious according to their respective merits: that the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleasing in his sight, is not by employing of riches and magnificence in the worship that is paid to him, but by presenting him with a heart pure and blameless, and by adoring him with an unfeigned and profound veneration.

Sentiments so sublime and religious were the result of the reflections of some few who employed themselves in the study of the heart of man, and had recourse to the first principles of his institution of which they still retain some valuable relics. But the whole system of their religion, the tendency of their public feasts and ceremonies, the essence of the Pagan theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and professors, the very example of the gods, whose violent passions, scandalous adventures, and abominable crimes, were celebrated in their hymns or odes, and proposed in some measure to the imitation, as well as adoration, of the people: these were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality.

It is remarkable, that in the greatest solemnities of the Pagan religion, and in their most sacred and venerable mysteries, far from perceiving any thing which can recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the most essential duties of ordinary life, we find the authority of laws, the imperious power of custom, the presence of magistrates, the assembly of all orders of the state, the example of fathers and mothers, all conspire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and sacrilegious worship under the name, and in a manner under the sanction, of religion itself; as we shall soon see in the sequel.

After these general reflections upon Paganism, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I shall reduce this subject, though infinite in itself, to four articles, which are, 1. The feasts. 2. The oracles, auguries, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The public shows and representations of the theatre. In each of these articles, I shall treat only of what appears most worthy of the reader's curiosity, and has most relation to this history. I omit saying any thing of sacrifices, having given a sufficient idea of them elsewhere.²

Of the Feasts.

An infinite number of feasts were celebrated in the several cities of Greece, and especially at Athens, of

¹ Sit hoc jam à principio persuasum civibus: dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ geruntur eorum rei judicio ac nomine; eosdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; et, qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, quâ mente, quâ pietate religionem colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem—Ad divos audentem cunctis. Pietatem adhibentem, opes auferentem. Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 27. et 29.

² Manner of Teaching &c. 44.

which I shall describe only three of the most famous; the Panathenea, the feasts of Bacchus, and those of Eleusis.

The Panathenea.

This feast was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of that city, to which she gave her name,¹ as well as to the feast of which we are speaking. Its institution was ancient, and it was called at first the Athenæa; but after Theseus had united the several towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of Panathenea. These feasts were of two kinds, the great and the less, which were solemnized with almost the same ceremonies; the less annually, and the great upon the expiration of every fourth year.

In these feasts were exhibited racing, the gymnastic combats, and the contentions for the prizes of music and poetry. Ten commissaries, elected from the ten tribes, presided on this occasion, to regulate the forms, and distribute the rewards to the victors. This festival continued several days.

In the morning of the first day a race was run on foot, in which each of the runners carried a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other, without interrupting the race. They started from the Ceranicus, one of the suburbs of Athens, and crossed the whole city. The first that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon they ran the same course on horseback.

The gymnastic or athletic combats followed the races. The place for that exercise was upon the banks of the Ilissus, a small river, which runs through Athens and empties itself in the sea at the Piræus.

Pericles first instituted the prize of music. In this dispute were sung the praises of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who, at the expense of their lives, delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratide; to which was afterwards added the eulogium of Thrasylus, who expelled the thirty tyrants. The prize was warmly disputed, not only amongst the musicians but still more so among the poets; and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in this contest. Æschylus is reported to have died with grief upon seeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himself.

These exercises were followed by a general procession, wherein was carried with great pomp and ceremony, a sail, embroidered with gold, on which were curiously delineated the warlike actions of Pallas against the Titans and Giants. This sail was affixed to a vessel, which bore the name of the goddess. The vessel, equipped with sails, and with a thousand oars, was conducted from the Ceranicus to the temple of Eleusis, not by horses or beasts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which put the oars in motion, and made the vessel glide along.

The march was solemn and majestic. At the head of it were old men who carried olive branches in their hands, *παλαιόφθοι*; and these were chosen for the symmetry of their shape, and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons of great age, also accompanied them in the same equipage.

The grown and robust men formed the second class. They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the strangers that inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, instruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the same age, attended by the foreigners of their own sex, carrying vessels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third class was composed of the young persons of both sexes, selected from the best families in the city. The young men wore vests, with crowns upon their heads, and sang a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddess. The maids carried baskets, *καλαμίσκοι*, in which were placed the sacred utensils proper to the ceremony, covered with veils, to keep them from the sight of the spectators. The person to whose care

those sacred things were intrusted, was bound to observe a strict continence for several days before he touched them, or distributed them to the Athenian virgins;² or rather, as Demosthenes says, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. It was a high honour for a young woman to be chosen for so noble and august an office and an insupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We shall see that Hipparchus offered this indignity to the sister of Harmodius, which extremely incensed the conspirators against the Pisistratidæ. These Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrellas and seats for them.

The children of both sexes closed the pomp of the procession.

In this august ceremony, the *παύδαί* were appointed to sing certain verses of Homer; a manifest proof of the estimation in which the works of that poet were held, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, first introduced that custom.

I have observed elsewhere,³ that in the gymnastic games of this feast, a herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated physician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the signal services which he had rendered the state during the pestilence.

In this festival the people of Athens put themselves, and the whole republic, under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their city, and implored of her all kind of prosperity. From the time of the battle of Marathon, in these public acts of worship, expression was made of the Plateans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

Feasts of Bacchus.

The worship of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where several feasts had been established in honour of the god; two particularly more remarkable than all the rest, called the great and the less feasts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named *Lenæa*, from a Greek word⁴ that signifies a vine-press. The great priests were commonly called Dionysia, from one of the names of that god,⁵ and were solemnized in the spring within the city.

In each of these feasts the public were entertained with games, shows, and dramatic representations, which were attended with a vast concourse of people, and exceeding magnificence, as will be seen hereafter: at the same time the poets disputed the prize of poetry, submitting to the judgment of arbitrators expressly chosen for that purpose, their pieces, whether tragic, or comic, which were then represented before the people.

These feasts continued many days. Those who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to feign of the god Bacchus. They covered themselves with the skins of wild beasts, carried a thyrsus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy-leaves twisted around it; had drums, horns, pipes, and other instruments calculated to make a great noise; and wore upon their heads, wreaths of ivy and vine branches, and of other trees sacred to Bacchus. Some represented Silenus, some Pan, others the Satyrs, all dressed in suitable masquerade. Many of them were mounted on asses; others dragged⁶ goats along for sacrifices. Men and women, ridiculously dressed in this manner, appeared night and day in public; and imitating drunkenness, and dancing with the most indecent gestures, ran in throngs about the mountains and forests, screaming and howling furiously; the women especially seemed more outrageous than the men; and, quite out of their senses, in their furious transports invoked the god, whose feasts they celebra-

¹ Οὐκ ἔστι προσεχέμενον κρημὸν ἀεὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον μονοὺς, ἀλλὰ τὸν δῖον ἄν' ἡγνυσίαι. Demost. in extrema Aristocratia.

² Page 390.

³ *Λέναια*.

⁴ Dionysius.

⁵ Goats were sacrificed, because they spoiled the vines.

⁶ From this fury of the Bacchanals these feasts were distinguished by the name of *Orgia*. 'Οργή, ira, furor.

ted with loud cries; ἰὸς Βάκχῃ, ἢ ἰακχῇ, or ἰδβακχῇ, or ἰω Βάκχῃ.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the noblest families in the city, who were called κισσώβητες, from carrying baskets on their heads, covered with vine leaves and ivy.

To these ceremonies others were added, obscene to the last excess, and worthy of the god who chose to be honoured in such a manner. The spectators gave in to the prevailing humour, and were seized with the same frantic spirit. Nothing was seen but dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and all that the most abandoned licentiousness can conceive of gross and abominable. And this an entire people, reputed the wisest of all Greece, not only suffered, but admired and practised;—I say an entire people, for Plato, speaking of the Bacchanalia, says in direct terms, that he had seen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.

Livy² informs us, that this licentiousness of the Bacchanalia having secretly crept into Rome, the most horrid disorders were committed there under cover of the night, and the inviolable secrecy which all persons who were initiated into these impure and abominable mysteries, were obliged, under the most horrid imprecations, to observe. The senate, being apprized of this affair, put a stop to those sacrilegious feasts by the most severe penalties; and first banished the practisers of them from Rome, and afterwards from Italy. These examples inform us,³ how far a mistaken sense of religion, that covers the greatest crimes with the sacred name of the Divinity, is capable of misleading the mind of man.

The Feasts of Eleusis.

There is nothing in all Pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feast of Ceres Eleusina. The ceremonies of this festival were called by way of eminence the *mysteria*, from being, according to Pausanias, as much above all others, as the gods are above men. Their origin and institution are attributed to Ceres herself, who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleusis, a small town of Attica, in search of her daughter Proserpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine, invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which she rewarded the inhabitants. She not only taught them the use of corn, but instructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her mysteries were called *εὐμορφία*, and *ἡθία*. To these first happy lessons fabulous antiquity ascribed the courtesy, politeness, and urbanity, so remarkable among the Athenians.

These mysteries were divided into the less and the greater; of which the former served as a preparation for the latter. The less were solemnized in the month of Anthesterion, which answers to our November; the great in the month Boedromion, which corresponds to August.—Only Athenians were admitted to these mysteries; but of them, each sex, age, and condition, had a right to be received. All strangers were absolutely excluded, so that Hercules, Castor and Pollux, were obliged to be adopted as Athenians in order to their admission; which, however, extended only to the lesser mysteries. I shall consider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleusis.

Those who demanded to be initiated into them,

were obliged, before their reception, to purify themselves in the lesser mysteries, by bathing in the river Ilissus, by saying certain prayers, offering sacrifices, and, above all, by living in strict continence during a certain interval of time prescribed them. That time was employed in instructing them in the principles and elements of the sacred doctrine of the great mysteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and to inspire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things took place upon this occasion. Visions were seen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A sudden splendour dispelled the darkness of the place, and disappearing immediately, added new horrors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes, heightened the terror and amazement; whilst the person to be admitted overwhelmed with dread, and sweating through fear, heard, trembling, the mysterious volume read to him, if in such a condition he was capable of hearing at all. These nocturnal rites gave birth to many disorders, which the severe law of silence imposed on the persons initiated, prevented from coming to light, as St. Gregory Nazianzen observes.⁵ What cannot superstition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated? The president in this ceremony was called Hierophantes. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not permitted to marry. The first who served in this function, and whom Ceres herself instructed, was Eumolpus; from whom his successors were called Eumolpidae. He had three colleagues; one who carried a torch;⁶ another a herald,⁷ whose office was to pronounce certain mysterious words; and a third to attend at the altar.

Besides these officers, one of the principal magistrates of the city was appointed to take care that all the ceremonies of this feast were exactly observed. He was called the king,⁸ and was one of the nine Archons. His business was to offer prayers and sacrifices. The people gave him four assistants,⁹ one chosen from the family of the Eumolpidae, a second from that of the Ceryces, and the two last from two other families. He had besides ten other ministers to assist him in the discharge of his duty, and particularly in offering sacrifices, from whence they derived their name.¹⁰

The Athenians initiated their children of both sexes very early into these mysteries, and would have thought it criminal to let them die without such an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddesses (Ceres and Proserpine,) to whose service they devoted themselves; and procured to them a more perfect and certain happiness in the other world; whilst, on the contrary, such as had not been initiated, besides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed, after their descent to the shades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth, and excrement. Diogenes¹¹ the Cynic believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to persuade him to avoid such a misfortune, by being initiated before his death—"What," said he, "shall Agesilaus and Epaminondas lie amongst mud and dung, whilst the vilest Athenians, because they have been initiated, possess the most distinguished places in the regions of the blessed?" Socrates was not more credulous; he would not be initiated into these mysteries which was perhaps one reason that rendered his religion suspected.

Without¹² this qualification, none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the crowd into it upon one of the feast-days, although out of mistake, and with no ill design, were both put to death without

¹ Πίσσον ἰτακόμεν τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διουόσια μεθύουσιν. Lib. i. de Leg. p. 637.

² Liv. l. xxxix. n. 8. 18.

³ Nihil in speciem fallacius esse quam prava religio, ubi deorum nomen praetenditur sceleribus.—Liv. xxxix. n. 16.

⁴ Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenae tunc populi, atque in vitam hominum attulisse; tum nihil melius illis aysteris, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculsi ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus initiaque et appellantur, ita re vera principia vitæ cognovimus. Cic. l. ii. de Leg. n. 36.

⁵ Teque Ceres, et Libera, quarum sacra, sicut opinionem hominum ac religiones ferunt, longe maximas atque occultissimas ceremonias continentur: a quibus initia vitæ atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data ac dispersita esse dicuntur.—Id. Cic. in Ferr. Cic. de Supplic. n. 186.

Vcl. l.—53.

⁶ Οἶον Ἐλευσιν ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ τὴν εὐμορφίαν καὶ ἡθίαν ἔχοντες ἔσται. Orat. de sacr. lum.

⁷ Δαδύρχος.

⁸ Κίρυξ.

⁹ Βασίλειος.

¹⁰ Ἰερούσι.

¹¹ Διογ. Λαέρτ. l. vi. p. 369

¹² Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

mercy. It was also a capital crime to divulge the secrets and mysteries of this feast. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proscribed, and a reward set upon his head. It very nearly cost the poet Æschylus his life, for speaking too freely of it in some of his tragedies. The disgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the same cause. Whoever¹ had violated this secrecy, was avoided as a wretch accursed and excommunicated. Pausanias,² in several passages, wherein he mentions the temple of Eleusis, and the ceremonies practised there, stops short, and declares he cannot proceed, because he had been forbidden by a dream or vision.

This feast, the most celebrated of profane antiquity, was of nine days' continuance. It began the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After some previous ceremonies and sacrifices on the first three days, upon the fourth, in the evening, began the procession of the *Basket*; which was laid upon an open chariot slowly drawn by oxen,³ and followed by a long train of the Athenian women. They all carried mysterious baskets in their hands, filled with several things, which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony represented the basket into which Proserpine put the flowers she was gathering when Pluto seized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of the *Torches*; because at night, the men and women ran about with them in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of mount Ætna, wandered about from place to place in search of her daughter.

The sixth was the most famous day of all. It was called Iacchus, which is the same as Bacchus, the son of Jupiter and Ceres, whose statue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The procession began at the Ceranicus, and passing through the principal places of the city, continued to Eleusis. The way leading to it was called the *sacred way*, and lay across a bridge over the river Cephissus. This⁴ procession was very numerous, and generally consisted of thirty thousand persons. The temple of Eleusis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole of this multitude; and Strabo⁵ says, its extent was equal to that of the theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people. The whole way re-echoed with the sound of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were sung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing, and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The route before mentioned, through the sacred way, and over the Cephissus, was the usual one: but after the Lacedæmonians, in the Peloponnesian war, had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the ancient custom.

The seventh day was solemnized by games and the gymnastic combats, in which the victor was awarded with a measure of barley; without doubt because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two following days were employed in some particular ceremonies, neither important nor remarkable.

During this festival it was prohibited, under very great penalties, to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebra-

ted every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years; and history does not mention that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great.⁶ The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were so much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not resolve, in so general an affliction, to solemnize a festival which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing. It⁷ was continued down to the time of the Christian emperors. Valentinian would have abolished it, if Prætextatus, the proconsul of Greece, had not represented, in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal sorrow which the abrogation of that feast would occasion among the people; upon which it was suffered to subsist. It is supposed to have been finally suppressed by Theodosius the Great; as were all the rest of the Pagan solemnities.

Of Auguries, Oracles, &c.

Nothing is more frequently mentioned in ancient history, than oracles, auguries, and divinations. No war was made, or colony settled; nothing of consequence was undertaken, either public or private, without having first consulted the gods. This was a custom universally established amongst the Egyptian, Assyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already observed, that it was derived from ancient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worship of the true God. It is not indeed to be questioned, but that God, before the deluge, did manifest his will to mankind, in different methods, as he has since done to his people, sometimes in his own person and *viva voce*, sometimes by the ministry of angels, or of prophets inspired by himself, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the descendants of Noah dispersed themselves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkness and ignorance of idolatry. None of the ancients have insisted more upon the necessity of consulting the gods on all occasions by auguries or oracles, than Xenophon; and he founds that necessity, as I have more than once observed elsewhere, upon a principle deduced from the most refined reason and discernment. He represents, in several places, that man of himself is very frequently ignorant of what is advantageous or pernicious to him; that, far from being capable of penetrating the future, the present itself escapes him: so narrow and short-sighted is he in all his views, that the slightest obstacles can frustrate his greatest designs; that the Divinity alone, to whom all ages are present, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him: that no other being has power to facilitate the success of his enterprises; and that it is reasonable to believe he will enlighten and protect those, who adore him with the purest affection, who invoke him at all times with greatest constancy and fidelity, and consult him with most sincerity and integrity.

Of Auguries.

What a reproach is it to human reason, that so luminous a principle should have given birth to the absurd reasonings, and wretched notions, in favour of the science of augurs and soothsayers, and been the occasion of espousing, with blind devotion, the most ridiculous puerilities: should have made the most important affairs of state depend upon a bird's happening to sing upon the right or left hand; upon the greediness of chickens in pecking their grain; the inspection of the entrails of beasts; the liver's being entire and in good condition, which, according to them, did sometimes entirely disappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever subsisted! To these superstitious observances may be added, accidental recontres, words spoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad presages; forebodings, prodigies, monsters, eclipses, comets; every extraordinary phenomenon, every unforeseen accident with an infinity of chimeras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that so many great men

¹ Est et fideli tota silentio
Merces. Vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgaris arcam, sub fide
Sic trabibus, fragilive mecum
Solvat phaselum. Hor. Od. 2. lib. iii.

Safe is the silent tongue, which none can blame,
Who keeps the faithful secret merits fame;
Beneath one roof ne'er let him rest with me,
Who Ceres' mysteries reveals
In one frail bark ne'er let us put to sea,
Nor tempt the jarring winds with spreading sails.

² Lib. i. p. 26, and 71.

³ Tardaque Eleusina matris volentia plaustra.

Virg. Georg. lib. i. ver. 163.

The Eleusinian mother's mystic car,

Slow rolling—

⁴ Herod. l. viii. c. 65.

⁵ Lib. ix. p. 335

⁶ Plat. in. vit. Alex. p. 671.

Zonin Hist. l. iv

illustrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philosophers, have actually given in to such absurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, so estimable in other respects, is to be pitted for his servile observance of the senseless customs of the Pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, signs, and prodigies. He tells us in his works, that he abstained a great while from eating eggs, upon account of a dream, with which he has not thought fit to make us further acquainted.

The wisest of the Pagans knew well how to appreciate the art of divination, and often spoke of it to each other, and even in public, with the utmost contempt, and in a manner best adapted to expose its absurdity. The grave censor Cato was of opinion, that one soothsayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the simplicity of Prusias, whom he had advised to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inspection of the entrails of a victim. "What," said he, "have you more confidence in the liver of a beast, than in so old and experienced a captain as I am?" Marcellus, who had been five times consul, and was augur, said, that he had discovered a method of not being put to a stand by the sinister flight of birds, which was, to keep himself close shut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himself upon the subject of auguries without ambiguity or reserve. Nobody was more capable of speaking pertinently upon it than himself (as M. Morin observes in his dissertation upon the same subject.) As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himself acquainted with their most abstruse secrets, and had all possible opportunity of informing himself fully in their science. That he did so, sufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which, it may be said, he has exhausted the subject. In the second, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had espoused the cause of the augurs, he combats and defeats his false reasonings with a force, and at the same time with so refined and delicate a railery, as leaves us nothing to wish; and he demonstrates by proofs, each more convincing than the other, the falsity, contrariety, and impossibility, of that art. But what is very surprising, in the midst of all his arguments, he takes occasion to blame the generals and magistrates, who on important conjunctures had contemned the prognostics; and maintains, that the use of them, as great an abuse as it was in his own opinion, ought nevertheless to be respected, out of regard to religion, and the prejudices of the people.

All that I have hitherto said tends to prove, that Paganism was divided into two sects, almost equally enemies of religion; the one by their superstitious and blind regard for auguries, the other by their irreligious contempt and derision of them.

The principle of the first, founded on one side upon the ignorance and weakness of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the prescience of the Divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the consequence deduced from it in favour of auguries, false and absurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain, that the Divinity himself had established these external signs to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himself to a punctual conformity to them upon all occasions: but they had nothing of this in their system. These auguries and divinations therefore were the effect and invention of the ignorance, rashness, curiosity, and blind passions, of man, who presumed to interrogate God, and to oblige him to give answers upon every idle imagination and unjust enterprise.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing enjoined by the science of augury, did not fail, however,

to observe its trivial ceremonies through policy, in order the better to subject the minds of the people to themselves, and to reconcile them to their own purposes, by the assistance of superstition: but by their contempt for auguries, and their inward conviction of their falsity, they were led into a disbelief of the Divine Providence, and to despise religion itself; conceiving it inseparable from the numerous absurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and consequently unworthy a man of sense.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, because, having mistaken the Creator, and abused the light of Nature, which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deservedly abandoned to their own darkness, and to a reprobate mind; and, if we had not been enlightened by the true religion, we, even at this day, should give ourselves up to the same superstitions.

Of Oracles.

No country was ever richer in, or more productive of, oracles, than Greece. I shall confine myself to those which were the most noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Molossians, in Epirus, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave answers either by vocal oaks,¹ or doves, which had also their language, or by resounding basins of brass, or by the mouths of priests and priestesses.

The² oracle of Trophonius in Bœotia, though he was nothing more than a hero, was in great reputation. After many preliminary ceremonies, as washing in the river, offering sacrifices, drinking a water called Lethe, from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave, by small ladders, through a very narrow passage. At the bottom was another little cavern, the entrance of which was also exceeding small. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain composition of honey in each hand, which they were indispensably obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no sooner done, than they perceived themselves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the same manner. Some saw, others heard, wonders. From thence they returned quite stupified, and out of their senses, and were placed in the chair of Mnemosyne, the goddess of memory; not without great need of her assistance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had seen and heard; admitting they had seen or heard any thing at all. Pausanias, who had consulted that oracle himself, and gone through all these ceremonies, has left a most ample description of it; to which Plutarch³ adds some particular circumstances, which I omit, to avoid a tedious prolixity.

The⁴ temple and oracle of the Branchidæ, in the neighbourhood of Miletus, so called from Branchus, the son of Apollo, was very ancient, and in great esteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Asia. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, burnt this temple, after the priests had delivered its treasures to him. That prince, in return, granted them an establishment in the remotest parts of Asia, to secure them against the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Milesians re-established that temple with a magnificence which, according to Strabo, surpassed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly destroyed the city where the priests Branchidæ had settled, of which their descendants were at that time in actual possession, punishing in the children the sacrilegious perfidy of their fathers.

¹ Certain instruments were fastened to the tops of oaks, which, being shaken by the wind, or by some other means, gave a confused sound. Servius observes, that the same word, in the Thessalian language, signifies *dove* and *prophetess*, which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that spoke. It was easy to make those brazen basins sound by some secret means, and to give what significations they pleased to a confused and inarticulate noise.

² Pausan. l. ix. p. 602. 604.

³ Plut. de gen. Socr. p. 350.

⁴ Herod. l. I. c. 157. Strab. l. xiv. p. 634.

¹ Sympos. lib. ii. Quæst. 3. p. 635.

² Errabat multis in rebus antiquitas; quam vel usum jam, vel doctrinam, vel vetustatem immutatam videmus. Retinetur autem et ad opinionem vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates reip. max. religio, disciplina, jus augurum, collegii auctoritas. Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius, L. Junius censeles, qui contra auspicia navigant. Parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos tam contumaci ter repudiandus. *Dion. l. ii. n. 70, 71.*

Tacitus¹ relates something very singular, though not very probable, of the oracle of Claros, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor, near Colophon. "Germanicus," says he, "went to consult Apollo at Claros. It is not a woman that gives the answers there, as at Delphi, but a man, chosen out of certain families, and almost always of Miletus. It is sufficient to let him know the number and names of those who come to consult him. After which he retires into a cave, and having drunk of the waters of a spring within it, he delivers answers in verse upon what the persons have in their thoughts, though he is often ignorant, and knows nothing of composing in measure. It is said, that he foretold to Germanicus his sudden death, but in dark and ambiguous terms, according to the custom of oracles."

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the most famous of them all. It is very obvious, that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. He was worshipped there under the name of the Pythian, a title derived from the serpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word, that signifies to inquire, *πυθίστα*, because people came thither to consult him. From thence the Delphic priestess was called Pythia, and the games there celebrated, the Pythian games.

Delphi was an ancient city of Phocis in Achaia. It stood upon the declivity, and about the middle, of the mountain Parnassus, built upon a small extent of even ground, and surrounded with precipices, that fortified it without the help of art. Diodorus² says, that there was a cavity upon Parnassus, from whence an exhalation rose, which made the goats dance and skip about, and intoxicated the brain. A shepherd having approached it, out of a desire to know the causes of so extraordinary an effect, was immediately seized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not understand himself; but which, however, foretold futurity. Others made the same experiment, and it was soon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have something divine in it. A priestess was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins, Cortina, perhaps from the skin³ that covered it. From thence she gave her oracles. The city of Delphi rose insensibly round about this cave; and a temple was erected, which, at length, became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almost effaced, or at least very much exceeded, that of all others.

At first a single Pythia sufficed to answer those who came to consult the oracle, as they did not yet amount to any great number: but in process of time, when it grew into universal repute, a second was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the first, and a third chosen to succeed in case of death, or disease. There were other assistants besides these to attend the Pythia in the sanctuary, of whom the most considerable were called prophets;⁴ it was their business to take care of the sacrifices, and to inspect them. To these the demands of the inquirers were delivered by word of mouth, or in writing; and they returned the answers as we shall see in the sequel.

We must not confound the Pythia with the Sibyl of Delphi. The ancients represent the latter as a woman that roved from country to country, venting her predictions. She was at the same time the Sibyl of Delphi, Erythrae, Babylon, Canne, and many other places, from her having resided in them all.

The Pythia could not prophesy till she was intoxicated by the exhalation from the sanctuary of Apollo. This miraculous vapour had not that effect at all times and upon all occasions. The god was not always in the inspiring humour. At first he imparted himself only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to visit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon some it was not permitted to consult the oracle. These unfortunate days occasioned an oracle's being given to Alexander the Great worthy

of remark. He went to Delphi to consult the god, a time when the priestess pretended it was forbidden to ask him any questions, and would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into it, when she cried out, *Ah, my son, you are not to be resisted;*⁵ or, *My son, you are invincible!*—Upon which words he declared he would have no other oracle, and was contented with that he had received.

The Pythia, before she ascended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by sacrifices, purifications, a fast of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that stood before the gate of the temple, which shook also to its very foundations.

As soon⁶ as the divine vapour, like a penetrating fire, had diffused itself through the entrails of the priestess, her hair stood upright upon her head, her looks grew wild, she foamed at the mouth, a sudden and violent trembling seized her whole body, with all the symptoms of distraction and frenzy.⁷ She uttered, at intervals, some words almost inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected, and arranged with a certain degree of order and connection. After she had been a certain time upon the tripod, she was reconducted to her cell, where she generally continued many days to recover from her fatigue; and, as Lucan says,⁸ a sudden death was often either the reward or punishment of her enthusiasm:

*Numinis aut penes est mors immatura recepti,
Aut pretium.*

The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses, which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to remark, that it was very surprising, that Apollo, who presided over the choir of the muses, should inspire his priestess no better. But Plutarch informs us that it was not the god who composed the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her soul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connection, and coming only by starts, if that expression may be used, from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly,⁹ were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius and natural talents; as we may suppose he did the Pythia when she herself composed verses, which, though not often, happened sometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestess's own; the oracles were however often given in prose.

The general characteristics of oracles were¹⁰ ambi-

¹ *Ανικτος* εἶ, ὁ παῖς.

² —Cui talia fenti

Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non compta mansere comae: sed pectus aethelum,
Et labra fera corda tument; et majorque videtur,
Nec mortale sonans; afflata est numine quando
Jam propiorum dei. *Virg. AEn.* l. vi. v. 46—51.

³ Among the various marks which God has given us in the Scriptures to distinguish his oracles from those of the devil, the fury or madness, attributed by Virgil to the Pythia, *et rabie fera corda tument*, is one. It is I. said; God, that show the falsehood of the diviner's predictions, and give to such as divine, the motions of fury and madness; or, according to Isa. xlv. 25, "That frustrate the tokens of the liar, and maketh diviners mad." Instead of which, the prophets of the true God constantly give the divine answers in equal and calm tone of voice, and with a noble tranquillity of behaviour. Another distinguishing mark is, that the demons gave their oracles in secret places, by ways, and in the obscurity of caves; whereas God gave his in open day, and before all the world. "I have not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth," Isa. xlv. 19.—"I have not spoken in secret from the beginning," Isa. xlviii. 16. So that God did not permit the devil to imitate his oracles, without imposing such conditions upon him as might distinguish between the true and false inspiration.

⁴ Lib. 1. *Ἐγχεστέλλουσιν.*

⁵ Quod si aliquis dixerit multa ab idoli esse praedicta hoc sciendum, quod semper mendacium juxserint veritati.

¹ Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 54.
Corium.

² Lib. xiv. p. 427, 428.
Προφῆται.

guilty, obscurity, and convertibility, (if I may use that expression,) so that one answer would agree with several various, and sometimes directly opposite, events. By the help of this artifice, the demons, who of themselves are not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the pagan world. When Cræsus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphi upon the success of that war, and was answered, that by passing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to guess that; but whatever the events might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be said upon the same god's answer to Pyrrhus:

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.

I repeat it in Latin, because the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus, will not subsist in a translation. Under the cover of such ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It must, however, be confessed, that sometimes the answer of the oracle was clear and circumstantial. I have related, in the history of Cræsus, the stratagem he made use of to assure himself of the veracity of the oracle, which was, to demand of it, by his ambassador, what he was doing at a certain time prefixed. The oracle of Delphi replied in verse, that he was causing a tortoise and a lamb to be dressed in a vessel of brass, which was really the case. The emperor Trajan¹ made a similar trial of the god at Heliopolis, by sending him a letter² sealed up, to which he demanded an answer. The oracle made no other return, than to command a blank paper, well folded and sealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was struck with amazement to see an answer so correspondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had written nothing. The wonderful facility with which demons can transfer themselves almost in an instant from place to place, made it not impossible for them to give the two answers which I have last mentioned, and to foretell in one country, what they had seen in another: this is Tertullian's opinion.

Admitting it to be true, that some oracles have been followed precisely by the events foretold, we may believe that God, to punish the blind and sacrilegious credulity of the Pagans, has sometimes permitted the demons to have a knowledge of things to come, and to foretell them distinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehension, is frequently attested in the holy Scriptures.

It has been questioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in profane history, should be ascribed to the operations of demons, or only to the wickedness and imposture of men. Vandaæ, a Dutch physician, has maintained the latter opinion; and Monsieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted it, in the persuasion (to use his own words) that it was indifferent, as to the truth of Christianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of spirits, or a series of impostures. Father Baltus, the Jesuit, professor of the Holy Scriptures in the university of Strasburgh, has refuted them both in a very solid treatise, wherein he demonstrates, invincibly, from the unanimous authority of the Fathers, that demons were the real

agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and success, the rashness and presumption of the Anabaptist physician; who, calling in question the capacity and discernment of those holy doctors, secretly endeavoured to efface the high idea all true believers should entertain of those great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is so great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of ancient tradition. Now, if that was ever certain and uniform in any thing, it is so in this point; for all the Fathers of the church, and ecclesiastical writers of all ages, maintain, and attest, that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not hinder our believing that the priests and priestesses were frequently guilty of fraud and imposture in the answers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In the Grecian history, we have seen more than once the Delphic priestess suffer herself to be corrupted by presents. It was from that motive, she persuaded the Lacedæmonians to assist the people of Athens in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants; that she caused Demaratus to be divested of the royal dignity, to make way for Cleomenes; and dressed up an oracle to support the imposture of Lysander, when he endeavoured to change the succession to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe that Themistocles, who well knew the importance of acting against the Persians by sea, inspired the god with the answer he gave, *to defend themselves with wooden walls*. Demosthenes³ convinced that the oracles were frequently suggested by passion or interest, and suspecting, with reason, that Philip had instructed them to speak in his favour boldly declared, that the Pythia *philippized*: and bade the Athenians and Thebans remember that Pericles and Epaminondas, instead of listening to, and amusing themselves with, the frivolous answers of the oracle, those idle bugbears of the base and cowardly consulted only reason in the choice and execution of their measures.

The same Father Baltus examines, with equal success, a second point in dispute, namely, the cessation of oracles. Mr. Vandale, to oppose with some advantage a truth so glorious to Jesus Christ, the subverter of idolatry, had falsified the sense of the Fathers, by making them say, *that oracles ceased precisely at the moment of Christ's birth*. The learned apologist for the Fathers shows, that they all allege that oracles ceased after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his gospel; not on a sudden, but in proportion as his salutary doctrines became known to mankind, and gained ground in the world. This unanimous opinion of the Fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the Pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceased.

What an honour to the Christian religion was this silence imposed upon the oracles by the victory of Jesus Christ! Every Christian had this power. Tertullian⁴ in one of his apologies, challenges the Pagans to make the experiment, and consents that a Christian should be put to death, if he did not oblige those givers of oracles to confess themselves devils. Lactantius⁵ informs us, that every Christian could silence them by only the sign of the cross. And all the world knows, that when Julian the Apostate was at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, to consult Apollo; the god, notwithstanding all the sacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his speech to answer those who inquired the cause of his silence, that they must ascribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Those were the bodies of Christian martyrs, amongst which was that of St. Babylas.

This triumph of the Christian religion ought to give us a due sense of our obligations to Jesus Christ, and at the same time, of the darkness to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have

et sic sententias temperârunt, ut, sen boni seu mali quid accideret, utrumque possit intelligi.—Hieronym. in cap. xlii. Isaiæ. He cites the two examples of Cræsus and Pyrrhus.

¹ Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. xxiij.

² One method of consulting the oracle was by sealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened.

³ Omnis spiritus ales. Hoc et angeli et demones. Igitur momento ubique sunt; totas orbis illis loca unus est: quid ubi geratur tam facile sciunt, quàm enuntiant. Velocitas divinitus creditur, quia substantia ignoratur.—Ceterum testimonium deoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renunciavit, quo suprâ diximus. Momento apud Lydiam fuerat. Tertull. in Apolog.

⁴ Plut. in Demosth. p. 854.

⁵ Tertull. in Apolog.

⁶ Lib. de vera sapient. c. xxvij

seen, amongst the Carthaginians, fathers¹ and mothers, more cruel than wild beasts, inhumanly giving up their children, and annually depopulating their cities, by destroying the most vigorous of their youth, in obedience to the bloody dictates of their oracles and false gods. The victims were chosen without any regard to rank, sex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of sacrifices, and designed to make the gods propitious. "What greater evil," cries Lactantius, "could they inflict in their most violent displeasure, than thus to deprive their adorers of all sense of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their sacrilegious hands with such execrable parricides!"

A thousand frauds and impostures, openly detected at Delphi, and every where else, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the least diminished the credit of the oracles; which subsisted upwards of two thousand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the minds of the greatest men, the most profound philosophers, the most powerful princes, and generally among the most civilized nations, and such as valued themselves most upon their wisdom and policy. The estimation they were in, may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphi, and the immense riches amassed in it through the superstitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

The temple of Delphi having been burnt about the fifty-eighth Olympiad, the Amphictyons, those celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themselves the care of rebuilding it. They agreed with an architect for 300 talents, which amounts to 900,000 livres.² The cities of Greece were to furnish that sum. The inhabitants of Delphi were taxed a fourth part of it, and collected contributions in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that service. Amasis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed considerable sums towards it. The Alcmaeonidae, a potent family of Athens took upon themselves the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent, by considerable additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

Gyges, king of Lydia, and Croesus one of his successors, enriched the temple of Delphi with an incredible number of presents. Many other princes, cities, and private persons, by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, vases, tables, shields, crowns, chariots, and statues of gold and silver of all sizes, equally infinite in number and value. The presents of gold which Croesus alone made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus,³ to upwards of 254 talents: that is, about 762,000 French livres⁴ and perhaps those of silver to as much. Most of these presents were in being at the time of Herodotus. Diodorus⁵ Siculus, adding those of other princes to them, makes their amount 10,000 talents, or 30,000,000 of livres.⁶

Amongst⁷ the statues of gold, consecrated by Croesus in the temple of Delphi, was placed that of his female baker, the occasion of which was this. Alyattes, Croesus's father, having married a second wife, by whom he had children, she laid a plan to get rid of her son-in-law, that the crown might descend to her own issue. For this purpose she engaged the female baker to put poison into a loaf, that was to be served at the young prince's table. The woman, who was struck with horror at the crime (in which she

ought to have had no part at all,) gave Croesus notice of it. The poisoned loaf was served to the queen's own children, and their death secured the crown to the lawful successor. When he ascended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactress, he erected a statue to her in the temple of Delphi. But, it may be said, could a person of so mean a condition deserve so great an honour? Plutarch answers in the affirmative, and with a much better title, he says, than many of the so-much-vaunted conquerors and heroes, who have acquired their fame only by murder and devastation.

It is not to be wondered at, that such immense riches should have tempted the avarice of mankind, and exposed Delphi to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more ancient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavoured to seize upon the spoils of this temple. Above a hundred years after, the Phocians, near neighbours of Delphi, plundered it at several times. The same rich booty was the sole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphi, if we may believe historians, sometimes defended this temple by surprising prodigies; and at others, either from impotence or want of presence of mind, suffered himself to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, so famous throughout the universe, a visit, and found in it five hundred brass statues of illustrious men and gods to his liking, which had been consecrated to Apollo (those of gold and silver having undoubtedly disappeared upon his approach,) he ordered them to be taken down, and shipping them on board his vessels carried them with him to Rome.

Those who are desirous of more particular information concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphi, may consult some dissertations upon this subject, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*,⁸ of which I have made good use, according to my custom.

Of the Games and Combats.

Games and combats made a part of the religion, and had a share in almost all the festivals, of the ancients; and for that reason it is proper that they should find a place in this work. Whether we consider their origin, or the design of their institution, we shall not be surprised at their being so prevalent in the best-governed states.

Hercules, Theseus, Castor and Pollux, and the greatest heroes of antiquity, were not only the instructors or restorers of them, but thought it glorious to snare in the exercise of them, and meritorious to succeed therein. These subduers of monsters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no disgrace to them to aspire to the victories in these combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled in the solemnization of these games, detracted from the lustre of those they had before acquired. Hence the most famous poets made these combats the subject of their verses; the beauty of whose poetry, whilst it immortalized themselves seemed to promise an eternity of fame to those whose victories it celebrated. Hence arose that uncommon ardour which animated all Greece, to tread in the steps of those ancient heroes, and like them, to signalize themselves in the public combats.

A reason more solid, and originating in the very nature of these combats, and of the people who used them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced these exercises, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger sort for the profession of arms, to confirm their health, to render them stronger and more robust, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in close fight, in which, the use of fire-arms being then unknown, strength of body generally decided the victory. These athletic exercises supplied the place of those in use amongst our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horse, &c.; but

¹ Tam barbaros, tam immanes fuisse homines, ut parricidium suum, id est tetrum atque execrabile humano generi facinus, sacrificium vocarent. Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quae maximè est pietatis parentibus dulcior, sine ullo respectu pietatis extinguerent, immanitatemque omnium bestiarum, quae tamen fœtus suos amant feritate superarent. O dementia inhumanabile! Quid illi isti dii amplius facere possent si essent iratissimi, quam facerent propitii? Cum suos cultores parricidiis inquinant, obtristibus mactant, humanis sensibus spoliant. Lactant. l. c. 21.

² Herod. l. ii. c. 180. and l. v. c. 62.

³ About 44,428*l*. sterling.

⁴ Herod. l. i. c. 50, 51.

⁵ About 33,500*l*.

⁶ About 1,300,000*l*.

⁷ Diod. l. xvi. p. 453.

⁸ Plut. de Pyth. orac. p. 401.

⁸ Vol. iii.

they did not confine themselves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a shape and face; they were for joining strength to the charms of person.

It is true, these exercises, so illustrious by their founders, and so useful in the ends at first proposed from them, introduced public masters, who taught them to young persons, and, from practising them with success, made public show and ostentation of their skill. This sort of men applied themselves solely to the practice of this art, and, carrying it to an excess, they formed it into a kind of science, by the addition of rules and refinements; often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profession of people who, without any other employment or merit, exhibited themselves as a sight for the diversion of the public. Our dancing-masters are not unlike them in this respect, whose natural and original designation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good address; but now we see them mount the stage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, skipping, and making a variety of strange unnatural motions. We shall see, in the sequel, what opinion the wiser among the ancients had of their professed combatants and wrestling-masters.

There were four games solemnized in Greece. The *Olympic*, so called from Olympia, otherwise Pisa, a town of Elis in Peloponnesus, near which they were celebrated, after the expiration of every four years, in honour of Jupiter Olympicus. The *Pythian*, sacred to Apollo Pythius,¹ so called from the serpent Python, killed by him; they were celebrated at Delphi every four years. The *Nemean*, which took their name from Nemea, a city and forest of Peloponnesus, and were either instituted or restored by Hercules, after he had slain the lion of the Nemean forest. They were solemnized every two years. And lastly, the *Isthmian*, celebrated upon the isthmus of Corinth, every four years, in honour of Neptune. Theseus² was the restorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth. That persons might be present at these public sports with greater quiet and security, there was a general suspension of arms, and cessation of hostilities, throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In these games, which were solemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourse of spectators and combatants from all parts, a simple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games, it was composed of wild olive; in the Pythian, of laurel; in the Nemean, of green parsley,³ and in the Isthmian, of the same herb dried. The institutors of these games wished that it should be implied from hence, that honour alone, and not mean and sordid interest, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accustomed to act solely from so glorious a principle! We⁴ have seen, in the Persian war, that Tigranes, one of the most considerable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games described, cried out with astonishment, addressing himself to Mardonius, who commanded in chief, "Heavens⁵ against what men are you leading us? Inseparable to interest, they combat only for glory!" Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an effect of abject fear, abounds with sense and judgment.

It was from the same principle that the Romans, whilst they bestowed upon other occasions crowns of gold of great value, persisted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who had saved the life of a citizen. "O manners, worthy of eternal remembrance!" cried Pliny, in relating this laudable custom. "O grandeur, truly Roman, that would assign no other reward but honour, for the preservation of a citizen! a service, indeed, above all reward; thereby

sufficiently evincing their opinion, that it was criminal to save a man's life from the motive of lucre and interest!" *O mores aeternos, qui tanta opera honori solo donaverint: et cum reliquis coronas auro commendarent, salutem civis in pretio esse noluerint, clarâ professione servari quidem hominem nefas esse lucri causâ!*

Amongst all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniably the first rank; and that for three reasons. They were sacred to Jupiter, the greatest of the gods; instituted by Hercules, the first of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidst a greater concourse of spectators attracted from all parts, than any of the rest.

If Pausanias⁷ may be believed, women were prohibited to be present at them upon pain of death; and during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman should approach the place where the games were celebrated, or pass on that side of the river Alpheus. One only was so bold as to violate this law, and slipped in disguise amongst those who were training the wrestlers. She was tried for the offence, and would have suffered the penalty enacted by the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her son, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence, and saved her life.

This law was very conformable with the manners of the Greeks, amongst whom the ladies were very reserved, seldom appeared in public, had separate apartments called *Gynæceæ*, and never ate at table with the men when strangers were present. It was certainly inconsistent with decency to admit them at some of the games, as those of wrestling and the Pancratium, in which the combatants fought naked.

The same Pausanias⁸ tells us, in another place, that the priestess of Ceres had an honourable seat in these games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being present at them. For my part, I cannot conceive the reason of such inconsistency, which indeed seems incredible.

The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in these games. They looked upon it as the perfection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to desire any thing beyond it. Cicero⁹ assures us, that with them it was no less honorable than the consular dignity in its original splendour with the ancient Romans. And in another place he says, that to conquer at Olympia,¹⁰ was almost, in the estimation of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome. Horace speaks in still stronger terms of this kind of victory. He is not afraid to say,¹¹ that it exalts the victor above human nature; they were no longer men, but gods.

We shall see hereafter what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the most affecting was, to date the year with his name. Nothing could more effectually stimulate their endeavours, and make them regardless of expenses, than the assurance of immortalizing their names, which, through all future ages, would be enrolled in their annals, and stand in the front of all laws made in the same year with the victory. To this motive may be added the joy of knowing, that their praises would be celebrated by the most famous poets, and form the subject of conversation in the most illustrious assemblies; for these odes were sung in every house, and formed a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory?

I shall confine myself upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and shall de-

¹ Pausan. l. v. p. 297.

² Ibid. l. vi. p. 392.

³ *Olympicorum victoria, Græciæ consulatus ille antiquus videbatur.*—*Tuscul. Quæst. lib. ii. n. 41.*

⁴ *Olympicum esse apud Græcos propè majus fuit et glorioius quàm Romæ triumphasse.*—*Pro Flacco, actum xxi.*

⁵ ———— *Palmaque nobilis*

Terrarum dominos evexit ad deos. *Od. l. lib. i.*

Sive quos Elea domum reducit

Palma celestia. *Od. ii. lib. iv.*

¹ Several reasons are given for this name.

² Paus. l. ii. p. 84.

³ Apium.

⁴ Herod. l. viii. c. 26.

⁵ Πικρία, Μαρόνιος, κόλπος ἰν' ἀνδρὸς ὅπως μακροχρόνιος ζήκει, οὗ τὸ περι χερματῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν ποιεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρετῆς.

⁶ Plin. l. xvi. c. 1

scribe, in as brief a manner as possible, the several kinds of combats of which they were composed. M. Burette has treated this subject in several dissertations, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; wherein purity, perspicuity, and elegance of style, are united with profound erudition. I make no scruple in appropriating to my use the riches of my brethren; and in what I have already said upon the Olympic games, have made very free with the late Abbé Massieu's remarks upon the Odes of Pindar.

The combats which had the greatest share in the solemnity of the public games, were boxing, wrestling, the pancratium, the discus or quoit, and racing. To these may be added, the exercises of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus, or wheel; but as these were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I shall content myself with only having mentioned them in this place. For the better methodising the particulars of these games and exercises, it will be necessary to begin with an account of the *Athletæ*, or combatants.

Of the Athletæ, or Combatants.

The term *Athletæ* is derived from the Greek word *ἀλῆς*, which signifies labour, combat. This name was given to those who exercised themselves with an intention to dispute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themselves for these encounters, was called *Gymnastic*, from the *Athletæ*'s practising naked.

Those who were designed for this profession frequented, from their most tender age, the *Gymnasia* or *Palastræ*, which were a kind of academies maintained for that purpose at the public expense. In these places, such young people were under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to train them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and severe. At first they had no other nourishment than dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a coarse heavy sort of bread, called *σύνεα*. They were absolutely forbidden the use of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expresses thus:

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
Multis tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
Abstinent vovere et vino.—*Art. Poet.* v. 412.

Who in the Olympic race the prize would gain,
Has borne from early youth fatigue and pain,
Excess of heat and cold has often tried,
Love's softness banish'd, and the glass denied.

St. Paul, by a comparison drawn from the *Athletæ*, exhorts the Corinthians, near whose city the Isthmian games were celebrated, to a sober and penitent life. "Those who strive," says he, "for the mastery, are temperate in all things: Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible." Tertullian¹ uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made the *Athletæ* endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual denial and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they imposed upon themselves, of all that was most pleasing and grateful to their passions. It is true, the *Athletæ* did not always observe so severe a regimen, but at length substituted in its stead, a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The *Athletæ*, before their exercises,² were rubbed with oils and ointments, to make their bodies more supple and vigorous. At first they made use of a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combat; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering's falling off, that accident was the occasion

of sacrificing modesty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the future. The *Athletæ* were naked only in some exercises, as wrestling, boxing, the pancratium, and the foot-race. They practised a kind of novitiate in the *Gymnasia* for ten months, to accomplish themselves in the several exercises by assiduous application; and this they did in the presence of such, as curiosity or idleness conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the *Athletæ* who were to appear in them were kept to double exercise.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required; as to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was also necessary that their manners should be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No foreigner was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, presented himself to dispute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, opposed his reception as a Macedonian, and consequently a barbarian and a stranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved in due form his family originally descended from the Argives.

The persons who presided in the games were called *Agonothetæ*, *Athlothetæ*, and *Hellandicæ*: they registered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games a herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiously observe the several laws prescribed in each kind of combat, and do nothing contrary to the established orders and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and excessive violence, were absolutely prohibited; and the maxim so generally received elsewhere,³ that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was banished from these combats. The address of a combatant, expert in all the niceties of his art, who knows how to shift and ward dexterously, to put the change upon his adversary with art and subtlety, and to improve the least advantages, must not be confounded here with the cowardly and knavish cunning of one who, without regard to the laws prescribed, employs the most unfair means to vanquish his competitor. Those who disputed the prize in the several kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedence in them.

It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats, in which they exercised themselves.

Of Wrestling.

Wrestling is one of the most ancient exercises of which we have any knowledge, having been practised in the time of the patriarchs, as the wrestling of the angel with Jacob proves.⁴ Jacob supported the angel's attack so vigorously, that the latter perceiving he could not throw so rough a wrestler, was induced to make him lame by touching the sinews of his thigh, which immediately shrunk up.

Wrestling, among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practised at first with simplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the strength of the muscles, having more share in it than address and skill. Theseus was the first that reduced it to method, and refined it by the rules of art. He was also the first who established the public schools called *Palastræ*, where the young people had masters to instruct them in it.

The wrestlers, before they began the combat, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterward anointed with oils, which added to the strength and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, by making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the *Palastræ*, sometimes by throwing a fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in the *Xystæ*, or porticoes of the *Gymnasia*.

Thus prepared, the wrestlers began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes

¹ Nempe enim et *Athletæ* segregantur ad strictiorem disciplinam, ut robur addiscendo vacant; continentur à luxuria, à cibis lætioribus, à potu jucundior; coguntur, erantur, fatigantur. *Tertull.* ad *Martyr.*

² The persons employed in this office were called *Aliptæ*.

³ Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

⁴ Gen. xxxii. 24.

several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers was, to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed for this purpose: They seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, seizing by the neck, throttling, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks. The most considerable advantage in the wrestler's art, was to make himself master of his adversary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate consequence. From whence Plautus says in his *Pseudolus*, speaking of wine, "He is a dangerous wrestler, he presently trips up the heels." The Greek terms, *πρωταγωνιστής* and *πρωταγώνιστος*, and the Latin word *supplulare*, seem to imply, that one of these arts consisted in stooping down to seize the antagonist under the soles of his feet, and in raising them up to give him a fall.

In this manner the *Athletæ* wrestled standing, the combat ended with the fall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wrestler who was down drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confess himself vanquished. There was a third sort of wrestling called *Ἀρροχίσιμος*, from the *Athletæ*'s using only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body, as in the other kinds: and this exercise served as a prelude to the greater combat. It consisted in intermingling their fingers, and in squeezing them with all their force; in pushing one another, by joining the palms of their hands together; in twisting their fingers, wrists, and other joints of the arms, without the assistance of any other member; and the victory was his who obliged his opponent to ask quarter.

The combatants were to fight three times successively, and to throw their antagonists at least twice, before the prize could be adjudged to them.

Homer¹ describes the wrestling of Ajax and Ulysses; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and Statius, in his *Thebaid*, that of Tydeus and Agylæus.

The wrestlers of greatest reputation amongst the Greeks, were Milo of Crotona, whose history I have related elsewhere at large, and Polydamus. The latter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he proposed to himself as a model in this action. Another time, having seized a bull by one of his hinder legs, the beast could not get loose without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, while the coachman whipped his horses in vain to make them go forward. Darius Nothus, king of Persia, hearing of his prodigious strength, was desirous of seeing him, and invited him to Susa. Three soldiers of that prince's guard, and of that band which the Persians called *immortal*, esteemed the most warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought, and killed them all three.

Of Boxing, or the *Cestus*.

Boxing is a combat at blows with the fists, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fists with a kind of offensive arms, called *Cestus*, and their heads with a sort of leather cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The *Cestus* was a kind of gauntlet or glove, made of straps of leather, and plated with brass, lead, or iron. Their use was to strengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the *Athletæ* came immediately to the

most violent blows, and began their onset in the most furious manner. Sometimes whole hours passed in harassing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extension of their arms, rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring by that sparring to keep off their adversary. But when they fought with the utmost fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were most careful to defend, by either avoiding or parrying the blows made at them. When a combatant came on to throw himself with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a surprising address in avoiding the attack, by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adversary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were against each other, their being exhausted by the length of the combat, would frequently reduce them to the necessity of making a truce: upon which the battle was suspended by mutual consent for some minutes, that were employed in recovering their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed: after which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms, through weakness and faintness, explained that he could no longer support the pain or fatigue, and desired quarter; which was confessing himself vanquished.

Boxing was one of the roughest and most dangerous of the gymnastic combats; because, besides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They sometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the sand; though that seldom happened, except the vanquished person persisted too long in not acknowledging his defeat; yet it was common for them to quit the field with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know them afterward; carrying away with them the sad marks of their rigorous resistance, such as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, several descriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus;² in Theocritus, of Pollux and Anytus; in Apollonius Rhodius, the same battle of Pollux and Anytus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius and Valerius Flaccus, of several other combatants.

Of the *Pancratiûm*.

The *Pancratiûm*³ was so called from two Greek words, which signify, that the whole force of the body was necessary for succeeding in it. It united boxing and wrestling in the same fight, borrowing from one its manner of struggling and flinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with success. In wrestling it was not permitted to strike with the hand, nor in boxing to seize each other in the manner of the wrestlers; but in the *Pancratiûm*, it was not only allowed to make use of all the grips and artifices of wrestling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagonist.

This combat was the most rough and dangerous. A *Pancratiast* in the Olympic games (called *Arrichion*, or *Arrachion*), perceiving himself almost suffocated by his adversary, who had got fast hold of him by the throat, at the same time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguish of which obliged him to ask quarter at the very instant that *Arrichion* himself expired. The *Agonothetæ* crowned *Arrichion*, though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philostratus has left us a very lively description of a painting, which represented this combat.

Of the *Discus*, or *Quoit*.

The *Discus* was a kind of quoit of a round form, made sometimes of wood, but more frequently of stone, lead, or other metal; as iron or brass. Those who used this exercise were called *Discoboli*, that

¹ *Cantat pedes primùm, luctator dolosus est.*

² *Iliad. l. xxiii. v. 707, &c. Ovid, Metam. l. ix. v. 31, &c. Phars. l. iv. v. 612 Stat. l. vi. v. 847*

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³ *Diocor. Idyl. xxii. Argonautic. lib. ii. Æneid. 7. Thebaid. l. vii. Argonaut. l. iv.*

⁴ *Ἰλῆος ἀγῶνες.*

is, fingers of the Discus. The epithet *καταμύδιος*, which signifies *borne upon the shoulders*, given to this instrument by Homer, sufficiently shows that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the shoulders were necessary for the support of such a burden for any length of time.

The intent of this exercise, as of almost all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make men more capable of supporting the weight and use of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry such loads, as appear excessive in these days, either of provisions, fascines, palisades; or in scaling of walls, when, to equal the height of them, several of the besiegers mounted upon the shoulders of each other.

The Athlete, in hurling the Discus, put themselves into the posture best adapted to add force to their cast; that is, they advanced one foot, upon which they leaned the whole weight of their bodies. They then poised the Discus in their hands, and whirling it round several times almost horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint strength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a share in the vigour of the discharge. He that flung the Discus farthest was the victor.

The most famous painters and sculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to represent naturally the attitudes of the Discoboli, have left to posterity many masterpieces in their several arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a statue of that kind, which had been finished with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron: "What I can be more finished," says he, "or express more happily the muscular distortions of the body in the exercise of the Discus, than the Discobolus of Myron?"

Of the Pentathlon.

The Greeks gave this name to an exercise composed of five others. It is the common opinion, that these five exercises were wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the Discus. It is believed that this sort of combat was decided in one day, and sometimes the same morning; and that to obtain the prize, which was single, it was required that a combatant should be the victor in all those exercises.

The exercise of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the first consisted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin at a certain distance, contributed to the forming of a soldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in flinging the spear and dart.

Of Races.

Of all the exercises which the Athlete cultivated with so much pains and industry to enable them to appear in the public games, running held the foremost rank. The Olympic games generally opened with races, and were solemnized at first with no other exercise.

The place where the Athlete exercised themselves in running, was generally called the *Stadium* by the Greeks; as was that wherein they disputed in earnest for the prize. As the lists or course for these games was at first but one Stadium¹ in length, it took its name from its measure, and was called the Stadium, whether precisely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under that denomination was included not only the space in which the Athlete ran, but also that which contained the spectators of the gymnastic games. The place where the Athlete contended, was called *Scamnum*, from its lying lower than the rest of the Stadium, on each side of which, and at the extremity,

ran an ascent, or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated. The most remarkable parts of the Stadium were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the course, from whence the competitors started, was marked at first only by a line drawn on the sand from side to side of the Stadium. To that at length was substituted a kind of barrier which was only a cord strained tight in the front of the horses or men that were to run. It was sometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this barrier was the signal for the races to start.

The middle of the Stadium was remarkable only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. St. Chrysostom² draws a fine comparison from this custom. "As the judges," says he, "in the races and other games, expose in the midst of the Stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed, in the midst of the course, the prizes which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them."

At the extremity of the Stadium was a goal, where the foot races ended, but in those of chariots and horses they were to run several times around it without stopping, and afterward conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the lists, from whence they started.

There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horse, and the foot-race. I shall begin with the last as the more simple, natural, and ancient.

1. Of the Foot-race.

The runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. Whilst⁴ they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper. They kept themselves in wind by small leaps, and making little excursions, that were a kind of trial of their speed and agility. Upon the signal being given they flew towards the goal with a rapidity scarce to be followed by the eye which was solely to decide the victory. For the Agonistic laws prohibited, under the penalty of infamy the attaining it by any foul method.

In the simple race, the extent of the Stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor; that is, he who came in first. In the race called *Διπλός*, the competitors ran twice that length, that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To these may be added a third sort, called *Δοκζός*, which was the longest of all, as its name implies, and was composed of several Diapoli. Sometimes it consisted of twenty-four Stadia backwards and forwards, turning twelve times round the goal.

There were some runners in ancient times, as well among the Greeks as Romans, who have been much celebrated for their swiftness. Pliny⁵ tells us, that it was thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty Stadia⁶ between Athens and Lacedaemon in the space of two days, till Anaxitis, of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, went twelve hundred Stadia⁷ in one day from Sicily to Elis. These runners were denominated *ἡμιπόδες*, as we find in that passage of Herodotus,⁸ which mentions Phidippides. In the consulate

¹ Hom. *lv.* in *Mutth.* c. 16.

² "Tunc ritū citatus

Explorant, acunquē gradus, variaque per artes
Instimulant docto languentia membra tumultu.
Poplite nunc flexo sident, nunc lubrica forti
Pectora collidunt plausu; nunc ignea tollunt
Cruora brevenque fugam nec opinio fine reponunt.

Stat. Theb. lib. vi. v. 567, &c.

They try, they rouse their speed, with various arts;
Their languid limbs they prompt to act their parts,
Now with bent hams, amidst the practised crowd,
They sit; now strain their lungs, and shout aloud;
Now a short flight with fiery steps they trace,
And with a sudden stop abridge the mimic race.

³ Plin. *l. vii.* c. 30.

⁴ 57 leagues.

⁵ 60 leagues.

⁶ Her. *l. vi.* c. 106.

Quid tam distortum et elaboratum quàm est ille Discobolus Myronis? *Quintil. lib. ii.* cap. 13.

⁷ The Stadium was a measure of distance among the Greeks, and was, according to Herodotus, *l. ii.* c. 149, six hundred feet in length. Pliny says, *lib. ii.* c. 23, that it was six hundred and twenty-five. These two authors may be reconciled by considering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; besides which, the length of the Stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places.

of Fonteus and Vipsanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old ran seventy-five thousand paces,¹ between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners who ran one hundred and sixty thousand paces² in the Circus. Our wonder at such a prodigious speed will increase (continues he,) if we reflect that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Drusus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in less than four-and-twenty hours, though the distance was but two hundred thousand paces,³ and he changed his carriage three times,⁴ and went with the utmost diligence.

2. Of the Horse-races.

The race of a single horse with a rider was less celebrated among the ancients, yet it had its favourites amongst the most considerable persons, and even kings themselves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar, in his first ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, king of Syracuse, to whom he gives the title of ΚΙΑΥΣ, that is, *Victor in the horse-race*; which name was given to the horses carrying only a single rider, ΚΙΑΥΤΙΣ. Sometimes the rider led another horse by the bridle, and then the horses were called *Desultores*, and their riders *Desultores*; because, after a number of turns in the Stadium, they changed horses, by dexterously vaulting from one to the other. A surprising address was necessary upon this occasion, especially in an age unacquainted with the use of stirrups, and when the horses had no saddles, which made the leap still more difficult. Among the African troops there were also cavalry⁵ called *Desultores*, who vaulted from one horse to another, as occasion required; and these were generally Numidians.

3. Of the Chariot-races.

This kind of race was the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the ancients, and that from whence most honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we consider whence it arose. It is plain that it was derived from the constant custom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This custom being admitted, it is natural to suppose it very agreeable to those heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as possible in driving, as their success depended, in a very great measure, upon the address of their drivers. It was anciently, therefore, only to persons of the first consideration, that this office was confided. Hence arose a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of necessity to practise it very much, in order to succeed. The high rank of the persons who made use of chariots, ennobled, as it always happens, an exercise peculiar to them. The other exercises were adapted to private soldiers and horsemen, as wrestling, running, and the single horse-race; but the use of chariots in the field was always reserved to princes, and generals of armies.

Hence it was, that all those who presented themselves in the Olympic games to dispute the prize in the chariot-races, were persons considerable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themselves eagerly aspired to this glory, from the belief that the title of victor in these games was scarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the splendours of a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse, were of that opinion. Dionysius, who reigned there long after them, carried the same ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had these victories stamped upon his coins, and seem-

ed as much gratified with them as with those obtained against the enemies of his state. All the world knows the answer of Alexander the Great on this subject. When his friends asked him whether he would not dispute the prize of the races in these games? Yes, said he, *if kings were to be my antagonists*. Which shows, that he would not have disdained these contests, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horses, ranged abreast: *bige*, *quadrigæ*. Sometimes mules supplied the place of horses, and then the chariot was called *ἀσίδον*. Pindar, in the fifth ode of his first book, celebrates one Psaumis, who had obtained a triple victory: one by a chariot drawn by four horses, *τετρίπτερον*; another by one drawn by mules, *ἀσίδον*; and the third by a single horse, *χιλῆντι*, which the title of the ode expresses.

These chariots, upon a signal given, started together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumstance as to the victory; for as they were to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the left was nearer than those on the right, which consequently had a greater compass to take. It appears from several passages in Pindar, and especially from one in Sophocles, which I shall cite very soon, that they ran twelve times round the Stadium. He that came in first the twelfth round was victor. The chief art consisted in taking the best ground at the turning of the boundary: for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of dashing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his nearest antagonist might cut between him, and get foremost.

It is obvious that these chariot-races could not be run without some danger; for as the motion⁶ of the wheels was very rapid, and it was requisite to graze against the boundary in turning, the least error in driving would have broken the chariot in pieces, and might have dangerously wounded the charioteer. An example of which we find in the Electra of Sophocles, who gives an admirable description of a chariot-race run by ten competitors. The pretended Orestes, at the twelfth and last round, which was to decide the victory, having only one antagonist, the rest having been thrown out, was so unfortunate as to break one of his wheels against the boundary, and falling out of his seat entangled in the reins, the horses dragged him violently forwards along with them, and tore him to pieces. But this very seldom happened. To avoid such danger, Nestor gave the following directions to his son Antilochus, who was going to dispute the prize in the chariot-race. "My son," says he, "drive your horses as near as possible to the boundary; for which reason always incline your body over your chariot, get the left of your competitors, and encouraging the horse on the right, give him the rein, whilst the near horse, hard held, turns the boundary so close that the nave of the wheel seems to graze upon it; but have a care of running against the stone, lest you wound your horses, and dash the chariot in pieces."

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his opinion of much consequence, in regard to the places of those who contended for the prize in the chariot race. They all started indeed from the same line, and at the same time, and so far had no advantage of each other; but he, whose lot gave him the first place, being nearest the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a small compass to describe in turning about it, had less way to make than the second, third, fourth, &c. especially when the chariots were drawn by four horses, which took up a greater space between the first and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as must happen, admitting the Stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave such a superiority to the first, as seemed to assure him infallibly of the victory against all his competitors. To me it seems

¹ 30 leagues.

² More than 53 leagues.

³ Val. Max. l. v. c. 5.

⁴ 67 leagues.

⁵ He had only a guide and one officer with him.

⁶ Nec omnes Numidæ in dextra locati cornu, sed quibus desultorum in modum hinc trahentibus equos, inter accerimæ æque pugnam, in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transulare mus erat: tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile æquorum genus est. Liv. lib. xxiii.

¹ Pint in Alex. p. 666.

² Metaque fervida evitata rotæ. Horat. Od. i. lib. l.

The coal shunn'd by the burning wheels.

³ Hom. Il. i. xiii. v. 334, &c.

that the fleetness of the horses, joined with the address of the driver, might countervail this odds: either by getting before the first, or by taking his place; if not in the first, at least in some of the subsequent rounds; for it is not to be supposed, that in the progress of the race, the antagonists always continued in the same order in which they started. They often changed places in a short interval of time, and in that variety and vicissitude consisted all the diversion of the spectators.

It was not required, that those who aspired to the victory should enter the lists, and drive their chariots in person. Their being spectators of the games, or even sending their horses thither was sufficient; but in either case, it was previously necessary to register the names of the persons for whom the horses were to run, either in the chariot or single-horse-races.

At¹ the time that the city of Potidæa surrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the first, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the second, that he had carried the prize of the horse-race in the Olympic games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a son. Plutarch seems to insinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of these circumstances.

Hiero² sent horses to Olympia, to run for the prize, and caused a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occasion Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refused his aid against the common enemy, and to hinder his horses from running with the rest. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonstrance; for we find, by one of Pindar's odes, composed in honour of Hiero, that he won the prize in the equestrian races.

No³ one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece so far as Alcibiades, in which he distinguished himself in the most splendid manner, by the great number of horses and chariots which he kept only for the races. There never was either private person or king, that sent, as he did, seven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the first, second, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him. The famous poet Euripides celebrated these victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preserved a fragment. The victor, after having made a sumptuous sacrifice to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feast to the innumerable multitude of spectators at the games. It is not easy to comprehend, how the wealth of a private person should suffice for so enormous an expense: but Antisthenes, the scholar of Socrates, who relates what he saw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in emulation of each other, supplied Alcibiades with all things necessary for the support of such incredible magnificence; equipages, horses, tents, sacrifices, the most exquisite provisions, the most delicate wines—in a word, all that was necessary to the support of his table or train. The passage is remarkable: for the same author assures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or sea. "Wherever," says he, "Alcibiades travelled, he made use of four of the allied cities as his servants. Ephesus furnished him with tents, as magnificent as those of the Persians; Chios took care to provide for his horses; Cyzicum supplied him with sacrifices, and provisions for his table; and Lesbos gave him wine, with whatever else was requisite for his house."

I must not omit, in speaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to dispute the prize in them as well as the men: and that many of them obtained it. Cynisca,⁴ sister of Agesilaus king of Sparta, first opened this new path of glory to her sex, and was proclaimed conqueror in the race of chariots with four horses. This victory,⁵ of which till then there had been no example, did not fail of being celebrated with all possible splendour. A magnificent monu-

ment⁶ was erected at Sparta in honour of Cynisca and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwise very little sensible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to transmit this new triumph to posterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inscription in verse. She herself⁷ dedicated a chariot of brass, drawn by four horses, in the temple of Delphi; in which the charioteer was also represented,—a certain proof that she did not drive it herself. In process of time, the picture of Cynisca,⁸ drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many inscriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.

Of the Honours and Rewards granted to the Victors.

These honours and rewards were of several kinds. The acclamations of the spectators in honour of the victors, were only a prelude to the prizes designed them. These prizes were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Those crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hands; which custom, according to Plutarch,⁹ arose (perhaps) from a property of the palm tree, which displays new vigour the more endeavours are used to crush or bend it, and is a symbol of the courage and resistance of the champion who had obtained the prize. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received the crown and palm, a herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the stadium, and proclaimed aloud the name and country of the successful champion, who passed in that kind of review before the people, whilst they redoubled their acclamations and applause at the sight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The athletic triumph almost always concluded with feasts made for the victors, their relations and friends, either at the expense of the public, or by private individuals, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. Alcibiades,¹⁰ after having sacrificed to the Olympian Jupiter, which was always the first care of the victor, treated the whole assembly. Leophron did the same, as Athenæus reports;¹¹ who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the same games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with flesh or fish, caused an ox to be made of a paste, composed of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of spices, of which pieces were given to all who were present.

One of the most honourable privileges granted to the athletic victors, was the right of precedence at the public games. At Sparta it was the custom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions, to fight near his person, and to be his guard,—which, with reason, was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which advantage was united with honour, was that of being maintained for the rest of their lives at the expense of their country. That this expense might not become too chargeable to the state,¹² Solon reduced the pension of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachmas; ¹³ in the Isthmian to a hundred; ¹⁴ and the rest in proportion. The victor and his country considered this pension less as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and distinction. They were also exempted from all civil offices and employments.

¹ Plut. in Alex. p. 606.

² Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 100

³ Ibid. p. 188.

⁴ Plut. in Themist. p. 124.

⁵ Pausan. l. iii. p. 172.

⁶ Pausan. p. 172.

⁷ Ibid. l. vi. p. 344.

⁸ Plut. in Alcibi. p. 106.

⁹ Diog. Laert. in Solon, p. 37.

¹⁰ About 117.

¹¹ Ibid. l. v. p. 309.

¹² Sympos. l. viii. p. 102.

¹³ Lib. i. p. 3.

¹⁴ About 22.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the first cares of the magistrates, who presided in them, was to inscribe, in the public register, the name and country of the Athletæ who had carried the prizes, and to annex the species of combat in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference to all other games. Hence the historians, who date occurrences by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, almost always express the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praises of the victorious Athletæ were amongst the Greeks one of the principal subjects of their lyric poetry. We find that all the odes of the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games in which the combatants signalized themselves, whose victories those poems celebrate. The poet, indeed, frequently enriches his matter, by calling in to the champion's assistance, incapable alone of inspiring all the enthusiasm necessary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and priores, who have any relation to his subject; and to support the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himself. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practised the same manner of writing, intermingling the praises of the gods and heroes with those of the champions whose victories he sang. It is related upon this head,¹ that one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet, according to custom, after having given the highest praises to the champion, expatiated in a long digression to the honour of Castor and Pollux. Scopas, satisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him, however, only the third part of the sum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndaridæ, whom he had celebrated so well. And in fact he was well paid by them, if we may believe the sequel; for, at the feast given by the champion, whilst the guests were at table, a servant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with dust and sweat, were at the door, and desired to speak with him in all haste. He had scarce set his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and crushed the champion, with all his guests, to death.

Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, especially in the Olympic games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and sometimes in that of their birth also; which was commonly done at the expense of their country. Amongst the statues which adorned Olympia, were those of several children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raise such monuments to the champions, but to the very horses to whose swiftness they were indebted for the Agonistic crown: and Pausanias² mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called Aura, whose history is worth repeating. Phidolas her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the same manner as if he had been upon her back. She outstripped all the rest; and upon the sound of the trumpets, which was usual towards the end of the race to animate the competitors, she redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal; and, as if she had been sensible that she had gained the victory, presented herself before the judges of the games. The Eleans declared Phidolas victor, with permission to erect a monument to himself, and the mare that had served him so well.

The different taste of the Greeks and Romans, in regard to the Public Shows.

Before I make an end to these remarks upon the combats and games so much in estimation amongst the Greeks, I beg the reader's permission to make a reflection, that may serve to explain the difference of character between the Greeks and Romans with regard to this subject.

The most common entertainment of the latter, at

which the fair sex, by nature tender and compassionate, were present in throngs, was the combat of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effusion of human blood, supplied a grateful spectacle for a whole people, who feasted their cruel eyes with the savage pleasure of seeing men murder one another in cold blood; and in the times of the persecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whose age and weakness, are apt to excite compassion in the hardest hearts.

In Greece these combats were absolutely unknown, and were only introduced into some cities after their subjection to the Roman people. The Athenians,³ however, whose distinguishing characteristics were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city; and when it was proposed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, "First throw down," cried out an Athenian⁴ from the midst of the assembly, "throw down the altar, erected above a thousand years ago by our ancestors to Mercy."

It must be allowed that in this respect the conduct and wisdom of the Greeks were infinitely superior to that of the Romans. I speak of the wisdom of Pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of sense to be sufficiently amused and entertained with the pleasures of the understanding, could be delighted only with sensible objects, both nations were studious to divert them with games and shows, and such external contrivances as were proper to affect the senses; in the institution of which each evinced and followed its peculiar inclination and disposition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accustomed to battle, always retained, notwithstanding the politeness upon which they piqued themselves, something of their ancient ferocity; and thence it was, that the effusion of blood, and the murders exhibited in the public shows, far from inspiring them with horror formed a grateful entertainment to them.

The insolent pomp of triumphs, allowed from the same source, and argued no less inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was necessary to prove, that eight or ten thousand men had been killed in battle. The spoils, which were carried with so much ostentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of worthy families had been reduced to the utmost misery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free persons a few days before, and were often distinguishable for honour, merit, and virtue. The representation of the towns that had been taken in the war, explained that they had sacked, plundered, and burnt, the most opulent cities; and had either destroyed or enslaved their inhabitants. In short, nothing was more inhuman, than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to insult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

The triumphal arches, erected under the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from a haughty fierceness of disposition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalizing the shame and sorrow of subjected nations.

The joy of the Greeks after a victory⁵ was far more modest. They erected trophies, indeed, but of wood, a substance of no long duration, which time would soon consume; and these it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reason for this is admirable.⁶ After time had destroyed and obliterated the marks of dissension and enmity that had divided nations, it would have been the excess of odious and barbarous animosity to have thought of re-establishing them, to perpetuate the remembrance of ancient quarrels, which could not be

¹ Lucian, in vit. Demonax, p. 1014.

² It was Demonax, a celebrated philosopher, whose disciple Lucian had been. He flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

³ Pint. in Quæst. Rom. p. 273.

⁴ Οτι του χρίνου τὰ σπέρμα της τὸς τοὺς πολέμιους δῶμα φέρει; ἀναμυντορες, αὐτοὺς ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ καιροσφύρει ἐκπύροντες ἐς καὶ φιλοπύχιστον.

⁵ Cn. de Orat. l. ii, n. 252, 253. Phœd. l. ii. Fab. 24.

Quintil. l. xi. c. 2.

⁶ Lib. v. p. 303.

buried too soon in silence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass, since substituted to those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.

I am pleased with the grief depicted on Agamemnon's countenance, after a considerable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to say, of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter, with sighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: "Oh, unhappy Greece, to deprive thyself of so many brave citizens, and to destroy those who had been sufficient to have conquered all the Barbarians!"

The same spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public shows of the Greeks. Their festivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship, and harmony; and in that consisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece from the solemnization of these games. The republics, separated by distance of country and diversity of interest, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time, in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity, allied themselves more strictly with one another, stimulated each other against the Barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of some neutral state in alliance with them. The same language, manners, sacrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite the several little states of Greece into one great and formidable nation; and to preserve amongst them the same disposition, the same principles, the same zeal for their liberty, and the same fondness for the arts and sciences.

Of the Prizes of Wit, and the Shows and Representations of the Theatre.

I have reserved, for the conclusion of this head, another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the strength, activity, and address of the body, and may be called with reason the combat of the mind: wherein the orators, historians, and poets, made trial of their capacities, and submitted their productions to the censure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this sort of dispute was so much the more lively and ardent, as the victory in question might justly be deemed to be infinitely superior to all others, because it affects the man more nearly, is founded on his personal and internal qualities, and decided upon the merit of his intellectual capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aspire after with the utmost vivacity and passion, and of which we are least of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the same time a most sensible pleasure, for writers, who are generally fond of fame and applause, to have known how to unite in their favour the suffrages of so numerous and select an assembly as that of the Olympic games; in which were present all the finest geniuses of Greece, and all who were most capable of judging of the excellency of a work. This theatre was equally open to history, eloquence, and poetry.

Herodotus² read his history at the Olympic games to all Greece, assembled at them, and was heard with such applause, that the names of the nine Muses were given to the nine books which compose his work, and the people cried out wherever he passed, "That is he, who has written our history, and celebrated our glorious successes against the Barbarians so excellently."

All who had been present at the games, caused afterward every part of Greece to resound with the name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact which I have related, adds, that after the example of Herodotus, many of the sophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia, to read the harangues of their composing; finding that the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

Plutarch³ observes, that Lysias, the famous Athenian orator, contemporary with Herodotus, pro-

nounced a speech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the Tyrant, as upon the greatest action they had ever done.

We⁴ may judge of the eagerness of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionysius himself. That prince, who had the foolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in Greek, *ῥαψωδισταί* (*rhapsodists*), to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound silence, and they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-laughs and hooting; so miserable did the verses appear. He⁵ comforted himself for this disgrace by a victory he gained some time after in the feast of Bacchus at Athens, in which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.

The disputes of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing in comparison with the ardour and emulation that prevailed at Athens; which is what remains to be said upon this subject, and therefore I shall conclude with it, taking occasion to give my readers, at the same time, a short view of the shows and representations of the theatre of the ancients. Those who would be more fully informed on this subject, will find it treated at large in a work lately made public by the reverend Father Brumoi, the Jesuit; a work which abounds with profound knowledge and erudition, and with reflections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems of which it treats. I shall make considerable use of that piece, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

Extraordinary Fondness of the Athenians for the Entertainments of the Stage. Emulation of the Poets in disputing the Prizes in those Representations. A short Idea of Dramatic Poetry.

No people ever expressed so much ardour and eagerness for the entertainments of the theatres as the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. The reason is obvious; as no people ever demonstrated such extent of genius, nor carried so far the love of eloquence and poesy, taste for the sciences, justness of sentiments, elegance of ear, and delicacy in all the refinements of language. A⁶ poor woman who sold herbs at Athens discovered Theophrastus to be a stranger, by a single word which he affectedly made use of in expressing himself. The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expresses itself in the people's manner of passing their time, and in their pleasures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuse themselves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces, that were acted by public authority several times a-year, especially at the feasts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets disputed for the prize. The former used to present four of their pieces at a time; except Sophocles, who did not think fit to continue so laborious an exercise, and confined himself to one performance, when he disputed the prize.

The state appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were represented in the festivals. They were acted before them in the presence of the people; but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their suffrages, and that performance, which had the most voices, was declared victorious, received the crown as such, and was represented with all possible pomp at the expense of the republic. This did not, however, exclude such pieces, as were only in the second or third class. The best had not always the preference; for what times have been exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? Ælian⁷ is very angry with the judges, who, in one of these disputes, gave only

² Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

³ Diod. l. xv. p. 381.

⁴ Attica anus Theophrastum, hominem aliqui desertissimum, annotat¹ unus affectatione verbi, hospitem dixit Quint. l. viii. c. 1.

⁵ Ælian, l. ii. c. 8.

¹ Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 211.

² Lucian in Herod. p. 622.

³ Plut. de vit. Orat. p. 836.

the second place to Euripides. He accuses them of judging either without capacity, or of suffering themselves to be bribed. It is easy to conceive the warmth and emulation which these disputes and public rewards excited amongst the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection to which Greece carried dramatic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the persons themselves, speaking and acting upon the stage: in the epic, on the contrary, the poet only relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine descriptions of events, in which illustrious persons and whole nations are interested; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing those persons themselves, with being the confidants of their most secret sentiments, and auditors and spectators of their resolutions, enterprises, and the happy or unhappy events attending them. To read and see an action, are quite different things; we are infinitely more moved with what is acted, than with what we merely read. Our eyes as well as our minds are addressed at the same time. The spectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation so nearly approaching life, mistakes the picture for the original, and thinks the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To these may be added the satyric poem, which derives its name from the satyrs, rural gods, who were always the chief characters in it; and not from the *satire*, a kind of abusive poetry, which has no resemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The satyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but something between both, participating of the character of each. The poets, who disputed the prize, generally added one of these pieces to their tragedies, to allay the gravity and solemnity of the one, with the mirth and pleasantry of the other. There is but one example of this ancient poem come down to us, which is the *Cyclops* of Euripides.

I shall confine myself upon this head to tragedy and comedy; both which had their origin amongst the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. These two poems, which were for a long time comprised under the general name of tragedy, received there by degrees such improvements, as at length raised them to their highest perfection.

The Origin and Progress of Tragedy. Poets who excelled in it at Athens; Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

There had been many tragic and comic poets before Thespis; but as they had made no alterations in the original rude form of this poem, and as Thespis was the first that made any improvement in it, he was generally esteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of buffoon tales in the comic style, intermixed with the singing of a chorus in praise of Bacchus; for it is to the feasts of that god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

La tragédie, informe et grossière en naissant,
N'étoit qu'un simple chœur, où chacun en dansant,
Et du dieu des raisins entonnant les louanges,
S'efforçoit d'attirer de fertiles vendanges.
Là, le vin et la joie éveillent les esprits,
Du plus habile chanteur un bon étoit le prix.

Boileau, Art. Poet. chant. iii.

Formless and gross did tragedy arise,
A simple chorus, rather mad than wise
For fruitful vintages the dancing throng
Rear'd to the god of grapes a drunken song:
Wild mirth and wine sustain'd the frantic note,
And the best singer had the prize, a goat.

Thespis made several alterations in it, which Horace describes after Aristotle, in his *Art of Poetry*. The first, ¹ was to carry his actors about in a cart,

¹ Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camæno
Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Quæ canerent ægæmatque peruncti feribus ora.

Hor. de Art. Poet.

whereas before they used to sing in the streets, wherever chance led them. Another was to have their faces smeared over with wine-lees, instead of acting without disguise, as at first. He also introduced a character among the chorus, who, to give the actors time to rest themselves and to take breath, repeated the adventures of some illustrious person; which recital, at length, gave place to the subjects of tragedy.

Thespis fut le premier, qui barbouillê de lies,
Promenâ par les bourgs cette heureuse folie,
Et d'acteurs mal ornês chargeant un tombeaue,
Amusa les persans d'un spectacle nouveau.

Boileau, Art. Poet. chant. iii.

First Thespis, smear'd with lees, and void of art,
The grateful folly vented from a cart;
And as these lawdly actors drove about,
The sight was new, and charm'd the gaping rout.

Thespis² lived in the time of Solon.

That wise legislator, upon seeing his A. M. 3440.
pieces performed, expressed his dis- Ant. J. C. 564
like, by striking his staff against the
ground; apprehending that these poetical fictions,
and idle stories, from mere theatrical representations
would soon become matters of importance, and have
too great a share in all public and private affairs.

It is not so easy to invent, as to im-
prove the inventions of others. The A. M. 3464.
alterations Thespis made in tragedy, Ant. J. C. 540.
gave room for Æschylus to make
new and more considerable of his own. He was born
at Athens, in the first year of the sixtieth Olympiad.
He took upon him the profession of arms, at a time
when the Athenians reckoned almost as many heroes
as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Sa-
lamis, and Plataea, where he did his duty. But his
disposition called him elsewhere, and put him upon
entering into another course, where
no less glory was to be acquired; and A. M. 3514,
where he was soon without any com- Ant. J. C. 490.
petitors. As a superior genius, he

took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy
anew; of which he has, in consequence, been always
acknowledged the inventor and father. Father Bru-
nio, in a desertation which abounds with wit and
good sense, explains the manner in which Æschylus
conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic
poems. The poet himself used to say, that his works
were the remnants of the feasts given by Homer in
the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Tragedy, therefore, took a new form under him.
He gave masks to his actors, adorned them with
robes and trains, and made them wear buskins. In-
stead of a cart he erected a theatre of a moderate ele-
vation, and entirely changed their style; which from
being merry and burlesque, as at first, became ma-
jestic and serious.

Æschyle dans le chœur jetta les personnages:
D'un masque plus honnête habilla les visages:
Sur leais d'un théâtre en public exposé
Fit paroître l'acteur d'un brodequin chaussé.

Boileau, Art. Poet.

From Æschylus the chorus learnt new grace:
He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face,
Taught him in buskins first to tread the stage,
And raised a theatre to please the age.

But that was only the external part or body of tra-
gedy. Its soul, which was the most important and
essential addition of Æschylus, consisted in the viva-
city and spirit of the action, sustained by the dialogue

When Thespis first exposed the tragic Muse,
Rude were the actors, and a cart the scene,
Where ghastly faces, smear'd with lees of wine,
Frighted the children, and amused the crowd.

Roscom. Art. of Poet

² Plut. in Solon. p. 95.

³ Post hunc personæ pallaque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnamque loqui, nitique coturno.

Hor. de Art. Poet.

This Æschylus (with indignation) saw,
And built a stage, found out a decent dress,
Brought vizards in, a civiler disguise,
And taught men how to speak and how to act.

Roscom. Art. Poet

of the persons of the drama, introduced by him—in the artful working up of the stronger passions, especially of terror and pity, which, by alternately afflicting and agitating the soul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleasure and delight from that very trouble and emotion—in the choice of a subject, great, noble, interesting, and contained within due bounds by the unity of time, place, and action: in short, it is the conduct and disposition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connection of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the spectator in suspense till the catastrophe, and then restores him his tranquillity, and dismisses him with satisfaction.

The chorus had been established before Æschylus, as it composed alone, or next to alone, what was then called tragedy. He did not therefore exclude it, but on the contrary, thought fit to incorporate it, to sing as chorus between the acts. Thus it supplied the interval of resting, and was a kind of person of the drama, employed either in giving useful advice, and salutary instructions, in espousing the party of innocence and virtue, in being the depository of secrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or in sustaining all those characters at the same time, according to Horace. The coryphæus, or principal person of the chorus, spoke for the rest.

In one of Æschylus's pieces, called the Eumenides, the poet represents Orestes at the bottom of the stage, surrounded by the furies, laid asleep by Apollo. Their figure must have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking and appearing tumultuously on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, some women miscarried with the surprise, and several children died of the fright. The chorus at that time consisted of fifty actors. After this accident, it was reduced to fifteen by an express law, and at length to twelve.

I have observed, that one of the alterations made by Æschylus in tragedy, was the mask worn by his actors. These dramatic masks had no resemblance to ours, which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which, besides the features, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments used by women in their head-dresses. These masks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. The subject is treated at large in a dissertation of M. Boindin's, inserted in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*.²

I could never comprehend, as I have observed,³ in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients; for certainly they could not be used, without considerably lessening the spirit of the action, which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passes in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according as it is put in motion by different passions, sometimes covers the face with a sudden and modest blush, sometimes inflames it with the heat of rage and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it? All these affections are strongly imaged and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The mask deprives the features of this

energetic language, and of that life and soul, by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the sentiments of the heart. I do not wonder, therefore, at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roscius.⁴ "Our ancestors" says he, "were better judges than we are. They could not wholly approve even Roscius himself whilst he performed in a mask."

Æschylus was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favor, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonus, a town in Attica, in the second year of the Ant. J. C. 495. seventy-first Olympiad. His father was a blacksmith, or one who kept people of that trade to work for him. His first essay was a masterpiece. When, upon the occasion of Cimon's having found the bones of Theseus, and their being brought to Athens, a dispute between the tragic poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the lists with Æschylus, and carried the prize against him. The ancient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all lost by failing of the last, and withdrew in disgust into Sicily to king Hiero, the protector and patron of all the learned in disgrace at Athens. He died there soon after in a very singular manner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay asleep in the fields, with his head bare, an eagle, taking his bald crown for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at least seventy tragedies, composed by him, only seven are now extant.

Nor have those of Sophocles escaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and seventeen in number, and according to some, one hundred and thirty. He retained to extreme old age all the force and vigour of his genius, as appears from a circumstance in his history. His children, unworthy of so great a father, upon pretence that he had lost his senses, summoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree, that his estate might be taken from him, and put into their hands. He made no other defence, than to read a tragedy he was at that time composing, called *Œdipus at Colonus*, with which the judges were so charmed, that he carried his cause unanimously; and his children, detested by the whole assembly, got nothing by their suit, but the shame and infamy due to so flagrant ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some say he expired repeating his *Antigone*, for want of power to recover his breath, after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end; others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor, contrary to his expectation. The figure of a hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of Bee, which had been given him, from the sweetness of his verses: whence it is probable, the notion was derived of the bees having settled upon his lips, when in his cradle. He died in his ninetieth year, the fourth of the ninety-third Olympiad, after having survived Euripides six years, who was not so old as himself.

The latter was born in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, at Salamis, whither his father Mnesarchus and mother Clito had retired, when Xerxes was preparing for his great expedition against Greece. He applied himself at first to philosophy, and, amongst others, had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his master. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philosophical tenets, inclined him to the study of poetry. He discovered in himself a genius for the drama, unknown to him at first; and employed it with such success, that he entered the lists with the great masters of whom we have been speaking. His works sufficiently denote his profound application to philo-

¹ Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile
Defendat, seu quid medios intersecat actus,
Quod non proposito conducat, et hæreat apud.
Ille bonus favetque, et conciliat amicos,
Et regat iratus, et amet precare timentes,
Ille dapnes laudi, membra brevius; ille salubrem
Justitiam, legesque, et apertis otia porris.
Ille totam commissam, deoque precatur et oret,
Ut redeat miseris, abest fortuna superbis.

Hor. de Art. Poet.

The chorus should supply what action wants,
And hath a generous and manly part;
Brilliant with rage, loves rigid honesty;
And strict observance of impartial laws,
Sobriety, security, and peace.
And begs the gods to turn blind Fortune's wheel,
To raise the wretched, and pull down the proud;
But nothing must be sung between the acts,
But what somehow conduces to the plot.

Roscius. Art. of Poetry translated.

² Vol. iv.

³ Manner of Teaching, vol. iv.

⁴ Quod melius nostri illi senex, qui personatum, ne Roscium quidem, magnopere laudabant. Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221.

⁵ Sententia densus, et in eis quæ sapientibus sunt penitus est par. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

ecphy. They abound with excellent maxims of morality: and it is in that view that Socrates in his time, and Cicero¹ long after him, set so high a value upon Euripides.

One cannot sufficiently admire the extreme delicacy expressed by the Athenian audience on certain occasions, and their solicitude to preserve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and justice. It is surprising to observe the warmth with which they unanimously reprov'd whatever seemed inconsistent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithstanding his having a well-founded excuse, as he had given such sentiments only to persons notoriously vicious, and actuated by the most unjust passions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought: "Riches are the supreme good of the human race, and with reason excite the admiration of the gods and men." The whole theatre cried out against these expressions; and he would have been banished directly, if he had not desired the sentence to be respited till the conclusion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches perished miserably.

He was indanger of incurring serious inconveniences from an answer he puts into the mouth of Hyppolytus. Phædra's nurse represented to him, that he had engaged himself under an inviolable oath to keep her secret. "My tongue, it is true, pronounced that oath," replied he, "but my heart gave no consent to it." This frivolous distinction appeared to the whole people, as an express contempt of the religion and sanctity of an oath, that tended to banish all sincerity and good faith from society and the intercourse of life.

Another maxim² advanced by Eteocles in the tragedy called the Phœnicians, and which Cæsar had always in his mouth, is no less pernicious: "If justice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in question; in other respects, let it be duly revered." It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, says Cicero, to make an exception in that very point wherein such violation is the highest crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and speaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjust conduct by a false maxim; and it is not strange that Cæsar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjust, should lay great stress upon the sentiments of a prince whom he so much resembled. But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himself, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced so pernicious a principle upon the stage.

Lycurgus,³ the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to re-animate the spirit of the tragic poets, caused three statues of brass to be erected, in the name of the people, to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be transcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preserved amongst the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to represent them on the stage.

The reader expects, no doubt, after what has been said relating to the three poets, who invented, improved, and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I should point out the peculiar excellencies of their style and character. For that I must refer to Father Brumoi, who will do it much better than it is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poem, that is to say Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets; and having de-

monstrated, by reflections drawn from human nature upon what principles and by what degrees, this happy imitation was conducted to its end; he goes on to describe the three poets above-mentioned, in the most lively and brilliant colours.

Tragedy took at first from Æschylus, its inventor, a much more lofty style than the Iliad; that is, the *magnum loqui* mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æschylus, who had a full conception of the grandeur of the language of tragedy, carried it too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but something more. His pompous, swelling, gigantic diction, resembles rather the beating of drums and the shouts of battle, than the noble harmony of the trumpets. The elevation and grandeur of his genius would not permit him to speak the language of other men, so that his muse seemed rather to walk in stilts, than in the buskins of his own invention.

Sophocles understood much better the true excellence of the dramatic style: he therefore copies Homer more closely, and blends in his diction that honeyed sweetness, from whence he was denominated *the Bee*, with a gravity that gives his tragedy the modest air of a matron, compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expresses it.

The style of Euripides, though noble, is less removed from the familiar; and he seems to have affected rather the pathetic and the elegant, than the nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, says Father Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himself a path entirely new and unknown to the ancients, seems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the sublimity, force, unbroken progress, and rapidity in his flight; and, as Racine, in copying the ancients in a manner entirely his own, imitates the swan, that sometimes floats upon the air, sometimes rises, then falls again, with an elegance of motion, and a grace peculiar to herself; so Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular characteristic and method. The first, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuously over rocks, forests, and precipices; the second resembles a canal⁴ which flows gently through delicious gardens; and the third a river, that does not follow its course in a continued line but loves to turn and wind his silver wave through flowery meads and rural scenes.

This is the character which Father Brumoi gives of the three poets, to whom the Athenian stage was indebted for its perfection in tragedy. Æschylus⁵ drew it out of its original chaos and confusion, and made it appear in some degree of lustre; but it still retained the rude unfinished air of things in their beginning, which are generally defective in point of art and method. Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The style of the first, as has been observed, is more noble and majestic; of the latter more tender and pathetic; each perfect in their way. In this diversity of character, it is difficult to decide which is most excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, with respect to the two⁶ poets of our own nation, whose tragedies have made our stage illustrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.

I have observed, that the tender and pathetic distinguishes the compositions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Phœre, the most cruel of tyrants was a proof. That barbarous man, upon seeing the Tragedies of Euripides acted, found himself so moved with it, that he quitted the theatre before the conclusion of the play; professing that he was ashamed to be seen in tears for the distress of Hecuba and Andromache,

¹ Cui (Euripidi) tu quantum credas nescio; ego certè singulos ejus versus singula testimonia puto. *Epist.* viii. l. 14. *ad Famil.*

² Ipse autem socer (Cæsar) in ore semper Græcos versus Euripidis de Phœnissis habebat, quos dicam ut potero, in eonditè fortasse, sed tamen ut res possit intelligi:

Nam, si violandum est, jux, regnandi gratiâ
Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas,

Capitulis Eteocles, vel potius Euripides, quid unum, quod omnium scelestissimum fuerit, exco erit. *Offic.* l. iii. n. 33.

³ Plut. in vit. x. orat. p. 841.

⁴ I know not whether the idea of a canal that flows gently through delicious gardens, is well adapted to designate the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly distinguished by nobleness, grandeur, and elevation. That of an impetuous and rapid stream, whose waves, from the violence of their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, seems to me a more suitable image of that poet.

⁵ Tragedias primis in lucem Æschylus protulit: sublimis et gravis, et grandiloquus sæpe uque ad vitium; sed rudis in phœris et incompotus. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

⁶ Corneille and Racine.

who had never shown the least compassion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered such numbers.

When I speak of the tender and pathetic, I would not be understood to mean a passion that softens the heart into effeminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almost alone, or at least more than any other passion, received upon our stage, though rejected by the ancients, and condemned by the nations around us of greatest reputation for their genius, and taste for the sciences and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the passions amongst the ancients, were terror and pity.¹ And indeed, as we naturally refer every thing to ourselves, or our own particular interest, when we see persons of exalted rank or virtue sinking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all sides invested, seizes upon us, and from a secret impulse of self love, we find ourselves sensibly affected with the distresses of others; besides which, the sharing a common nature with the rest of our species, makes us sensible to whatever befalls them. Upon a close and attentive inquiry into those two passions, they will be found the most deeply inherent, active, extensive and general, affections of the soul; including all orders of men, great and small, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the ancients, accustomed to consult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, with reason conceived terror and compassion to be the soul of tragedy; and that those affections ought to prevail in it. The passion of love was in no estimation amongst them, and had seldom any share in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be supported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this passion, which has always been deemed a weakness and a blemish in the greatest characters, got such footing upon our stage. Corneille, who was the first who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the rest have followed, found the whole nation enamoured with the perusal of romances, and little disposed to admire any thing not resembling them. From the desire of pleasing his audience, who were at the same time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the manner they had been accustomed to be affected; and, by introducing love in his scenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant taste of the age for romance. From the same source arose that multiplicity of incidents, episodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crowded and obscured; so contrary to probability, which will not admit such a number of extraordinary and surprising events in the short space of four-and-twenty hours; so contrary to the simplicity of ancient tragedy; and so adapted to conceal, by the assemblage of so many different objects, the sterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvellous than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the iambic to the heroic verse in their tragedies; not only because the first has a kind of dignity better adapted to the stage, but, whilst it approaches nearer to prose, retains sufficiently the air of poetry to please the ear: and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in representations, where other persons are supposed to speak and act. Monsieur Dacier makes a very just reflection on this subject. He says, that it is the misfortune of our tragedy to have almost no other verse than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, pastoral, satire, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of versification.

This inconvenience is highly obvious in our tragedy; which consequently is obliged to lose sight of nature and probability, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to express themselves in a pompous strain in their familiar conversation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. The giving utterance to the most impetuous passions in a uniform cadence, and by hemistichs and rhymes, would un-

doubtedly be tedious and offensive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expression, and the spirit of sentiments, and perhaps, more than all of them, the resistless force of custom, had not in a manner subjected our reason, and spread a veil before our judgment.

It was not chance, therefore, which suggested to the Greeks the use of iambics in their tragedy. Nature itself seems to have dictated that kind of verse to them. Instructed by the same unerring guide, they made choice of a different versification for the chorus, better adapted to the motions of the dance, and the variations of the song; because it was necessary for poetry here to shine out in all its lustre, whilst the mere conversation between the real actors was suspended. The chorus was an embellishment of the representation, and a relaxation to the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and number, to support it, when united with music and dancing.

Of the Old, Middle, and New Comedy.

Whilst tragedy was thus rising to perfection at Athens, comedy, the second species of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent of both. We are sensibly affected with the dangers, distresses, misfortunes, and, in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illustrious persons; and this gave birth to tragedy. And we are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and effects, of our equals; which supply us with occasions of laughing, and being merry at the expense of others. Hence comedy derives itself, which is properly an image of private life. Its design is to expose defects and vices upon the stage, and by affixing ridicule to them, to make them contemptible; and consequently, to instruct by diverting. Ridicule therefore (or, to express the same word by another pleasanter,) ought to prevail in comedy.

This species of entertainment took at different times three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influences of the government, which occasioned various alterations in it.

The old comedy, so called² by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æschylus, retained something of its original rudeness, and the liberty it had been used to take of throwing out coarse jests, and reviling the spectators from the cart of Thespis. Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learnt to be more reserved. It represented real transactions, with the names, dress, gestures, and likeness, in masks, of whomsoever it thought fit to sacrifice to the public derision. In a state where it was held good policy to unmask whatever carried the air of ambition, singularity, or knavery, comedy assumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and advise the people upon their most important interests. No one was spared in a city of so much liberty, or rather licentiousness, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magistrates, government, the very gods were abandoned to the poet's satirical vein; and all was well received, provided the comedy was diverting, and the Attic salt not wanting.

In one of these comedies, not only the priest³ of Jupiter determines to quit his service, because no more sacrifices are offered to the god, but Mercury himself comes, in a starving condition, to seek his fortune amongst mankind, and offers to serve as a porter, sutler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper; in short, in any capacity, rather than return to heaven. In another,⁴ the same gods, reduced to the extremity of famine, from the birds having built a city in the air, whereby their provisions are cut off, and the smoke of incense and sacrifices prevented from ascending to heaven, depute three ambassadors in the name of Jupiter to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds, upon such conditions as they shall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famished gods are received, is a kitchen well stored with excellent game of all

¹ ὁδὸς καὶ δαίμων

Homo sum : humani nihil à me alienum puto. Ter.

² Successit vetus his comœdia non sine multa Laude.

³ Plutus.

Hor. in Art. Poet.

⁴ The Birds

sorts. Here Hercules, deeply smitten with the smell of roast meat, which he apprehends to be more exquisite and nutritious than that of incense, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the spit, and assist the cook upon occasion. The other pieces of Aristophanes abound with strokes still more satirical and severe upon the principal divinities.

I am not much surprised at the poet's insulting the gods, and treating them with the utmost contempt, as from them he had nothing to fear; but I cannot help wondering at his having brought the most illustrious and powerful persons of Athens upon the stage, and presuming to attack the government itself without any manner of respect or reserve.

Cleon having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition against Sphacteria, was looked upon by the people as the greatest captain of that age. Aristophanes, to set that bad man in a true light, who was the son of a tanner, and a tanner himself, and whose rise was owing solely to his temerity and impudence, was so bold as to make him the subject of a comedy,¹ without being awed by his power and influence: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himself, and appeared for the first time upon the stage in that character; not one of the comedians daring to represent it, nor to expose himself to the resentment of so formidable an enemy. His face was smeared over with wine lees; because no workman could be found, that would venture to make a mask resembling Cleon, as was usual when persons were brought upon the stage. In this piece he reproached him with embezzling the public treasures, with a violent passion for bribes and presents, with craft in seducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the share his colleague had in it.

In the *Acharnians*, he accuses Lamachus of having been made general, rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleness; at the same time that he, and many others, whom he covertly designates, convert to their own use the rewards due only to valour and real services. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder, in the government of the state, and the command of their armies. He tells them plainly, that when peace shall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other such knaves, all mentioned by name, shall have any share in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuse their fellow-citizens of crimes, and to enrich themselves by such informations.

In his comedy called the *Wasps*, imitated by Racine in his *Plaideurs*, he exposes the mad passion of the people for prosecutions and trials at law, and the enormous injustice frequently committed in passing sentence and giving judgment.

The poet,² concerned to see the republic obstinately bent upon the unhappy expedition to Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a thorough disgust for so ruinous a war, and to inspire them with the desire of a peace, as much the interest of the victors as the vanquished, after a war of several years' duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of involving all Greece in ruin.

None of Aristophanes's pieces explains better his boldness, in speaking upon the most delicate affairs of the state in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called *Lysistrata*. One of the principal magistrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is supposed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates, how, during the war, the women, inquiring of their husbands the result of their counsels, and whether they had not resolved to make peace with Sparta, received no answers but imperious looks, and orders to mind their own business: that, however, they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government declined: that they took the liberty to remonstrate mildly to their husbands upon the sad consequences of their rash determinations, but that their humble representations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them; that, at

length, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were no longer any men in the state nor heads for the administration of affairs, their patience being quite exhausted, the women had thought it proper and advisable to take the government upon themselves, and preserve Greece, whether it would or no, from the folly and madness of its resolves. "For her part, she declares, that she has taken possession of the city, and treasury, in order," says she, "to prevent Pisander and his confederates, the four hundred administrators, from exciting troubles, according to their custom, and from robbing the public as usual." (Was ever any thing so bold?) She goes on to prove, that the women only are capable of relieving affairs, by this burlesque argument; that admitting things to be in such a state of perplexity and confusion, the sex, accustomed to untangling their threads, were the only persons to set them right again, as being best qualified with the necessary address, patience, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to those of the women, who are only represented in a ridiculous light, to turn the derision upon their husbands, who were engaged in the administration of the government.

These extracts from Aristophanes, taken almost word for word from Father Brunot, seemed to me very proper to give an insight into that poet's character, and the genius of the ancient comedy, which was as we see, a satire of the most poignant and severe kind, that had assumed to itself an independency from respect to persons, and to which nothing was sacred. It is no wonder that Cicero condemns so licentious and unbecoming a liberty.³ It might, he says, have been tolerable, had it attacked only bad citizens, and seditious orators, who endeavoured to raise commotions in the state, such as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus: but when a Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wisdom and authority (he might have added, and a Socrates, declared by Apollo the wisest of mankind) is brought upon the stage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus or Nævius had attacked the Scipios, or Cæcilius had dared to revile Marcus Cato in his plays.

That liberty is still more offensive to us, who are born and live under a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licentiousness. But without intending to justify the conduct of Aristophanes, which is certainly inexcusable, I think, to judge properly of it, would be necessary to lay aside the prejudices of birth, nations, and times, and to imagine we live in those remote ages, in a state purely democratical. We must not fancy Aristophanes to have been a person of little consequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The king of Persia had a very different idea of him. It is a known story,⁴ that in audience of the Greek ambassadors, his first inquiry was after a certain comic poet (meaning Aristophanes,) that put all Greece in motion, and gave such effectual counsels against him. Aristophanes did that upon the stage, which Demosthenes did afterward in the public assemblies. The poet's reproaches were no less animated than the orator's. In his comedies he uttered the same sentiments as he had a right to deliver from the public rostrum. They were addressed to the same people, upon the same occasions of the state, the same means of success, and the same obstacles to their measures. In Athens, the whole people were the sovereign, and each of them had an equal share in the supreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of discoursing upon it themselves, and of hearing the sentiments of others. The public affairs were the business of every individual; on which they were desir-

¹ Quem illa non attingit, vel potius quem non vexavit? Esto, populares homines, improbos, in rem seditiosos (No enim). Cleophonem, Hyperbolum læsit: patimur—Sed Periclem, cum jam sue civitati maximâ auctoritate pluri-mos annos domi et belli præfuisse, violari veribus, et com-agi in scenâ non pûss deuit, quàm si Plautus noster volu-isset, aut Nævius, P. et Cn. Scipion, aut Cæcilius M. Cato ni maledicere. *Ex fragm. Cic. de Rep. lib. iv*

² Aristoph. in *Acharn.*

¹ The Knights

² The Peace.

rous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to decide upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies or enemies. Hence rose the liberty taken by the comic poets, of discussing affairs of the state in their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty in some measure to consist in it.

Three poets,¹ particularly excelled in the old comedy; Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes, the last is the only one of them whose pieces have come down to us entire; and out of the great number which he composed, eleven are all that remain. He flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was contemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war, he made his greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies, than as censor of the government retained to reform the state, and to be almost the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happiness of expression, or, in a word, that Attic salt and spirit, to which the Roman language could never attain, and for² which Aristophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors. His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched what was ridiculous in the characters whom he wished to expose with such success, or knew better how to convey it in all its full force to others. But it would be necessary to have lived in his times, to be qualified to judge of this. The subtle salt and spirit of the ancient raillery, according to Father Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and insipid to us; though the sharpest part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two considerable defects are justly imputed to this poet, which very much obscure, if not entirely efface, his glory. These are, low buffoonery, and gross obscenity; and it has in vain been attempted to offer, in excuse for the first of these faults, the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally consisted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom, however, it was as necessary to please, as the learned and the rich. The depraved taste of the lower order of people, which once banished Cratinus and his company, because his scenes were not grossly comic enough for them, is no excuse for Aristophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that grovelling taste, by introducing a species of comedy, not altogether so modest as Plutarch seems to insinuate, yet much less licentious than any before his time.

The gross obscenities with which all Aristophanes' comedies abound, have no excuse; they only denote to what a pitch the libertinism of the spectators, and the depravity of the poet had proceeded. Had he even impregnated them with the utmost wit, which however is not the case, the privilege of laughing himself, or of making others laugh, would have been too dearly purchased at the expense of decency and good manners.³ And in this case it may well be said, that it were better to have no wit at all, than to make so

ill use of it.⁴ F. Brumoi is very much to be commended for having taken care, in giving a general idea of Aristophanes's writings, to throw a veil over those parts of them that might have given offence to modesty. Though such behaviour be the indispensable rule of religion, it is not always observed by those who pique themselves most on their erudition, and sometimes prefer the title of Scholar to that of Christian.

The old comedy subsisted till Lysander's time, who upon having made himself master of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The satirical liberty of the theatre was offensive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a stop to it. The reason of this alteration is evident, and confirms the reflection made before upon the privilege which the poets possessed of criticising with impunity the persons at the head of the state. The whole authority of Athens was then invested in tyrants. The democracy was abolished. The people had no longer any share in the government. They were no more the prince; their sovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and suffrages upon affairs of state was at an end; nor dared they, either in their own persons or by the poets, presume to censure the sentiments and conduct of their masters. The calling persons by their names upon the stage was prohibited; but poetical ill-nature soon found the secret of eluding the intention of the law, and of making itself amends for the restraint which was imposed upon it by the necessity of using feigned names. It then applied itself to discover what was ridiculous in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience, in a more refined manner: the one had the delicate pleasure of putting the spectators upon guessing their meaning, and the other of not being mistaken in their suppositions, and of affixing the right name to the characters represented. Such was the comedy, since called the *Middle Comedy*, of which there are some instances in Aristophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who having entirely assured himself of the empire of Greece by the defeat of the Thebans, caused a check to be put upon the licentiousness of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the *New Comedy* took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life and brought nothing upon the stage but feigned names, and fictitious adventures.

Chacun point avec art dans ce nouveau miroir,
S'y vit avec plaisir, où crut ne s'y pas voir.
L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidèle
D'un avaré souvent tracé sur son modèle;
Et mille fois un fat, finement exprimé,
Méconnut le portrait sur lui-même formé.

Boileau, *Art. Poet. chant. iii.*

In this new glass, whilst each himself survey'd,
He sat with pleasure, though himself was play'd;
The miser grinn'd whilst avarice was drawn,
Nor thought the faithful likeness was his own;
His own dear self no image fold could find,
But saw a thousand other fops design'd.

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty plays, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated there remain only a few fragments. We may form a just judgment of the merit of the originals from the excellence of the copy. Quintilian, in speaking of Menander, is not afraid to say,⁵ that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated, the fame of all other writers in the same way. He observes, in another passage, that his own times were not so just⁶ to his

¹ Eupolis, atque Cratinus. Aristophanesque poetæ, Atque alii, quorum comedia pricea virorum est, Si quæ erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur, Quod mæchus foret, aut sycarius, aut aliqui Famosus; multâ cum libertate notabant.

Hor. Sat. iv. l. 1.

² With Aristophanes' satiric rage, When ancient comedy amused the age, Or Eupolis's or Cratinus' wit, And others that all-licensed poem writ; None, worthy to be shown, escaped the scene, No public knave, or thief of lofty mien; The loose adulter'er was drawn forth to sight; The secret murder'er trembling lurk'd the night; Vice play'd itself, and each ambitious spark; All boldly branded with the poet's mark.

Antiqua comedia sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet.—Quintil.

³ Nihil minus pretium est, si probitatis Impendio constat.—Quintil. lib. vi. c. 3.

⁴ Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii esse, quàm mali. Quintil. lib. i. c. 3.

⁵ Atque ille quidem omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus abstulit nomen, et fulgore quodam sum claritatis tenebras adduxit. Quintil. lib. x. c. 1.

⁶ Quidam, sicut Menander, justiora posterorum, quam sue ætatis, judicia sunt consecuti. Quintil. ib. iik. c. 6.

merit as they ought to have been, which has been the fate of many others; but that he was sufficiently made amends by the favourable opinion of posterity. And indeed Philemon, a comic poet, who flourished about the same period, though older than Menander, was preferred before him.

The Theatre of the Ancients described.

I have already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre, adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks, the seats in which rose one above another; but those having one day broke down, by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured of dramatic representations, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendour by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them has almost as much relation to the Roman as the Athenian theatres; and is extracted entirely from M. Boindin's learned dissertation upon the theatre of the ancients,¹ who has treated the subject in its fullest extent.

The theatre of the ancients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the actors was called in general the scene, or stage; that for the spectators was particularly termed the theatre, which must have been of vast extent,² as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thousand persons; and the orchestra, which amongst the Greeks was the place assigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the senators and vestal virgins.

The theatre was of a semicircular form on one side, and square on the other. The space contained within the semicircle, was allotted to the spectators, and had seats placed one above another to the top of the building. The square part in the front of it, was appropriated to the actors; and in the interval, between both, was the orchestra.

The great theatres had three rows of porticoes, raised one above another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the same time three different stories for the seats. From the highest of those porticoes the women saw the representation, sheltered from the weather. The rest of the theatre was uncovered, and all the business of the stage was performed in the open air.

Each of these stories consisted of nine rows of seats, including the landing-place, which divided them from each other, and served as a passage from side to side. But as this landing-place and passage took up the space of two benches, there were only seven to sit upon, and consequently in each story there were seven rows of seats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; so that the spectators had room to sit at their ease, and without being incommoded by the legs of the people above them, no foot-boards being provided for them.

Each of these stories of benches were divided in two different manners; in their height by the landing-places, called by the Romans *Præcinctiones*, and in their circumferences by several stair-cases, peculiar to each story, which intersecting them in right lines, tending towards the centre of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the quantity of seats between them, from whence they were called *Cunei*.

Behind these stories of seats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great square openings, contrived for that purpose in the walls next the seats. Those openings were called *Fomitoria*, from the multitude of people crowding through them into their places.

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to supply that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose they invented a kind of large vessels of

copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre, in such a manner, as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinctness.

The orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the orchestra, from a Greek word,³ that signifies to dance. It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The second was named *Stadia* from its being square, in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was generally placed.

And in the third, the Greeks disposed their band of music. They called it *ἑσπερίον*, from its being situate at the bottom of the principal part of the theatre, to which they gave the general name of the scene.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scene; which was also subdivided into three different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scene, and gave its name to this whole division.

It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts, when any thing in the representation made it necessary.

The second called by the Greeks indifferently *παράσκιον*, and *ἀσπίς*, and by the Romans *Proscenium*, and *Pulpitum*, was a large open space in front of the scene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which, by the help of the decorations, represented either a public square or forum, a common street, or the country; but the place so represented was always in the open air.

The third division was a part reserved behind the scenes, and called by the Greeks *παρὰσκηνον*. Here the actors dressed themselves, and the decorations were locked up. In the same place were also kept the machines, of which the ancients had abundance in their theatres.

As only the porticoes and the building of the scene were roofed, it was necessary to draw sails, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to screen the audience from the heat of the sun. But as this contrivance did not prevent the heat, occasioned by the perspiration and breath of so numerous an assembly, the ancients took care to allay it by a kind of rain; conveying the water for that use above the porticoes, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of small pores concealed in the statues, with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuse a grateful coolness all around, but the most fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the representations were interrupted by storms, the spectators retired into the porticoes behind the seats of the theatre.

The fondness of the Athenians for representations of this kind cannot be expressed. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their understanding all shared in the satisfaction. Nothing gave them so sensible a pleasure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the strokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public; whether pure chance occasioned the application, or the address of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the most remote subjects with the transactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the interests of the people, took occasion to soothe their passions, authorise their pretensions, justify, and sometimes condemn, their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, instruct them in their duty in certain nice conjunctures; in consequence of which they often not only acquired the applauses of the spectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and counsels: hence the theatre be-

¹ Memoirs of the Acad. of Inscrip. &c. vol. i. p. 136, &c.
² Strabo. l. ix. p. 305. Herod. l. viii. c. 65.

came so grateful, and so interesting to the people. It was in this manner, according to some authors, that Euripides artfully adapted his tragedy of Palamedes¹ to the sentence passed against Socrates; and pointed out, by an illustrious example of antiquity, the innocence of a philosopher, oppressed by malignity, supported by power and faction.

Accident was often the occasion of sudden and unforeseen applications, which from their appositeness were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verse of Æschylus, in praise of Amphiaræus,

'Tis his desire,
Not to appear, but be the great and good

the whole audience rose up, and unanimously applied it to Aristides.² The same thing happened to Philopœmen at the Nemean games. At the instant he entered the theatre these verses were singing upon the stage;

—He comes, to whom we owe
Our liberty, the noblest good below.

All the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen,³ and with clapping of hands, and acclamations of joy, expressed their veneration for the hero.

In⁴ the same manner at Rome, during the banishment of Cicero, when some verses of Accius,⁵ which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in suffering the banishment of Telamon, were repeated by Æsop, the best actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly.

Upon another, though very different occasion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great, some verses to this effect:

'Tis our unhappiness has made thee great; *

and then addressing the people;

The time shall come when you shall late deplore
So great a power confided to such hands;

the spectators obliged the actor to repeat these verses several times.

Fondness for Theatrical Representations one of the principal Causes of the Decline, Degeneracy, and Corruption of the Athenian State.

When we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Asia resounded with nothing but the fame of the Athenian victories, with the latter ages, when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner reduced it to slavery, we shall be surprised at the strange alteration in that republic. But what is most material, is the investigation of the causes and progress of this declension: and these M. de Tournell has discussed in an admirable manner in the elegant preface to his translation of Demosthenes' Orations.

There were no longer, he observes, at Athens, any traces of that manly and vigorous policy, equally capable of planning good and retrieving bad success. Instead of that, there remained only an inconsistent loftiness, apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more those Athenians, who, when menaced by a deluge of Barbarians, demolished their houses to build ships with the timber, and whose women stoned the abject wretch to death that proposed to appease the great king by tribute or homage. The love of ease and pleasure had almost entirely extinguished that of glory, liberty, and independence.

Pericles, that great man, so absolute, that those who envied him treated him as a second Pisistratus, was the first author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the design of conciliating the favor of the people, he ordained that upon such days as games or sacrifices were celebrated, a certain number of oboli should be distributed amongst them; and that in the

assemblies in which affairs of state were to be discussed, every individual should receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of being present. Thus the members of the republic were seen for the first time to sell their care in the administration of the government, and to rank amongst servile employments the most noble functions of the sovereign power.

It was not difficult to foresee where so excessive an abuse would end: and to remedy it, it was proposed to establish a fund for the support of the war, and to make it a capital crime to advise, upon any account whatsoever, the application of it to other uses; but, notwithstanding, the abuse always subsisted. At first it seemed tolerable, whilst the citizen, who was supported at the public expense, endeavoured to deserve it by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to serve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deserter without distinction: but at length the number of the transgressors carried it against the law; and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accustomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feasts and games were perpetually taking place, conceived an invincible repugnance for labour and fatigue, which they looked upon as unworthy of free-born men.

It was therefore necessary to find amusement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an inactive, useless life. Hence arose principally their fondness, or rather frenzy, for public show. The death of Epaminondas, which seemed to promise them the greatest advantage, gave the final stroke to their ruin and destruction. "Their courage," says Justin,⁷ "did not survive that illustrious Theban. Freed from a rival, who kept their emulation alive, they sunk into a lethargic sloth and effeminacy. The funds for armaments by land and sea were soon lavished upon games and feasts. The seaman's and soldier's pay was distributed to the idle citizen. An indolent and luxurious mode of life enervated every breast. The representations of the theatre were preferred to the exercises of the camp. Valour and military knowledge were entirely disregarded. Great captains were in no estimation; whilst good poets and excellent comedians engrossed the universal applause."

Extravagance of this kind makes it easy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to the dramatic performances. As no expense was spared in embellishing them, exorbitant sums were sunk in the service of the theatre. "If," says Plutarch,⁸ "an accurate calculation were to be made, what each representation of the dramatic pieces cost the Athenians, it would appear, that their expenses in playing the Bacchanals, the Phœnicians, Ædipus, Antigone, Medea, and Electra (Tragedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides,) were greater than those which had been employed against the Barbarians in defence of the liberty, and for the preservation of Greece. This gave a Spartan just reason to exclaim, on seeing an estimate of the enormous sums laid out in these contests of the tragic poets, and the extraordinary pains taken by the magistrates who presided in them,⁹ "that a people must be void of sense to apply themselves in so warm and serious a manner to things so frivolous. For," added he, "games should only be games; and nothing is more unreasonable than to purchase a short and trivial amusement at so great a price. Pleasures of this kind agree only with public rejoicings and seasons of festivity, and were designed to divert people at their leisure hours; but should by no means interfere with the affairs of the public, nor the necessary expenses of the government."

After all, says Plutarch, in the passage which I have already cited, of what utility have these tragedies been to Athens, though so much boasted by the people, and admired by the rest of the world? I find that the prudence of Themistocles enclosed the city with strong walls; that the fine taste and magnificence of Pericle improved and adorned it: that the noble fortitude of Miltiades preserved its liberty; and that the moderate

* It is not certain whether this piece was prior or posterior to the death of Socrates.

¹ Plut. in Aristid. p. 330.

² Plut. in Philopœm p. 302.

³ Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. n. 120, 123.

⁴ O ingratis Argivi, inanes Græci, immemores beneficii, Exulare sylvatis, sylvatis pelli, vulsum patimini.

⁵ Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. Epist. 19. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 2.

⁷ Justin. l. vi. c. 9.

⁸ Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 349.

⁹ Plut. Sympos. l. vii. quest. vii. p. 710.

conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire and government of all Greece. If the wise and learned poetry of Euripides, the sublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty buskin of Æschylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I am willing (he goes on) that dramatic pieces should be placed in competition with trophies of victory, the poetic theatre with the field of battle, and the compositions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals. But what a comparison would this be? On the one side would be seen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the rewards and victims assigned them for excelling in tragic poetry: on the other a train of illustrious captains, surrounded by the colonies which they founded, the cities which they captured, and the nations which they subjected. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æschylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamis, Eurymedon, and many others, that so many feasts are celebrated every month with such pomp by the Grecians.

The inference which Plutarch draws from hence, in

which we ought to agree with him, is, that it was the highest imprudence in the Athenians¹ thus to prefer pleasure to duty, fondness for the theatre to the love of their country, trivial shows to application to public business, and to consume in useless expenses and dramatic entertainments, the funds intended for the support of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obscure and inconsiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the Athenian² indolence and effeminacy; and Philip, instructed by the Greeks themselves, amongst whom he had for several years applied himself successfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a master, and subjected it to the yoke, as we shall see in the sequel.

¹ Ἀμαρτάνουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ γὰρ, τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν παιδίδαν καταναλίσκοντες, τούτοις μεγάλων ἀποτέλων ἀπάντας καὶ στρατευμάτων ἰσθμῶς καταπονεομένους εἰς τὸ βίαιον.

² Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum, sordidum et obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret; et Philippus, obses triennio Thebis habitus, Epaminondæ et Pelopidæ virtutibus eruditus, regum Macedonia, Greciæ et Asiæ cervicibus, velut jugum servitutis, impoieret. *Just.* l. vi. c. 9.

THE HISTORY

OF

DIONYSIUS THE ELDER AND YOUNGER,

TYRANTS OF SYRACUSE.

BOOK XI.

SIXTY years had elapsed since Syracuse had regained its liberty by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed during that interval in Sicily, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but those which follow are highly interesting, and make amends for the chasm: I mean the reigns of Dionysius the father and son, tyrants of Syracuse; the first of whom governed thirty eight years, and the other twelve, in all fifty years.

This history will present to our view a series of the most odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds at the same time with instruction. When on the one side we behold a prince,¹ the declared enemy of liberty, justice and laws, treading under his feet the most sacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel torments upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others for a slight word, delighting and feasting himself with human blood, and gratifying his inhuman cruelty with the sufferings and miseries of

every age and condition. I say when we behold such an object, can we deny a truth, which the Pagan world itself hath confessed, and which Plutarch takes occasion to observe in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily: That God in his anger gives such princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal. On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and abandoned by day and night to remorse and regret, can find no person in his whole state, not even his wives and children, in whom he can confide; who will not exclaim with Tacitus,² "That it is not without reason the oracle of wisdom has declared, that if the hearts of tyrants could be seen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils: it being certain that the body does not suffer more from stripes and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their proceedings."

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them; he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives

¹ After having been expelled for more than ten years, he re-ascended the throne, and reigned two or three years.

² Erit Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis, justitiæ, legum exitium—Alios uret, alios verberabit, alios ob levem offensam jubebit detruere.—*Senec. de Consol. ad Marc.* c. xvii. Sarcine humane non tantum gaudet, sed pascitur; sed et supplicis omnium metum crudelitatem insatiabilem explet.—*Id.* *de Benef.* l. vii. c. 19.

² Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recedant tyrannorum mentes, posse aspicere lætitia et iectus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceraretur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. vi. c. 6.

amidst his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the sword of justice is in his hands, he dreads to make use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never resolve to evince his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and sanction of the laws.¹ But a tyrant punishes only from caprice and passion; and believes, says Plutarch, speaking of Dionysius, that he is not really master,² and does not act with supreme authority, but in proportion as he sets himself above all laws, acknowledges no other than his own will and pleasure, and sees himself obeyed implicitly. Whereas, continues the same author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of willing what he ought not.

Besides these characteristics of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly distinguish the first Dionysius, we shall see in his history, whatever unbounded ambition, sustained by great valour, extensive abilities, and talents qualified for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of sovereignty; the various means which he had the address to employ for maintaining himself in it against the opposition of his enemies, and the odium of the public; and, lastly, the tyrant's good fortune in escaping, during a reign of thirty-eight years, the many conspiracies formed against him, and in transmitting peaceably the tyranny to his son, as a legitimate possession, and an hereditary right.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—MEANS MADE USE OF BY DIONYSIUS THE ELDER, TO POSSESS HIMSELF OF THE TYRANNY.

DIONYSIUS was a native of Syracuse,³ of noble and illustrious extraction according to some, but others say his birth was base and obscure. Be this as it may, he distinguished himself by his valour, and acquired great reputation in the war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuse by force of arms, after having been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprise was not fortunate. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracusans did not spare his accomplices, several of whom were publicly executed. Dionysius was left amongst the wounded. The report of his death, designedly given out by his relations, saved his life. Providence would have spared Syracuse an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either in the field or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to possess themselves of the principal cities there, as we have observed elsewhere.⁴ The happy situation of that island for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprise. We may form an idea of the wealth of some of its cities from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum. The temples were of extraordinary magnificence,⁵ especially that of Jupiter Olympus, which was 340 feet in length, 60 in breadth, and 120 in height. The piazzas, or galleries, in extent and beauty, corresponded with the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other the taking of Troy, in figures as large as the life. Without the city was an artificial

lake, which was seven stadia (above a quarter of a league) in circumference and thirty feet in depth. It was full of all kinds of fish, covered with swans and other water-fowls, and afforded the most agreeable prospect imaginable.

It was about the time of which we speak, that Exetastes, victor in the Olympic games, entered the city in triumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by 300 more, all drawn by white horses. Their habits glittered with gold and silver; and nothing was ever more splendid than their appearance. Gellias, the most wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, had erected several large apartments in his house for the reception and entertainment of his guests. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all strangers to lodge at their master's house, whither they conducted them. Hospitality was much practised and esteemed by the generality of that city. A violent storm having obliged 500 horsemen to take shelter there, Gellias entertained them all in his house, and supplied them immediately with dry clothes, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is understanding how to make a noble use of riches. His cellar is much talked of by historians, in which he had 300 reservoirs hewn out of the rock, each of which contained 100 amphore.⁶

This great and opulent city was besieged, and at length taken by the Carthaginians. Its fall shook all Sicily, and spread a universal terror. A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 406.

The cause of its being lost was imputed to the Syracusans, who had but weakly succoured it. Dionysius, who even then was engrossed solely by the thoughts of his grand designs, and who was engaged, though secretly, in laying the foundation of his future power, took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily against the Syracusans, to render the magistrates odious, and to exclaim against their administration. In a public assembly, held to consider of the present state of affairs, when nobody dared to open their mouths for fear of incurring the displeasure of the persons at the helm, Dionysius rose up, and boldly accused the magistrates of treason; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be deposed immediately, without waiting till the term of their administration should expire. They retorted this audacity by treating him as a seditious person, and a disturber of the public tranquillity, and as such laid a fine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid before he could be admitted to speak again, and Dionysius was not in a condition to discharge it. Philistus, one of the richest citizens (who wrote the history of Sicily, which is not come down to us,) deposited the money, and exhorted him at the same time to give his opinion upon the state of affairs with all the liberty which became a citizen zealous for his country.

Dionysius accordingly resumed his discourse with more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with reason as a talent very necessary in a republican government; especially with relation to his views of acquiring the people's favor, and of conciliating them to his measures. He began with describing in a lively and pathetic manner the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbouring city, and one of their alliance; the deplorable extremity to which the inhabitants had been reduced of quitting the place under cover of the night: the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and sick persons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a ferocious and merciless enemy; and the cruel murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, a feeble asylum against the Carthaginian fury and impiety. He imputed all these evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who, instead of murching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal remissness and delay of the magistrates, who had suffered themselves to be

¹ Hæc est in maximâ potestate verissima animi temperantia, non fuditur aliquâ non temeritate incendi; non prius principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in civis suis licet, experiendo tentare; sed hæbet aciem imperii sui. Quid interest inter tyrannum et regem (species enim ipsa fortune ac licentia par est), nisi quod tyranni in voluptate revivunt, reges non nisi ex causâ et necessitate? Seneca de Clem. lib. i. c. 11.

² Ἐπεὶ ἀποκρίνεται μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅταν ταχέως ἀβουλήται ποιεῖν μίαντες οὐδ' ἐκινδύνου δουλεύειν ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τὸν δὲ δουλεύει ποτὶν δουλεύοντα. Ad Princ. induct. p. 782.

³ Diod. l. xiii. p. 197.

⁴ In the history of the Carthaginians.

⁵ Diod. l. xiii. p. 203. 206.

⁶ An amphora contained about seven gallons: 100 consequently consisted of 700 gallons, or eleven hogsheads seven gallons.

corrupted by Carthaginian bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who thought only of establishing their own power upon the ruins of their country's liberty. He represented Syracuse as composed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, usurping all the dignities and wealth of the state; the other, obscure, despised, and trampled under foot, bearing the yoke of a shameful servitude, and rather slaves than citizens. He concluded with saying, that the only remedy for so many evils was to elect persons from amongst the people, devoted to their interests, and who, not being capable of rendering themselves formidable by their riches and authority, would be solely employed for the public good, and apply in earnest to the re-establishment of liberty in Syracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, as all speeches are which flatter the natural propensity of inferiors to complain of the government, and was followed with the universal applause of the people, who always give themselves up blindly to those who know how to deceive them under the specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed upon the spot, and others substituted in their room, with Dionysius at the head of them.

This was only the first step to the tyranny, and he did not stop here. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the displacing of the generals of the army, and having their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous, and he set about it with address. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries against them at a distance; calumniating them by his emissaries among the people, and sparing no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered amongst the populace, that those commanders held secret intelligence with the enemy; that couriers in disguise were frequently seen passing and repassing; and that it was not to be doubted, but some conspiracy was on foot. He affected on his side not to see those leaders, nor to open himself to them at all upon the affairs of the public. He communicated none of his designs to them, as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion; but the common people, prejudiced in his favour, incessantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the sole protector and assertor of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his designs. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled the city at different times and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to their benefactor, and resentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of their enemies, would render well calculated for the execution of his designs, and attach them unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recall. It was given out that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people foresaw with anxiety the expense to which the new levies would amount. Dionysius took advantage of this favourable conjecture and disposition of the public mind. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expense from Italy and the Peloponnese, whilst their own country would supply them with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all; that there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles: that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chosen rather

to wander about Sicily without support or settlement, than to enrol themselves in the armies of the enemy, however advantageous the offers to induce them to it had been. This discourse of Dionysius had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His colleagues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him: rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but increase the people against them, and even augment the reputation of Dionysius, to whom it would leave the whole honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuse without losing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city dependant on Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison should be reinforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with 2000 foot and 400 horse. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the assembly to die, and to have their estates confiscated for the use of the public. This confiscation was applied to pay off the arrears which had long been due to the former garrison, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionysius promised the troops he had brought with him from Syracuse to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching so many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and sent deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse, after having promised the inhabitants of Gela, who used all means in their power to keep him amongst them, that he would soon return with more considerable aid.

He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him, inquiring with earnestness what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city nourished far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her own bosom; that whilst Carthage was making extraordinary preparations for the invasion of Syracuse, those who were in command, instead of rousing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and setting every thing at work against the approach of so potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amusements and idle shows, and suffered the troops to want necessities; converting their pay to their private uses in a fraudulent manner, which was destructive to the public affairs: that he had always sufficiently comprehended the cause of such a conduct; that however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, that his complaints were founded: that Imilco, the general of the Carthaginians, had sent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ransom of prisoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too strict in examining into the conduct of his colleagues; and that if he would not enter into the measures of Carthage, at least that he would not oppose them: that for his part he came to resign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence, with traitors who sold the commonwealth.

This discourse being rumoured amongst the troops and about the city, occasioned great iniquity and alarm. The next day the assembly was summoned, and Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, which were received with universal applause. Some of the assembly cried out, that it was necessary immediately to appoint him generalissimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late to have recourse to so salutary a measure when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuse: that the importance of the war with which they were threatened required such a leader: that it was in the same manner formerly, that Gelon, when elected generalissimo, had defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which consisted of 300,000 men: that as for the accusation alleged against the traitors, it might be deferred to another day, but

that the present affair would admit of no delay. Nor was it in fact delayed; for the people (who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing) elected Dionysius generalissimo with unlimited power that instant. In the same assembly he caused it to be decreed, that the soldier's pay should be doubled; insinuating, that the state would be amply reimbursed by the conquests which would be the consequence of that advance. This being done, and the assembly dismissed, the Syracusans upon cool reflection on what had passed, began to be in some consternation—as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that from the desire of preserving their liberty, they had given themselves a master.

Dionysius rightly judged the importance of taking his measures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one step more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards assigned him; and that he accomplished in the most artful and politic manner. He proposed that all the citizens under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, should march with provisions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracusans were at that time in possession of the place, and had a garrison in it. It was full of fugitive and foreign soldiers, who were very fit persons for the execution of his designs. He justly suspected, that the greatest part of the Syracusans would not follow him. He set out, however, and arriving in the night, encamped upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noise was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raised by persons planted for that purpose by Dionysius. He affected to believe that ambuscades had been laid with design to assassinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great number of fires to be lighted, and drawn around him such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day the people assembled in a body, to whom, expressing still great apprehension, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permission to choose himself a guard of 600 men for the security of his person. Pisistratus had set him the example long before, and had used the same stratagem when he made himself tyrant of Athens. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out 1000 men for his guard upon the spot, armed them completely, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promises for their encouragement. He also attached the foreign soldiers to his interest in a peculiar manner, by speaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to secure the officers in his interest; and dismissed Dexippus to Sparta, as he trusted him. At the same time he ordered a great part of the garrison, which he had sent to Gela, to join him, and assembled from all parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals,—a train worthy of a tyrant.

With this escort he returned to Syracuse, that trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppose his undertakings, or to dispute his authority. The city was full of foreign soldiers, and saw itself upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he espoused the daughter of Hermocrates, the most powerful citizen of Syracuse, and who had contributed the most to the defeat of the Athenians. He also gave his sister in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Hermocrates. He afterwards summoned an assembly, in which he rid himself of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the most active in opposing his usurpation. In this manner Dionysius, from a simple notary and a citizen of the lowest class, made himself absolute lord and tyrant of the greatest and most opulent city of Sicily.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR. PLATO COMES TO SYRACUSE. HIS INTIMACY AND FRIENDSHIP WITH DION.

DIONYSIUS had a rude shock to sustain in the beginning of his usurpation.¹ The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and all the service he did the inhabitants was to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their flight in person. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more, because they did not pursue him, and that he lost very few of his foreign soldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the effects they could carry away. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, struck Dionysius's troops with compassion, and incensed them against the tyrant. Those he had raised in Italy withdrew to their own country; and the Syracusan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march, from his being surrounded with his foreigners, pushed forwards, and having entered Syracuse, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill treatment, that she died of it soon after. Dionysius, who had foreseen their design, followed them close with only 100 horse and 400 foot; and having made a forced march of almost twenty leagues,² he arrived at midnight at the gate of Achradina, which he found shut against him. He set fire to it, and thus opened himself a passage. The richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute his entrance, but were surrounded by the soldiers, and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all to the sword that came in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the rest to leave Syracuse. The next morning the whole body of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilco having sent a herald to Syracuse, the treaty was concluded which has been mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians.³ By one of the articles it was stipulated, that Syracuse should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the suspicions that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died.

It was then he sacrificed to his repose and security every thing that could give him umbrage. He knew that after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was most dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their utmost hatred; and the fear of the miseries he had to expect from it, increased in the usurper, in proportion to their abhorrence of him. He looked upon all his new subjects as so many enemies, and believed that he could guard against the dangers which surrounded him on both sides, and dogged him in all places, only by cutting off one part of the people, to intimidate the other. He did not perceive, that by adding the cruelty of executions to the oppression of the public, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them after the loss of their liberty, to preserve at least their own lives by attempts upon his.

Dionysius,⁴ who foresaw that the Syracusans would not fail to take advantage of the repose, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side to strengthen his power. He fortified the part of the city called the Isle, which was already very strong from the nature of its situation, and might be defended by a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, flanked at due distances with high towers, and separated it in that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat

SECTION II.—COMMOTIONS IN SICILY AND AT SYRACUSE AGAINST DIONYSIUS. HE FINDS MEANS TO DISPEL THEM. TO PREVENT REVOLTS, HE PROPOSES TO ATTACK THE CARTHAGINIANS. HIS WONDERFUL APPLICATION AND SUCCESS IN MAKING

¹ Diod. l. xiii. p. 227. 231.

² Page 49

³ Four hundred stadia

Diod. v. 238. 241.

and refuge in case of accident; and caused a great number of shops and piazzas to be erected, capable of containing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which he bestowed upon his creatures and the officers of his appointing, and distributed the rest in equal proportion amongst the citizens and strangers, including amongst the former the slaves who had been made free. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the Isle for such of the citizens as he could most confide in, and for his strangers.

After having taken these precautions for his security, he began to think of subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the siege of Herbesus. The Syracusans in his army, seeing their swords in their hands, thought it their duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them in harsh terms, was killed upon the spot, and his death served as a signal for their revolt. They sent immediately to *Ætna* for the horse who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege, and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolvers followed him close, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolæ, barred him from all communication with the country. Having received aid from their allies both by sea and land, they set a price upon the tyrant's head, and promised the freedom of the city to such of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the Isle vigorously, without giving Dionysius the least respite.

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the side of the country assembled his friends to consult with them, rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career, than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolvers, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents; which was granted, and five ships were allowed him to transport his followers and effects. He had, however, sent despatches secretly to the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with offers of considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracusans, who, after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians, to the number of 1200 horse, infinitely surprised and alarmed the city. After having beaten such as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, 300 soldiers more arrived to his assistance. The face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection now were transferred to the Syracusans. Dionysius, in a sally, drove the Syracusans vigorously as far as that part of the city called *Nenpolis*. The slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given orders to spare those that fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to *Ætna* to understand, that they might return with entire security, promising entirely to forget the past. Many came to Syracuse, but others did not think it advisable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their satisfaction, and dismissed.

The Lacedæmonians at this time took such measures in regard to Syracuse as were most worthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly, in all the cities dependent upon them, against popular government. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuse ostensibly to express the interest they took in

the misfortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid, but, in reality, to confirm Dionysius in his resolution of supporting himself in the tyranny; expecting, that from the increase of his power, he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionysius saw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for the future. Whilst the inhabitants were employed abroad in gathering in their harvest, he entered their houses, and seized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards enclosed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ships, armed great numbers of strangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection of the Syracusans.

After having made this provision for his safety at home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he proposed to himself not merely the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his subjects from feeling the loss of their liberty, by turning their attention towards their ancient and always abhorred enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He relied also on acquiring by this means the affection of his troops, and on securing the esteem of the people by the grandeur and success of his enterprises.

Dionysius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and some other towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, which for that reason were very convenient for his purposes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the esteem and confidence of the people: others he plundered, to strike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were transplanted to Syracuse.

These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, which saw themselves threatened with the same misfortune. Rhegium, situate upon the opposite coast of the strait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracusan exiles, who were very numerous, and induced the Messenians, on the Sicilian side of the strait, to aid them with a powerful supply. They had levied a considerable army, and were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, when discord arose amongst the troops, and rendered the enterprise abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great design in his mind—to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, which was a great obstacle to his own, as his discontented subjects never failed of finding a secure refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The occurrence of a plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminished its strength, seemed to supply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his design. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatness of the preparations ought to correspond with that of an enterprise, to assure the success of it; and he took his measures in a manner which shows the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore used uncommon pains and application; conscious that the war, into which he was going to enter with one of the most powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and be attended with consequences of the utmost importance.

His first care was to bring to Syracuse, as well from the conquered cities as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artisans and workmen of all kinds, whom he induced to come thither by the lure of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging the most skilful persons in every profession. He caused an infinite number of arms of all kinds to be forged; swords, javelins, lances, pila, helmets, cuirasses, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built also a great number of galleys that had from

three to fix benches of rowers, and were an entirely new invention, with abundance of barks and other vessels for the transportation of troops and provisions.

The whole city seemed but one workshop, and continually resounded with the noise of the several artisans. Not only the porches of the temples, the piazzas, porticoes, places of exercise, and public squares, but even private houses of any extent, were full of workmen. Dionysius had distributed them with admirable order. Each species of artists, divided by streets and districts, had their overseers and inspectors, who by their presence and direction promoted and completed the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually amongst the workmen, stimulating and encouraging them by praise and rewards in proportion to their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according as they distinguished themselves by their ingenuity or industry. He would even make some of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. It is justly said, that honour nourishes the arts and sciences,¹ and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince who knows how to put the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human soul, interest and glory, in motion under proper regulations, will soon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it at a small expense with persons who excel in every profession. And this happened now at Syracuse, where a single person, of great ability in the art of governing, excited such ardour and emulation amongst the artificers as it is not easy to imagine or describe.

Dionysius applied himself more particularly to naval affairs. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building galleys with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that invention to perfection; which he effected. The timber for building his galleys was brought, part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and from thence shipped to Syracuse; and part from mount *Ætna*, which at that time produced abundance of pine and fir trees. In a short time, a fleet of 200 galleys was seen to rise, as it were, all at once out of the earth; and 100 others, formerly built, were refitted by his order: he caused also 160 sheds to be erected within the great port, each capable of containing two galleys, and 150 more to be repaired.

The sight of such a fleet, built in so short a time, and fitted out with so much magnificence, would have given reason to believe that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accomplishing so great and expensive a work. On the other side, the view of such an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think that Dionysius had solely employed himself in providing them, and had exhausted his treasures in the expense. They consisted of 140,000 shields, and as many helmets and swords: and upwards of 14,000 cuirasses, finished with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horse, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, and lances were innumerable; and engines and machines of war in proportion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and strangers. Dionysius did not think of raising troops till all his preparations were complete. Syracuse and the cities in its dependence supplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, and especially from Sparta. The considerable pay he offered brought soldiers in crowds from all parts to enlist in his service.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to ensure the success of his enterprise; the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himself particularly to gain the hearts,

not of his own subjects only, but of all the inhabitants of Sicily, and was wonderfully successful in his attempts. He had entirely changed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, courtesy, clemency, a disposition to do good, and an obliging and insinuating deportment to all, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air and inhumanity, which had rendered him so odious. He was so entirely altered, that he did not seem to be the same man.

Whilst he was hastening his preparations for war and studying to attain his subject's affections, he meditated an alliance with two powerful cities, Rhegium and Messina, which were capable of disconcerting his great designs by a formidable diversion. The league formed against him by those cities some time before, though without any effort, gave him some uneasiness. He therefore thought it necessary to make sure of the amity of them both. He presented the inhabitants of Messina with a considerable quantity of land, which was situate in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for them. To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had lost his first wife in the popular commotion, of which mention has already been made.

Dionysius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more effectually than the prospect of a successor, who may enter into the same designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan, and observe the same maxims of government, took the opportunity of the present tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double marriage, in order to have a successor, to whom he might transfer the sovereignty which had cost him so many toils and dangers to acquire.

The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionysius had first applied, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, after a long debate came to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their final answer returned, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The raillery was keen, and cut deep. We shall see in the sequel how dear that city paid for their jest.

The Locrians, to whom Dionysius sent the same ambassadors, did not show themselves so difficult and delicate, but sent him for a wife Doris, the daughter of one of their most illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers, of extraordinary magnificence, and glittering in every part with gold and silver. He married, at the same time, Aristomache, daughter of Hipparinus, the most considerable and powerful of the citizens of Syracuse, and sister of Dion, of whom much will be said hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was then a singular mark of distinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the same day with universal rejoicings throughout the whole city, and attended with feasts and presents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the western nations, from the earliest times that he espoused two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed by tyrants, of setting themselves above all laws.

Dionysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preference to either, to remove all cause of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported that he preferred his own countrywoman to the foreigner; but the latter had the good fortune first to bring her husband a son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time without any symptoms of pregnancy, though Dionysius desired so earnestly to have issue by her, that he put the mother of his Locrian wife to death, accusing her of hindering Aristomache from conceiving by witchcraft and sorcery.

Aristomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, who was in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but having afterwards given proofs of his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much be-

¹ Honor alit artes, omnesque inciduntur ad studia gloria. — *Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. i. n. 4.*

loved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongst the other marks which Dionysius gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treasurers to supply him, without farther orders, with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the very same day what they had given him.

Dion had naturally a great and noble soul. A happy accident had conducted to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated sentiments. A kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch says, a peculiar providence, which laid at a distance the foundations of the liberty of Syracuse, brought Plato, the most celebrated of philosophers to that city. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons, for though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was made to consist in pleasure and magnificence, he had no sooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that inculcates virtue, than his soul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him; that he had never met with a young man upon whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had comprehended his principles with so much quickness and vivacity.

As Dion was young and inexperienced, observing the facility with which Plato had changed his taste and inclinations, he imagined, with simplicity enough, that the same reasons would have the same effects upon the mind of Dionysius; and with this view could not rest till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear and converse with him. Dionysius consented; but the lust of tyrannic power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It was like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmost soul, from whence it was impossible ever to efface it.

Though the stay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionysius,¹ the latter still continued to give Dion the same marks of his esteem and confidence, and even to endure, without taking offence, the freedom with which he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuse, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the *laughing-stock* of Sicily,² the whole court greatly admired, and took no small pains to praise the quaintness and delicacy of the conceit, insipid and flat as it was, and indeed, as puns and quibbles generally are. Dion took it in a serious sense, and was so bold as to represent to him that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince whose wise and equitable conduct had been the model of a perfect government, and given the Syracusans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. "You reign," added he, "and are trusted, for Gelon's sake; but for your sake; no man will ever be trusted after you." It was much that a tyrant should suffer himself to be talked to in such a manner with impunity.

SECTION III.—DIONYSIUS DECLARES WAR AGAINST THE CARTHAGINIANS. VARIOUS SUCCESS OF IT. SYRACUSE REDUCED TO EXTREMITIES, AND SOON AFTER DELIVERED. NEW COMMISSIONS AGAINST DIONYSIUS. DEFEAT OF IMILCO, AND AFTERWARDS OF MAGO. UNHAPPY FATE OF THE CITY OF RHEGIUM.

DIONYSIUS seeing his great preparations were now complete, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publicly opened his design to the Syracusans, in order to interest them the more in the success of the enterprise, and told them that it was his intention to make war against the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague which had lately wasted Carthage, afforded a favourable opportunity, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to

such severe masters, waited only the signal to declare against them; that it would be glorious for Syracuse to reinstate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after having so long groaned under the yoke of the Barbarians; that in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only anticipated them by a short time; since as soon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their forces.

The assembly were unanimous in opinion. Their ancient and natural hatred of the Barbarians; their anger and resentment against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find some occasion of recovering their liberty, united them in their suffrages. The war was resolved without any opposition, and it began that very instant. There were at Syracuse, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, relying upon the faith of treaties and the peace, exercised traffic, and thought themselves in security. The populace, by Dionysius's authority, upon the breaking up of the assembly, ran to their houses and ships, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the same treatment throughout Sicily; and murders and massacres were added to this pillage, by way of reprisal for the many cruelties committed by the Barbarians upon those they conquered, and to show them what they had to expect if they continued to make war with the same inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by a herald to Carthage, in which he signified that the Ant. J. C. 397. Syracusans declared war against the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garrisons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter, which took place first in the senate and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the pestilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However, they were not dismayed, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They raised troops with the utmost diligence, and Imilco set out immediately to put himself at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionysius, on his side, lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to 80,000 foot and 3000 horse. The fleet consisted of 200 galleys, and 500 barks laden with provisions and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortified town belonging to the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league from the continent,³ to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut through, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionysius having left the care of the siege to Lepidus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of so numerous an army, they all surrendered except five; which were Ancyra, Solos, Palermo,⁴ Segesta, and Entella. The last two places he besieged.

Imilco, however, to make a diversion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprise in the night all the vessels which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders, without meeting with resistance; and after having sunk a great part of the vessels which he found there, retired well satisfied with the success of his enterprise.

Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's country, returned, and sat down with his whole army before Motya: and having employed a great number of hands in making causeways and moles, he restored the neck of land, and brought forward his engines on that side. The place was attacked with the utmost vigour, and equally well defended. After the besiegers had passed the breach and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending

¹ Τὴν βασιὴν οὐκ ἀνίσταται τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δημοκρασίᾳ οὐδὲν καὶ θυσιάζοντες, Διονυσίου δὲ ὄντας ἐν ταύτῃ χρόνῳ ἑστῶσαν ἀντικαθάρσιναι λέγοντες. Plut. in Moral. p. 779.

² Plut. p. 960.

³ Γέλας; signifies laughing-stock.

⁴ Six stadia or furlongs.

⁵ Panormus.

themselves with incredible valour; so that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the sword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was spared, except those who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the soldiers' discretion; Dionysius being pleased with an occasion of attaching the troops to his service by the allurement and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raised an army of 300,000 foot and 4000 horse. The fleet under Mago's command consisted of 400 galleys, and upwards of 600 vessels laden with provisions and engines of war. Imilco had given the captains of the fleet his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at sea. He had taken this precaution, that his designs might be kept secret, and to prevent spies from sending information of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loss in their passage. Imilco took Eryx by treachery, and soon after compelled Motya to surrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy in Sicily, and bar the passage of those that should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and some time after he entirely demolished it.

Dionysius, seeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave the slaves their liberty, that they might serve on board the fleet. His army amounted to 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, and his fleet to 180 galleys. With these forces he took the field, and removed about eight leagues from Syracuse. Imilco continued to advance with his land army, followed by his fleet, that kept near the coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march along the sea-side, and was obliged to take a long compass round Ætna, which, by a new eruption, had set the country about it on fire, and covered it with ashes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dionysius, apprised of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilst separated from the land forces, and whilst his own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of service to animate and support his fleet. The scheme was wisely concerted, but the success not answerable to it. Leptines his admiral, having advanced inconsiderately with thirty galleys, contrary to the opinion of Dionysius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at first sank several of the enemy's ships, but, upon being surrounded by the greater number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly pursued by the Carthaginians. Mago despatched boats full of soldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to shore. The land army drawn up there, saw them perish miserably, without being able to give them any assistance. The loss on the side of the Sicilians was very great, more than 100 galleys being either taken or sunk, and 20,000 men perishing either in the battle or the flight.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves up in Syracuse, where they could not fail of being besieged very soon, solicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilco, whom so bold an enterprise might disconcert; besides which, they should find his troops fatigued with their long and forced march. The proposal pleased him at first; but upon reflecting that Mago, with the victorious fleet, might in the mean time advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more advisable to return thither; which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilco, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to refresh his army, and reënt his fleet, which had suffered exceedingly by a violent storm.

He then marched to Syracuse,¹ and made his fleet

enter the port in triumph. More than 200 galleys, adorned with the spoils of the enemy, made a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of smaller vessels; so that the port, vast as it was, was scarcely capable of containing them, the whole sea being in a manner covered with sails. At the same time on the other side appeared the land army composed, as has been said, of 300,000 foot and 4000 horse. Imilco pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped round, at somewhat more than a half league's distance from the city.² It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm with which such a prospect inspired the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls to offer the Syracusans battle, and at the same time seized upon the two remaining ports by a detachment of 100 galleys.³ As he saw that the Syracusans did not make the least movement, he retired, contented for the present with the enemy's avowal of their weakness. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the suburb called Archradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. Foreseeing that the siege might probably be of long duration, he intrenched his camp, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all the tombs, and amongst others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was a most magnificent monument. He built three forts at some distance from each other; the first at Plemmyrium; the second towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter; in order to secure his magazines of corn and wine. He sent also a great number of small vessels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch provisions.

At the same time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had despatched at the beginning of the war into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and he brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Pharasides, a Lacedæmonian. This reinforcement came very seasonably, and gave the Syracusans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five galleys, and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail; the Syracusans advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle made themselves masters of the admiral-galley, damaged many others, took twenty-four, pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a second time, which the Carthaginians, discouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracusans, emboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the galleys they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, which could be only ascribed to their valour, (for Dionysius was then absent with a small detachment of their fleet to procure provisions attended by Leptines), they encouraged each other, and seeing themselves with arms in their hands, they reproached one another with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resuming their ancient liberty.

Whilst they were in the midst of these discourses dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived; and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to dismiss the assembly, when Theodorus, one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We are told," said he, "of restoring peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. What signifies such language from Dionysius? Can we consider as peace the wretched state of slavery to which he has reduced us? Have we any enemy more to be dreaded than the tyrant that subverts our liberty,

¹ Twelve stadia.

² The little port and that of Trogilus.

³ Diod. p. 235, 236.

or a war more cruel than that he has made upon us for so many years? Let Imilco conquer, he will content himself with laying a tribute upon us, and leave us the exercise of our laws; but the tyrant that enslaves us, knows no other than his avarice, his cruelty, his ambition! The temples of the gods robbed by his sacrilegious hands, our goods made a prey, and our lands abandoned to his instruments, our persons daily exposed to the most shameful and cruel treatment, the blood of so many citizens shed in the midst of us, and before our eyes; these are the fruits of his reign, and the peace he obtains for us! Was it for the support of our liberties he built yon citadel? that he has enclosed it with such strong walls and high towers, and has called in for his guard that tribe of strangers and barbarians who insult us with impunity? How long, O Syracusans, shall we suffer such indignities, more insupportable to the brave and generous than death itself? Bold and intrepid against the enemy abroad, shall we always tremble like cowards in the presence of a tyrant? Providence, which has again put arms into our hands, directs us what use to make of them! Sparta, and the other cities in our alliance who glory in being free and independent, would deem us unworthy of the Grecian name if we had any other sentiments. Let us show that we do not degenerate from our ancestors. If Dionysius consents to retire from amongst us, let us open him our gates, and let him take along with him whatever he pleases; but if he persists in the tyranny, let him experience what effects the love of liberty has upon the brave and resolute."

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspense betwixt hope and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, rose up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty; but he did quite the reverse: and told them that his republic had sent him to aid the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracusans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionysius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interests; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and familiarity.

It was probably about this time,¹ that Polyxenus, Dionysius's brother-in-law, who had married his sister Thesta, having without doubt declared against him in this conspiracy, fled from Sicily for the preservation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionysius sent for his sister, and bitterly reproached her for not apprising him of her husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied without expressing the least surprise or fear, "Have I then appeared to you so bad a wife, and of so mean a soul, as to have abandoned my husband in his flight, had I been acquainted with his design, and not to have desired to share his dangers and misfortunes? No! I knew nothing of it; or I should have been much happier in being called in all places the wife of Polyxenus the exile, than, in Syracuse, the sister of the tyrant." Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and generosity; and the Syracusans in general were so charmed with her virtue, that after the tyranny was suppressed, the same honours, equipage, and train of a queen, which she had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to the tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary concourse.

On the side of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new appearance on a sudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking advantage of the consternation which the sight of their fleet and army, equally formidable, had occasioned. At pre-

sented the plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for their plundering of temples and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I have described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the history of the Carthaginians. To add to that misfortune, the Syracusans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprise, and terror, and even haste they were in, to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which side to send relief; all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, ran in crowds to the walls to be witnesses of that scene of horror, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for so signal a protection of their city. The slaughter within and without the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilco, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly 300,000 crowns² for permission to retire in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginians some resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilco, four days after, set out with forty ships, filled with Carthaginians alone; leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians, discovering from the noise and motion of the galleys that Imilco was making off, sent to inform Dionysius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to pursue him; but as they saw that those orders were but slowly executed, they followed the enemy themselves, and sunk several vessels of their rear guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their several countries. Having first posted troops in all the passes, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was not quite day. The barbarians, who saw themselves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilco and the Sicilians, lost courage and fled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the passes; others laid down their arms and asked quarter. The Iberians alone drew up, and sent a herald to capitulate with Dionysius, who incorporated them into his guards. The rest were all made prisoners.

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which shows, says the historian,³ that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that those who are too much puffed up with their power and success, are soon forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty victors, masters of almost all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuse as already their own, and had already entered triumphant into the great port, insulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly shamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the sad ruins and miserable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilco, who had neither regarded the sacred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable sanctity of tombs, after having left 150,000 men unburied in the enemy's country, returns, to perish miserably at Carthage, avenging upon himself by his death the contempt he had expressed for gods and men.

Dionysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his service, removed 10,000 of them, and, under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiously situated, and an advantageous settlement. He confided the guard of his person to other foreigners, and the slaves whom he had made free. He made several attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, especially against Rhegium.⁴ The people of Italy, seeing themselves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a stop

¹ Plut. in Dion. p. 966.

² Three hundred talents.

³ Diodorus Siculus

⁴ Diod. l. xiv. p. 304. 310.

to his conquests. The success was tolerably equal on both sides.

About this time, the Gauls, who some months before had burnt Rome, sent deputies to Dionysius to make an alliance with him.¹ He was at that time in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

In fact, the Carthaginians having set on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts against Syracuse, but with no better success than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionysius.

He attacked Rhegium again, and at A. M. 3615. first received no inconsiderable check, Ant. J. C. 389. But having gained a great victory against the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than 10,000 prisoners, he dismissed them all without ransom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of detaching the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of dissolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his designs against that city. Having by this act of favour and generosity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incensed against that city, upon account of their refusing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the insolent answer with which that refusal was attended. The besieged, finding themselves incapable of resisting so numerous an army as that of Dionysius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by assault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay 300,000 crowns, deliver up all their vessels to the number of seventy, and put 100 hostages into his hands; after which he raised the siege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he besieged them again with all his forces, having first sent back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and the fear of the most cruel torments on the other, animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and vigorous sallies, in one of which Dionysius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The siege went on slowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A measure of wheat (of about six bushels) was sold for about ten pounds.² After having consumed all their horses and beasts of burden, they were reduced to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beasts: a resource of which Dionysius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to surrender at discretion, and Dionysius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took above 6000 prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse. Such as could pay about two pounds³ he dismissed, and sold the rest for slaves.

Dionysius let fall the whole weight of his resentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his son to be thrown into the sea. The next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition he sent to tell him that his son had been thrown into the sea. "Then he is happier than I by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to suffer a thousand other indignities, whilst a herald proclaimed, "that the perfidious traitor was

treated in that manner, for having inspired the people of Rhegium with rebellion."—"Say rather," answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, "that a faithful citizen is so useful, for having refused to sacrifice his country to a tyrant." Such an object and such a discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the soldiers of Dionysius. He was afraid his prisoner would be taken from him before he had satiated his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the sea directly.

SECTION IV.—VIOLENT PASSION OF DIONYSIUS FOR POESY. REFLECTIONS UPON THAT TASTE OF THE TYRANT. FLATTERY OF HIS COURTIER. GENEROUS FREEDOM OF PHILOXENUS. DEATH OF DIONYSIUS. HIS BAD QUALITIES.

AT an interval of leisure which his success against Rhegium had left Dionysius, the tyrant, who was desirous of glory of every kind, and piqued himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.

The circumstance which I am now going to treat, and which regards the taste or rather passion of Dionysius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristics, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, in order to form an equitable judgment upon this point, to distinguish wherein this taste of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I say the same of the tyrant's total character, with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked, as they are not so in every respect. We have seen several things in his character that certainly deserve praise; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: the mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his sister Thesta upon the occasion of her husband's flight, his gracious and insinuating deportment upon several other occasions to the Syracusans, the familiarity with which he conversed with the meanest citizens and even workmen, the equality he observed between his two wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all which imply that Dionysius had more equity, moderation, affability, and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He is not such a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Phœre, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionysius's taste for poetry. In his intervals of leisure, he loved to unbend in the conversation of persons of wit, and in the study of the arts and sciences. He was particularly fond of versifying and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of tragedies. Thus far this passion of his may be excused, having something undoubtedly laudable in it; I mean in his taste for polite learning, the esteem he expressed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the employment to which he devoted his leisure hours. Was it not better to employ them in exercising his mind and the cultivation of science, than in feasting, dancing, theatrical amusements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures still more pernicious? This is the wise reflection which Dionysius the younger made when at Corinth. Philip of Macedon being at table with him,⁴ spoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of railery and contempt, and seemed to be under some difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leisure for such compositions. Dionysius smartly and wittily replied, "The difficulty is very great indeed! Why he composed them at those hours which you and I and an infinity of others, who have so high an opinion of ourselves, pass in drinking, and other diversions."

Julius Cæsar and the emperor Augustus cultivated poetry, and composed tragedies.⁵ Lucullus intruded

¹ Justin. l. xx. c. 5

² Five minæ

³ One mina.

⁴ Diod. l. xiv. p. 318. ⁵ Plut. in Timol. p. 243. c. lxxxv

⁵ Suet. in Cæsar. c. lvi. in August. c. lxxxv. Plut. in L. c. l. p. 492.

to have written the memoirs of his military actions in verse. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lælius and Scipio, both great captains, especially the latter; and that report, which generally prevailed at Rome was so far from lessening their reputation, that it added to the general esteem in which they were held.

These relaxations, therefore, were not blameable in their own nature; this taste for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionysius was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a superior or competitor in any thing. From being in the sole possession of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to imagine that he possessed the same paramount rank in the empire of wit: in a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate estimation of his own merit flowed, in some measure, from the overbearing turn of mind which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those who knew how to recommend themselves by soothing his darling foible, were another source of this vain conceit. And of what will not a great man, a minister, a prince, think himself capable, who has such incense and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known that Cardinal Richelieu in the midst of his important business, not only composed dramatic pieces, but piqued himself on his excellence in that talent; and what is more, his jealousy in that point rose so high as to use his authority in causing criticisms to be directed against the compositions of those to whom the public, a just and incorruptible judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things estimable in themselves, and conferring honour upon private persons, in which it does not become a prince to desire to excel. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son Alexander, upon his having shown too much skill in music at a public entertainment: "Are you not ashamed," said he, "to sing so well?" It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his rank. If Cæsar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been ridiculous, but a reproach to them. And the reason is, because a prince being obliged by an essential and indispensable duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government, and having an infinitude of various business perpetually flowing in upon him, he can make no other use of the sciences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as will not admit such progress in them, as is requisite in order to excel those who make them their particular study. Hence when the public sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, they have a right to conclude that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment which wastes his time and mental energy ineffectually.

We must, however, do Dionysius the justice to own, that he was never reproached for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

I have already said,² that this prince, in an interval of peace, had sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race in his name. When he arrived in the assembly, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen expressly for the occasion readers with sonorous,³ musical voices, who might be heard far and distinctly, and who knew how to give a just emphasis and cadence to the verses they repeated. At first this had

a very happy effect, and the whole audience was deceived by the art and sweetness of the pronunciation. But that charm was soon at an end, and the mind not long seduced by the ears. The verses then appeared in their absurdity. The audience were ashamed of having applauded them, and their praise was turned into laughter, scorn, and insult. Their contempt and indignation rose to such a pitch, that they tore Dionysius's rich pavilion in pieces. Lysias, the celebrated orator, who was come to the Olympic games to dispute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried several times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, the friend and asserter of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to share in the celebration of the sacred games, who had no other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his power. Dionysius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the lists, were all of them either carried out of the course by a headlong impetuosity, or dashed in pieces against one another. And to complete the misfortune, the galley which was bringing back the persons Dionysius had sent to the games, met with a violent storm, and did not return to Syracuse without great difficulty. When the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems which had occasioned so many misfortunes to the readers, racers, and even the ship itself. This bad success did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor make him abate in the least the high opinion which he entertained of his poetic vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to insinuate, that such injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that sooner or later, the invidious themselves would be compelled by demonstration to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

The infatuation of Dionysius on this subject was inconceivable.⁴ He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To endeavour to undeceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, to say nothing of the absolute hopelessness of the attempt, would have been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who ate at his table in great numbers seemed to be in an ecstasy of admiration whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was any thing comparable to them: all was great, all noble in his poetry: all was majestic, or, to speak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe who did not suffer himself to be hurried away by this torrent of excessive praise and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambic poetry. There is a story told of him, which La Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish set before him, and a huge one before the king, the whim took him, to lay his ear close to the little fish. He was asked what he meant by that plesantry: "I was inquiring," said he, "into some affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but this young native of the floods can give me no information: yours is elder, and without doubt knows something of the matter."

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having pressed him to give him his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended, and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the quarries; the common jail being so called. The whole court was afflicted upon this account, and solicited for the generous prisoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged the next day and restored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionysius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification

¹ Nihil est quod credere de eo

Non possit, cum laudatur idem aqua potestas,

Juvenal.

² Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

³ These readers were called *ῥαψωδοί*.

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⁴ Diod. l. xv. p. 331.

of the pardon, and at which they were for that reason more than usually gay and cheerful; after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. He chose some passages which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to be masterpieces, as was very discernible from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whilst they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he set the greater value, as it was not his custom to be so profuse of it as the rest. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his opinion of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning towards the guards, who stood round the table, he said in a serious, though humorous tone, without any emotion, "Carry me back to the quarries." The prince comprehended all the salt and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended.¹ The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him excessively angry. He only laughed at it now, and was not displeased with the poet.

He did not act in the same way upon occasion of a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and was the result of a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, that was the best of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were made.² This witty expression,³ if it may be called so, cost him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus, apprehending that his too great frankness might be also attended with fatal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they wish to have nothing said to them but what is agreeable; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is not qualified for a court, that the favours and liberalities which Dionysius continually bestowed upon them, well deserved the return of some little complaisance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom and plain truth, he was in danger of losing not only his fortune but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would profit by their good advice, and for the future give such a turn to his answers as should satisfy Dionysius without injuring truth.

Accordingly, some time after, Dionysius having read a piece of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he was to move compassion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, he addressed himself again to Philoxenus, and asked him what he thought of his verses. Philoxenus gave him for answer one word,⁴ which in the Greek language has two different significations. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, such as inspire sentiments of pity and compassion: in the other, it expresses something very mean, defective, pitiful, and miserable. Dionysius, who was fond of his verses, and believed that every body must have the same good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely satisfied with Philoxenus, the rest of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right sense, though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for versification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus,⁵ that having sent some of his poems a second time to Olympia, they were treated with the same ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned soon after into a kind of madness and frenzy. He complained that envy and jea-

lousy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always making war upon him, and that all the world conspired to ruin his reputation. He accused his best friends of having engaged in the same design; some of whom he put to death, and others he banished; amongst whom were Leptines his brother, and Philistus, who had done him such great services, and to whom he was indebted for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after, and reinstated in all their fortunes and former favour; Leptines even married Dionysius's daughter.

To remove this melancholy occasioned by the ill success of his verses,⁶ it was necessary to find some employment; and with this his wars and buildings supplied him. He had formed a design of establishing powerful colonies in that part of Italy which is situate upon the Adriatic sea facing Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a secure retreat, when he should employ his forces on that side; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians; and restored Alcetes, king of the Molossians, to his throne. His principal design was to attack Epirus, and to make himself master of the immense treasures which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphi. Before he could set this project on foot, which required great preparations, he seemed to wish to make an essay of his abilities, by another of the same kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tuscany, under the pretence of pursuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the suburbs of Agylla, a city of that country, and carried away a sum exceeding 4,500,000 livres.⁷ He had occasion for money to support his great expenses at Syracuse, as well in fortifying the port, and making it capable of receiving 200 galleys, as in enclosing the whole city with good walls, erecting magnificent temples, and building a place of exercise upon the banks of the river Anapus.

At the same time he formed the design of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily.⁸ A first victory which he gained, put him almost into a condition to accomplish his project; but the loss of a second battle, in which his brother Leptines was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up several towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great sums of money to reimburse their expenses in the war. An attempt which he made upon them some years after, taking advantage of the desolation occasioned by the plague at Carthage, had no better success.

Another victory of a very different kind,⁹ though one which he had no less at heart, made him amends, or at least comforted him, for the ill success of his arms. He had caused a tragedy of his to be represented at Athens, for the prize in the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory among the Athenians, who were the best judges of this kind of literature, seems to indicate, that the poetry of Dionysius was not so mean and pitiful; and it is very possible that the aversion of the Greeks for every thing which came from a tyrant, had a great share in the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the Olympic games. Be this as it may, Dionysius received the news with inexpressible transports of joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, the temples being scarce capable of containing the concourse of the people. Nothing was seen throughout the city but feasting and rejoicing; and Dionysius regaled all his friends with the most extraordinary magnificence. Self-satisfied to a degree that cannot be described, he believed himself at the summit of glory, and did the honours of his table with a gayety and ease, and at the same time with a grace and dignity, that charmed all the world. He invited his guests to eat and drink more by his example than expressions, and carried his civilities of that kind to such an excess, that at the close of the banquet he was seized with violent pains,

¹ Τότε μὲν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολικὴν τῶν λόγων μεδιδόμενος ὁ Διονύσιος, θέλων τὴν ταπεινότητα τοῦ γέλωτος τὴν μέψιν ἀμβλύνοντος.

² They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratids.

³ Plut. Moral. p. 78. et 833.

⁴ Οὐκ ἔγωγε.

⁵ Page 332

⁶ Diod. l. xv. p. 336, 337.

⁷ Fifteen hundred talents, or about 900,000*l.* sterling,

⁸ See the history of the Carthaginians.

⁹ Diod. p. 384, 385.

occasioned by an indigestion, of which it was not difficult to foresee the consequences.

Dionysius had three children by his wife Doria,¹ and four by Aristomache, of which two were daughters, the one named Sophrosyne, the other Arete. Sophrosyne was married to his eldest son, Dionysius the younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife; and Arete espoused her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying soon, Dion married his widow Arete, who was his own niece.

As Dionysius's distemper left no hopes of his life, Dion undertook to speak to him concerning his children by Aristomache, who were at the same time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to insinuate to him, that it was just to prefer the issue of his Syracusan wife to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous of making their court to young Dionysius, the Locrian's son, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him an opportunity; for Dionysius having demanded a medicine to make him sleep, they gave him so strong a dose as quite stupified him, and laid him in a sleep that lasted him for the rest of his life. He had reigned thirty-eight years.

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occasion for them all to raise himself as he did from a mean condition to so high a rank. After having held the sovereignty thirty-eight years, he transmitted it peaceably to a successor of his own issue and election; and had established his power upon such solid foundations, that his son, notwithstanding his slender capacity for governing, retained it twelve years; all which could not have been effected without a great fund of merit. But what qualities could cover the vices which rendered him the object of his subjects' abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limit; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most sacred places; his cruelty had no regard to the nearest relations; and his open and professed impiety acknowledged the Divinity only to insult him.

As he was returning to Syracuse with a very favourable wind after plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locris, "See," said he to his friends with a smile of contempt, "how the immortal gods favour the navigation of the sacrilegious."

Having occasion for money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians,² he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of solid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, saying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and at the same time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such a habit would be commodious in all seasons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Esculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his reason, that it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard,³ when the father had none.

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of the temples; and as there was inscribed upon them, according to the custom of the Greeks, TO THE GOOD GODS; he would (he said) take the benefit of their GODNESS.

As for less prizes, such as cups and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, those he carried off, without any ceremony; saying, it was not taking, but merely receiving them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them when they held out their hands themselves to present them to you. These spoils were carried by his order to the market and sold by public sale; and when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their custody any things taken out of sacred places, were to restore them entire, within a limited time, to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, injustice to man.

The amazing precautions that Dionysius thought necessary to secure his life, show to what anxiety and apprehension he was abandoned. He wore under his robe a cuirass of brass.⁴ He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower; and thought he made himself invulnerable by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was composed of slaves and strangers. He went abroad as little as possible; fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment. These extraordinary precautions are to be referred without doubt to certain periods of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him rendered him more timid and suspicious than usual; for at other times we have seen that he conversed freely enough with the people, and was accessible even to familiarity. In those dark days of distrust and fear, he fancied he saw all mankind in arms against him. An expression which escaped his barbers,⁵ who boasted, by way of jest, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, cost him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his life and head to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that despicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the scissors and razors from them, and taught them to singe off his beard with walnut-shells. He was at last reduced to do himself that office,⁶ not daring, it seems, to trust his own daughters any longer. He never went into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was surrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small drawbridge over it for the entrance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might sleep in security. Neither his brother,⁷ nor even his sons, could be admitted into his chamber, without first changing their clothes, and being visited by the guards: Can he be said to reign, can he be said to live, who passes his days in such continual distrust and terror?

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of almost forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and profusion, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and sordid flatterers; and never tasted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, nor the charms of social intercourse and reciprocal confidence. This he ingenuously owned himself upon an occasion not unworthy of being related.

Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy,⁸ and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permission to make a journey into his own country, to settle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his security. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of so delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern, replied with a tranquil air, and confident tone, that he was sure his friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the day and hour agreed. The tyrant, struck with admiration at so uncommon an instance of fidelity, and softened with the view of so amiable a union, granted him his life, and desired to be admitted as a third person into their friendship.

He expressed with equal ingenuousness on another occasion what he himself thought of his condition.⁹ One of his courtiers named Damocles was perpetual,

¹ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 57, 63.

² Plat. de Garrul. p. 508.

³ Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 53.

⁴ Plat. in Dion. p. 961.

⁵ Cic. de Offic. l. iii. n. 43. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.

⁶ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 61, 62.

¹ Plat. in Dion. p. 960.

² Cic. de nat. deor. l. xv. n. 83, 84.

³ Apollo was represented without a beard.

extolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his possession, always repenting, that never man was happier than Dionysius. "Since you are of that opinion," said the tyrant to him one day, "will you taste and make proof of my felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with joy? Damocles was placed upon a golden couch, covered with carpets richly embroidered. The side-boards were loaded with vessels of gold and silver. The most beautiful slaves in the most splendid habits, stood around, ready to serve him at the slightest signal. The most exquisite essences and perfumes had not been spared. The table was spread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a sword, which hung from the roof only by a single horse-hair. He was immediately seized with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an instant: he could see nothing but the sword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he desired permission to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant. He of whom we are speaking, reigned as I have observed before, thirty-eight years.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.—DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER SUCCEEDS HIS FATHER. DION ENGAGES HIM TO INVITE PLATO TO HIS COURT. SURPRISING ALTERATION OCCASIONED BY HIS PRESENCE. CONSPIRACY OF THE COURTIER TO PREVENT THE EFFECTS OF IT.

DIONYSIUS the elder was succeed-

A. M. 3632. ed by one of his sons of his own Ant. J. C. 372. name,¹ commonly called Dionysius the Younger. After his father's funeral had been solemnized with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and desired they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had evinced for his father. They were very different from each other in their character. For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition,² as the former was active and enterprising; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.

It is surprising to see Dionysius the younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as a patrimonial inheritance, notwithstanding the natural fondness of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit and void of experience. It seemed as if the last years of the elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might deprive them of all those advantages: whereas the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most favourable hopes with regard to the future. He therefore peaceably ascended his father's throne.

Something of this kind has been seen in England. The famous Cromwell died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as a lawful sove-

reign. Richard his son succeeded him as protector, and for some time possessed equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his great qualities.

Dion,³ the bravest and at the same time the most prudent of the Syracusans, who was Dionysius's brother-in-law, might have been of great support to him had he known how to profit by his advice. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends Dion spoke in so wise a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as showed that the rest were infants in judgement in comparison with him, and in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than despicable slaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the sordid endeavour of pleasing the prince. But what surprised and amazed them most was that Dion, at a time when the whole court was struck with terror at the prospect of the storm already formed on the side of Carthage and just ready to break upon Sicily, should insist, that if Dionysius desired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa, and dispel this tempest to his satisfaction; or if he preferred making war that he would furnish and maintain at his own expense fifty galleys of three benches completely equipped for service.

Dionysius admiring and extolling so generous a magnanimity to the skies, professed the highest gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his great power as a lessening of their own, took immediate occasion from thence to calumniate him, and spared no expressions that might influence the young prince against him. They insinuated, that in making himself strong at sea, he would open his way to the tyranny; and that with his vessels he designed to transfer the sovereignty to his nephews, the sons of Aristomache.

But what put them most out of humour with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual censure of their own. For these courtiers, having presently insinuated themselves into the good graces of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in feasting, abandoned to women, and devoted to all manner of shameful pleasures. In the beginning of his reign he made a riotous entertainment,⁴ which continued for three entire months, during all which time his palace, shut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and resounded with nothing but low buffoonry, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and every kind of gross and dissolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who gave in to none of these pleasures. For which reason, painting his virtues in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to disguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and sedition. If he advanced any wise counsel, they treated him as a sour pedagogue, who took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to school his prince, without being asked; and if he refused to share in the revels with the rest they called him a man-hater, a splenic, melancholy wretch, who from the fantastic height of virtue looked down with contempt on the rest of the world, and set himself up for the censor of mankind.

And indeed it must be confessed, that he had naturally something austere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which seemed to denote a haughtiness of disposition, very capable not only of disgusting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidst flatteries and submission, but even his best friends, and those who were most closely attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude and nobleness of sentiments, they represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himself to the different tempers of men, in order to apply

¹ Diod. l. xv. p. 385.

² Id l. xvi. p. 410.

³ Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.

⁴ Athen. l. x. p. 435.

them to his purposes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding.

Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him,¹ by making him intimate with a philosopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was well calculated to inspire him with more easy and insinuating manners. He reminds him also of that failing in a letter, wherein he thus addresses him: "Consider, I beg you, that you are censured as being deficient in good nature and affability; and imprint it on your mind, that the most certain means to ensure the success of affairs, is to be agreeable to the persons with whom we have to transact them. A haughty carriage keeps people at a distance,² and reduces a man to pass his life in solitude." Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly considered at court; where his superior abilities and transcendent merit made him absolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and commotions.

As he believed,³ that all the vices of young Dionysius were the effect of his bad education and entire ignorance of his duty,⁴ he conceived justly, that the first step would be to associate him if possible with persons of wit and sense, whose solid but agreeable conversation might at once instruct and divert him: for the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

The sequel will show that Dionysius the younger had a natural propensity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. He knew how to set a value upon the merits and talents by which men are distinguished. He delighted in conversing with persons of ability, and from his correspondence with them, made himself capable of the highest improvements. He went so far as to familiarize the throne with those sciences which have not usually the privilege of approaching it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility, by which he raised them to honour and distinction. Nor was he insensible to the joys of friendship. In private he was a good parent, relation, and master, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be said of him, that he was rather a tyrant by succession and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonstrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince (not to say a good one,) had proper care been early taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore necessary to find for him a person of the character before mentioned, or rather to inspire him with the desire of having such a one found.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful address. He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he himself had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the brilliancy of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him particularly as the man of all others most capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happiness depended. He told him, that his subjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and justice, which force and violence extorted from them against their will; and that by such a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a just king, to whom

all submission would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated design, inflamed the young prince with the desire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner: he despatched couriers after couriers to hasten his voyage; whilst Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had but small hopes of any good effect from it protracted the affair, and, without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not resolve upon it, without doing violence to himself. The obstacles and difficulties made to the young prince's request, were so far from disgusting him, that they only served, as it commonly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers of Græcia Magna in Italy joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who on his part redoubled his solicitation, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. "This is not," said he, "the concern of a private person, but of a powerful prince, whose change of manners will have the same effect throughout his whole dominions, with the extent of which you are not unacquainted. It is he himself who makes all the advances; who importunes and solicits you to come to his assistance, and employs the interest of all your friends to that purpose. What more favourable conjuncture could we expect than that which Divine Providence now offers? Are you not afraid that your delays will give the flatterers, who surround the young prince, the opportunity of drawing him over to themselves, and of seducing him to change his resolution? What reproaches would you not make yourself, and what dishonour would it not be to philosophy, should it ever be said, that Plato, who by his counsels to Dionysius might have established a wise and equitable government in Sicily, abandoned it to all the evils of tyranny, from fear of undergoing the fatigues of a voyage, or from I know not what other imaginary difficulties?"

Plato could not resist such earnest solicitations.⁵ Vanquished by the consideration of what was due to his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philosopher in words only, without having ever shown himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his voyage, he suffered himself to be persuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionysius, terrified with the resolution which he had taken contrary to their remonstrances, and fearing the presence of Plato, the consequences of which they foresaw, united together against him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be measured by the standard of true merit, and no favour was to be expected from the prince, but for services done to the state, they had nothing farther to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose. They therefore devised a plan to render Plato's voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it: and this was to prevail upon Dionysius to recall Philistos from banishment, who was not only an able soldier, but a great historian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous assertor of the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius the elder, on some personal discontent, he had retired into the city of Adria, where it is believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books,⁶ that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant in six; all which works are entirely lost. Cicero praises him highly,⁷ and calls him a little Thucydides, *pauca pusillus*

¹ Plat. Epist. iv. p. 327, 328.

² Diod. l. xiii. p. 922.

³ H. *αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολῇ. M. Dacier renders these words, Pride is always the companion of solitude. I have shown elsewhere wherein this version is faulty. Art of teaching the Belles Lettres, vol. iii. p. 505.*

⁴ Plat. in Dion. p. 962.

⁵ Plat. Epist. vii. p. 327, 328.

⁶ Horæ (Thucydides) consecutus est Syracusius Philistos, qui cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda, maximeque Thucydides erat, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus. Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 57.

⁷ Sculus ille, creber, acutus, brevis, pondè pusillus Thucydides.—Id. Epist. xiii. ad Qu. frat. l. ii.

his *Thucydides*, to signify that he copied that author, and not without success. He was therefore recalled. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dion to Dionysius, accusing him of having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides, the secret enemies of that prince, to concert with them measures for subverting the tyranny.

This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily.¹ He was received with infinite caresses, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots, equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments, awaiting him. The tyrant offered a sacrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him: nor was he mistaken; for a wise man who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of such a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uses which might be made of it.

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in young Dionysius, who devoted himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had himself derived infinite improvement from the precepts and examples of Socrates his master, the most able man of all the pagan world in forming the mind to relish truth, he took care to adapt himself with wonderful address to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and insinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, in order to render it at the same time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains, by the sole force of allurements, pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was sudden and surprising. The young prince, who till then had abandoned himself to idleness, pleasure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his station, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life, awaking as from a lethargic sleep, began to open his eyes, to have some idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleasures of conversation, equally solid and agreeable. He was now as passionately fond of learning and instruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to them. The court, which always ayes the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like so many schools of geometry, were full of the dust made use of by the professors of that science in tracing their figures; and in a very short time the study of philosophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and universal taste.

The great benefit of these studies, in regard to a prince, does not consist alone in storing his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary information, but has the farther advantage of withdrawing him from idleness, indolence, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inspiring him with a desire of instructing himself in the duties of the sovereignty, and of knowing the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes; that is to say, of being a king indeed. And this it was that the courtiers and flatterers, as usually happens, were unanimous in opposing.

They were considerably alarmed by an expression that escaped Dionysius, and showed how strong an impression had already been made upon his mind by the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, who is regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the time appointed for a solemn sacrifice, which was annually offered in the palace for the prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect, according to custom, 'That it would please the gods to support the tyranny, and preserve the tyrant;' Dionysius, who was not far from him, and to whom these terms began to grow

odious, called out to him aloud, "Will you not give over cursing me?" Philistos and his party were in finitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an invincible ascendancy over Dionysius, if the intercourse of a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themselves at work upon new and more effectual stratagems against him.

They began by turning the retired life which Dionysius was induced to lead, and the studies in which he employed himself, into ridicule, as if it was intended to make a philosopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected, and even odious to him. They represented them as impertinent censors and imperious pedagogues,² who assumed an authority over him, which was neither consistent with his age or rank. It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius,³ who, with the most excellent disposition, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful insinuations in a court that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually besieged by a crowd of flatterers incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to Jerry the character and conduct of Dion himself, no longer separately, nor in secret, but all together, and in public. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was visible that Dion made use of Plato's eloquence, to fascinate and enchant Dionysius, with design to draw him into a voluntary resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristomache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They publicly observed, that it was very mortifying to see that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by sea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist, attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss the 10,000 strangers who composed his guard; to lay aside his fleet of 400 galleys, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his 10,000 horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the Academy (the place where Plato taught) a pretended Supreme God which could not be explained, and to make himself happy in imagination by the study of geometry; whilst he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and substantial felicity consisting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleasure.

SECTION II.—BANISHMENT OF DION. PLATO QUITS THE COURT SOON AFTER, AND RETURNS IN TO GREECE. DION ADMIRING THERE BY ALL THE LEARNED. PLATO RETURNS TO SYRACUSE.

THE courtiers, intent upon taking advantage of every favourable moment, perpetually besieged the young prince; and covering their secret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourse at first raised in the mind of Dionysius violent suspicions of Dion, which presently increased into fierce resentment, and broke out into an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionysius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he recommended to them, "when they should treat of peace with Dionysius, not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would assist them in making their treaty more firm and lasting." Dionysius read these letters to Philistos, and having concerted with him what measures to take,⁴ he amused and deceived Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and

¹ Tristes et superciliosos alienum vim censores, publicos pedagogos. Sen. *Epist.* cxlii.

² Vix artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam potius moris servaretur. Tacit. *Annal.* l. iv. c. 15.

⁴ Diad. l. xvi. p. 410, 411

¹ Plat. in Dion. p. 963.

led him alone to the sea-side below the citadel, where he showed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himself, but he refused to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after set sail for Peloponnesus.

So harsh and unjust a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noise,¹ and the whole city declared against it: especially as it was reported, though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death. Dionysius,² who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the public discontent, and to stifle the complaints. He gave Dion's relations two vessels to transport to him in Peloponnesus his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As soon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato nearer to him, he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiously. For, charmed with the allurements of his conversation, and studying to please him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealousy, but a jealousy of that violence, that could suffer neither companion nor rival. He wished to engross him entirely to himself, to reign solely in his thoughts and affections, and to be the only object of his love and esteem. He seemed ready to give him all his treasures and all his authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion a *tyrannic affection*.³ Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most ardent jealousy. Sometimes it was all friendship,⁴ caresses, and fond respect, with an unbounded openness of heart and an endless swell of tender sentiments: sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce passion, and wild emotion; and soon after it sunk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble entreaties for pardon and forgiveness.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently for Plato, which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty and send him home. At his departure he would have overwhelmed him with presents, but Plato refused them, contenting himself with his promise to recall Dion the following spring. He did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenue, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time prefixed and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, as soon as peace should be concluded, that Dion should return; upon condition, however, that he should continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, on his return to Greece, went to see the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongst strangers of distinction. He ate and passed whole days with them, living in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the Academy, or making himself known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The strangers were overjoyed at having met with so mild and amiable a companion; but as he never talked but on common topics, they had not the least notion that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were scarce arrived there, when they desired him to carry them to see the famous philosopher of his name, who had been Socrates's disciple. Plato told them smiling, that he was the man; upon which the strangers, surprised at

their having possessed so inestimable a treasure without knowing it, were much displeased with, and secretly reproached themselves, for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of simplicity and modesty which he had thrown over it whilst they admired him the more upon that account.

The time Dion passed at Athens was not mispent.⁵ He employed it chiefly in the study of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his delight. He knew,⁶ however, which is not very easy, how to confine it within just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expense of any duty. It was at the same time that Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who, uniting the easy and insinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs, and by that character, very rarely found amongst men of learning, was the most proper of all men, to soften what was too rough and austere in Dion's temper.

Whilst Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the public games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expense, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who sought every occasion of producing him to the public, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, in order that his magnificence might make him still better beloved and esteemed by the Athenians.

Dion visited also the other cities of Greece, was present at all their feasts and assemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits and the most profound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the haughtiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple, and modest air; and still more by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. All the cities paid him the highest honours, and even the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regarding the resentment of Dionysius, though he actually was assisting them at that time with a powerful supply in their war against the Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittances of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

After Dionysius had put an end to the war,⁷ in which he was engaged in Sicily, of which history relates no circumstance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philosophers against him, and make him pass for their enemy. For this reason he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent assemblies, in which, out of a foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and depth of knowledge; venting, without application, such of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those discourses only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the source of his eloquence was soon exhausted. He then perceived what he had lost by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom which he had once in his own possession and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and impetuous, Dionysius was suddenly seized with an excessive desire of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He prevailed upon Architas, and the other Pythagorean philosophers, to write to him, that he might return with all manner of security; and to be bound for the performance of all the promises which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemos to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the same time two galleys of three benches of rowers, with several

¹ Plut. p. 964.

² Plut. Ep. vii.

³ *Ἡρώδης τοῦ ἀνέμινον ἱστορίαι.*

⁴ In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; suspiciones, inimicitie, injurie, inducie, bellum, pax rursum. *Terent. in Eucuchæ.*

— In amore hæc sunt male: bellum, Pax rursum. *Hor.*

⁵ Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

⁶ *Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientiâ modum. Terent. in vit. Agric. n. 4.*

⁷ Plut. Epist. vii. p. 338. 340. Plut. in Dion. p. 964. 966.

of his friends on board, to entreat his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be persuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but that if he came, there was nothing that he would not be inclined to do in his favour.

Dion received several letters at the same time from wife and sister, who pressed him to prevail upon Plato to make a voyage, and to satisfy the impatience of Dionysius, that he might have no new pretexts against him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not resist the warm solicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at seventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themselves that his wisdom would at length overthrow the tyranny; and the joy of Dionysius was inexpressible. He appointed the apartment of his garden for his lodging, the most honourable in the palace, and had so much confidence in him, that he suffered him to have access at all hours, without being searched; a favour not granted to any of his best friends.

After the first caresses were over, Plato was anxious to enter upon Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at first; to which ensued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expressed for some time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his sentiments, endeavouring by all manner of honours, and by all possible regard and complaisance, to abate his friendship for Dion. Plato dissembled on his side, and though extremely shocked at so notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himself.

Whilst they were upon these terms, and believed that nobody penetrated their secret, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipse of the sun; which happening according to his prediction exactly at the hour assigned, Dionysius was so much surprised and astonished at it (a proof that he was no great philosopher,) that he made him a present of a talent.¹ Aristippus, jesting with the other philosophers upon that occasion, said, that he had also something very incredible and extraordinary to foretell. Upon being pressed to explain himself, "I prophesy," said he, "that it will not be long before Dionysius and Plato, who seem to agree so well with each other, will be enemies."

Dionysius verified this prediction; for being weary of the constraint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use. At the same time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the castle in the midst of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, because he had advised Dionysius to renounce the tyranny, to disband them, and to live without any other guard than the love of his people. Plato was sensible that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who restrained the fury of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who was the principal person and supreme magistrate of Tarentum, had no sooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he sent ambassadors with a galley of thirty oars to demand him from Dionysius, and to remind him, that he had come to Syracuse only upon his promise, and that of all the Pythagorean philosophers, who had engaged for his safety; that therefore he could not retain him against his will, nor suffer any insult to be done to his person, without a manifest breach of faith, and absolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened a remnant of shame in the tyrant, who at last permitted Plato to return into Greece.

Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him.² To the conversations, as agreeable as useful, to that taste and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wise politician, idle little, frivolous amusements.

and a stupid indolence, entirely averse to every thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery resumed their former empire at the court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, which it had been under Plato into the real stable of Circe.

SECTION III.—DION SETS OUT TO DELIVER SYRACUSE. SUDDEN AND FORTUNATE SUCCESS OF HIS ENTERPRISE. HORRID INGRATITUDE OF THE SYRACUSANS. UNPARALLELED GOODNESS OF DION TO THEM AND HIS MOST CRUEL ENEMIES. HIS DEATH.

WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily,⁴ Dionysius threw off all reserve, and A. M. 3643. married his sister Arete, Dion's wife, Ant. J. C. 361. to Timocrates, one of his friends.

So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the signal of war. From that moment, Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himself for all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his resolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfortunes he was about to occasion, and declared that he must expect neither assistance nor relief from him: that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace and joined in the same sacrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting to his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the offices of a mediator between them, in order to reconcile them; though he should oppose their designs, when they tended to the destruction of each other.

Whether through prudence or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not justifiably undertake to dethrone Dionysius; this was Plato's opinion. On the other hand, Speusippus, and all the rest of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and restore liberty to Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse, which Speusippus, during his residence there with Plato had sufficiently experienced. This was the universal cry, whilst they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant-vessel he met with, and lend his person and name to the Syracusans against Dionysius.

Dion did not hesitate any longer to take that resolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracuse and Sicily, he had led in his banishment the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine, for a person who like him had contracted a taste for the delights of study. He enjoyed in peace the conversation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; shining in a manner entirely peculiar to himself, by the greatness of his genius and the solidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece, to see and converse with the most eminent in their knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the ablest politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving, wherever he came, the highest honours, which was rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from so happy a life that he withdrew himself to go to the relief of his country, which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No enterprise perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, or conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very surprising, of all those whom the tyrant had banished, and who were not less than 1000, only twenty-five accompanied him in this expedition; so much had fear got possession of them. The island of

¹ A thousand crowns.

² Plut. in Moral. p. 52.

³ Ἰδὲ λαρεῖν, ἀρροῦσαι, λήθῃ, εὐχέσθαι.

⁴ Plut. in Dion, p. 966, 968.

Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of almost 800; but all of them of tried courage on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and warlike; and, in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprise required.

But when they were to set forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in a consternation, and repented their having engaged in an enterprise which they could not avoid considering as the effect of extreme rashness and folly, that in the last despair was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence to re-animate the troops and remove their fears. But after he had spoken to them, and, with an assured though modest tone, had made them understand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily, who had long been prepared for a revolt, their dread and sadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion, having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops completely armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company, at the end of which, after the libations and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, re-assured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that account. The next day they embarked on board two trading vessels, which were followed by a third not so large, and by two barks of thirty oars.

Who could have imagined, says a historian,¹ that a man with two merchant vessels should ever dare to attack a prince who had 400 ships of war,² 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, with magazines of arms and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them; who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable citadels, with the additional strength and support of a great number of potent allies? The event will show, whether force and power are adamant chains for retaining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or whether the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger and more indissoluble ties.

Dion having put to sea with his small body of troops was twelve days under sail with little wind,³ and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus, a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse. When they came to that place, the pilot gave notice that they must land directly, as there was reason to fear a hurricane, and therefore it would not be proper to put to sea. But Dion, who was apprehensive of making his descent so near the enemy, and chose to land further off, doubled the cape of Pachynus. He had no sooner passed it, than a furious storm arose, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, which drove his ships to the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in great danger of being dashed to pieces

against the rocks. Happily for them a south wind rising suddenly, contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their sails, and after having made vows to the gods, they stood out to sea for Sicily. They ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a small town of Sicily under the Carthaginians, whose commander Syntalus was Dion's particular friend and guest. They were perfectly well received, and would have stayed there some time to refresh themselves, after the rude fatigues they had suffered during the storm, if they had not been informed that Dionysius was absent, having embarked some days before for the coast of Italy, attended by fourscore vessels. The soldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy; and Dion, having desired Syntalus to send his baggage after him at a proper time, marched directly to Syracuse.

His troops increased considerably upon his route by the great number of those who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being soon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, and to whom he had left the command of the city in his absence, despatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But the courier, when almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued from having run the best part of the night, that he found himself under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of meat which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the flesh and the bag, in which he had also put his despatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for some time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs about half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a sacrifice upon the river-side, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were present, seeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the sacrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner as animated with one and the same spirit. He had been joined on his march by at least 5000 men, and advanced with them towards the city. The most considerable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the same time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the spies and informers, AN ACCURSED RACE OF WRETCHES, THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN,⁴ says Plutarch, who made it the daily business of their lives to disperse themselves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they said or thought, and often what they neither said nor thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with clubs immediately. Timocrates, not able to throw himself into the citadel, mounted on horseback, and escaped from the city.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one side, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came 100 of the foreign soldiers, very fine troops, whom he had chosen for his guard. The rest followed in order of battle, with their officers at the head of them. The Syracusans beheld them with inexpressible satisfaction and received them as a sacred procession, whom the gods themselves regarded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty with the democracy, forty-eight years after they had been banished from their city.

After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the trumpets to sound, to appease the noise and tumult: and silence being made, a herald proclaimed, that "Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of a tyrant." And being desirous to harangue the people in person, he

¹ Diocl. l. xvi. p. 413.

² It is not easy to comprehend how the two Dionysii were capable of maintaining so great a force by sea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and consequently of no great extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuse had been very much enriched by commerce; and undoubtedly those two princes received great contributions from the cities dependent upon them both in Sicily and Italy: but it is still no easy matter to conceive how all this could be sufficient for the enormous expenses of Dionysius the elder, in fitting out great fleets, raising and maintaining numerous armies, and erecting magnificent buildings. It were to be wished, that historians had given us some better lights upon this head.

³ Plat. in Dion. p. 968. 972. Diocl. l. xvi. p. 414. 417.

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⁴ Ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ θεῶν ἐχθρῶν

went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achradina. Wherever he passed, the Syracusans had set out, on both sides of the streets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims; and as he came before their houses, they threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and signal services. And can there be any service, any gift, so valuable as that of liberty! Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapyle, stood a sun-dial upon a high pedestal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it, and in a speech to the people, who had crowded around, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and preservation of their liberty. The Syracusans, transported with what he said, and anxious to express their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captains-general with supreme authority; and by their consent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who, having been banished by Dionysius, had returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Epipolæ, he set the citizens who were prisoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Syntalus. These he immediately distributed among the citizens who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and zeal.

Dionysius began by sending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans with proposals, which seemed very advantageous. The answer was, that by way of preliminary he must abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the Syracusans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly, having made the deputies, who were sent to treat with him, prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall, with which the Syracusans had surrounded the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an assault put Dion's soldiers into great confusion, and they immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them; and believing example more efficacious than words, he threw himself fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he stood the charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his armour was scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him, and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beaten down. His soldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them, and getting on horseback, rode through the whole city, stopped the flight of the Syracusans, and taking the foreign soldiers, whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on fresh against Dionysius's troops, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a resistance. It was now no longer a battle, but a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed on the spot, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was brilliant and glorious. The Syracusans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a considerable sum of money; and those soldiers, to honour Dion, presented him with a crown of gold.

Soon after came heralds from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full assembly. That of Dionysius was couched in the form of a request and justification, intermixed however with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion; his sister, wife, and son. It was written with an art and address exceedingly well calculated to render Dion suspected. Dionysius put him in mind of the ardour

and zeal he had formerly expressed for the support of the tyranny. He exhorted him in language, though covert and somewhat obscure, yet sufficiently plain to be understood, not to abolish it entirely; but to preserve it for himself: not to give the people their liberty, who had at heart no attachment to him; nor to abandon his own safety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconstant multitude.

The reading of this letter had the effect which Dionysius had proposed from it.¹ The Syracusans, without regard to Dion's goodness to them, and the greatness of his soul in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature, to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious suspicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their sentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a good soldier, and well known amongst the troops, from having been in considerable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a secret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himself there had been some difference in Peloponnesus. He came to Syracuse with seven galleys of three benches of oars, and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but with the resolution of marching with his own forces against the tyrant, whom he found reduced to shut himself up in the citadel. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people, for which his open and insinuating behaviour made him very fit; whilst Dion's austere gravity was offensive to the multitude; especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and expected to be treated like a popular state,² even before they could call themselves a free people; that is to say, in the full sense of the Greek terms, they wished to be used with complaisance, flattery, regard, and a deference to all their capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people that consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusans, of their own accord, formed an assembly immediately, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of such a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides was an abridgment of his office; that he was no longer generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. These remonstrances obliged the Syracusans, against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him, and after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct towards him in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division amongst them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly himself, and, in the presence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himself.

He thought by dint of kind offices to get the better of his rival's ill-will. Heraclides, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to him, promised eternal gratitude, was mean and submissive in his presence, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality which seemed to imply an entire devotion to his service, and a desire of occasions to do him pleasure. But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people against him, and opposed his designs in every thing. If Dion gave his consent that Dionysius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused of favouring and intending to save him: if, to satisfy them, he continued the siege, without hearkening to any proposals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the desire of protracting the war, for the sake of continuing in command, and of keeping the citizens in awe and respect.

Philistus, who came from Apulia to the tyrant's relief with several galleys, having been defeated and put to death, Dionysius sent to offer Dion the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a

¹ Plut. in Dion. p. 972. 975. Diad. l. xvi. p. 419. 429.

² Ἰπὲρ τοῦ δημοῦ εἶναι τὰ δημοκρατικὰ. Σίλλουτος.

treaty to retire into Italy for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans, who were in hopes of taking Dionysius alive, rejected these proposals; and Dionysius despairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a favourable

A. M. 3644. wind, embarked for Italy with his Ant. J. C. 360. treasures and effects of the greatest value, and such of his friends as were

dearest to him.

Heracleides, who commanded the galleys, was very much blamed for having suffered him to escape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, insinuating, that the foundation of liberty was equality, as poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heracleides persuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to 3000 men, to enact a new division of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themselves at once from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracusans agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, Heracleides being one of the number.

At the same time they sent privately to solicit the foreign soldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with them, promising to give them a share in the government as native citizens. Those generous troops received the offer with disdain; and then placing Dion in the centre of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the least violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with their ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracusans, who condemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should defeat and put them all to the sword before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the melancholy necessity of either fighting against his fellow-citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who saw all that passed with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising loud cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracusans. The latter were so dismayed with those appearances, that they all ran away in every street without being pursued. Dion hastened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracusans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were desirous to retrieve their honour; and made their troops take arms and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up to him at the pass of a river, and made their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their insults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again seized with terror, and taking to their heels in a more shameful manner than before, made all the haste they could to regain the city.

The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem.¹ They also made presents to his soldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which, they sent ambassadors to the Syracusans, to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops; and they on their side sent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judgment.

Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was so much reduced by famine, that the soldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved at last to surrender it. They

sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to give it up the next morning. But at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nysius an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his galleys, and anchored near Arethusas. Plenty succeeding on a sudden to famine, Nysius landed his troops, and summoned an assembly, wherein he made a speech to the soldiers suitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of surrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracusans at the same time hastened on board their galleys, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader or authority to command or counsel them, the officers as well as soldiers gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loose excess. Nysius knew well how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He attacked the wall that enclosed the citadel, and having made himself master of it, he demolished it in several places, and permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost confusion. Here, the citizens half asleep, had their throats cut; there, houses were plundered; whilst the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations.

There was but one man who could remedy this misfortune and preserve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propose it; so much ashamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increased every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and despair, a voice was heard from the cavalry and allies, which said, "That it was absolutely necessary to recall Dion and the Peloponnesian troops from the country of the Leontines." As soon as any body had courage enough to utter those words, they were the general cry of the Syracusans, who with tears of joy and grief offered up prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of seeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head against the enemy. The deputies set out immediately with full speed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening.

As soon as they alighted, they threw themselves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity to which the Syracusans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and several of the Peloponnesian soldiers, who had seen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and rightly conceived, from their earnestness and humiliating posture, that something very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no sooner heard what they had to say, than he carried them with him to the assembly, which formed itself immediately; for the people ran thither with abundance of eagerness. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatness of their distress, and implored the foreign troops "to hasten to the relief of the Syracusans, and to forget the ill treatment they had received; and the rather, because that unfortunate people had already paid a severer penalty for it, than, the most injured amongst them would desire to impose."

The deputies having finished their discourse, the whole theatre where the assembly was held continued in mournful silence. Dion rose: but as soon as he began to speak, a torrent of tears suppressed his utterance. The foreign soldiers called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion for his grief. At length, having recovered himself a little, he spoke to them in these terms: "Men of Peloponnesus, and you our allies, I have assembled you here, that you might deliberate upon what regards yourselves; as for my part, I must not deliberate when Syracuse is in danger. If I cannot preserve it, I go

¹ Plat. p. 975. 981. Diad. p. 429, 432.

to perish with it, and to bury myself in its ruins. But for you, if you are resolved to assist us once more; us, who are the most imprudent and most unfortunate of mankind; come and relieve the city of Syracuse, from henceforth the work of your hands. But if the just subjects of complaint which you have against the Syracusans determine you to abandon them in their present condition, and to suffer them to perish; may you receive from the immortal gods the reward you merit for the affection and fidelity which you have hitherto expressed for me. For the rest, I have only to desire that you will keep Dion in your remembrance, who did not abandon you when unworthily treated by his countrymen, and who did not abandon his countrymen when fallen into misfortunes."

He had no sooner ceased speaking, than the foreign soldiers rose up with loud cries, and entreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies, transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to bestow upon Dion and them all kind of happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place, being determined to set out the same night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time, at Syracuse, the officers of Dionysius, after having done all the mischief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loss of some of their soldiers. This short respite gave the seditious orators new courage. Flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, they exhorted the Syracusans to think no further of Dion, nor to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were instantly despatched from the general officers to Dion to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends to desire him to hasten his march; which difference of sentiments and contrariety of advices occasioned his advancing slowly, and by short marches.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the same instant, Nysius, well apprised of all that passed in Syracuse, made a sally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They entirely demolished the wall that enclosed them, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but slaughter and blood was seen every where. Nor did they stop for the pillage, but seemed to have no other view than to ruin and destroy all before them. One would have thought, that the son of Dionysius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by envenomed hatred for the Syracusans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it, they had recourse to fire, the swiftest instrument of destruction, burning, with torches and lighted straw, all places within their power, and darting combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the streets; and those who to shun the murderous sword retired into the houses, were driven out of them again by the encroaching fire; for there were abundance of houses burning, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were despatched to hasten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmost speed to their assistance, there being no one who was able to make head against the enemy he himself being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined and reduced to ashes.

Dion received this news when he was about sixty stadia¹ from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so

good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He entered by the quarter called *Hecalompedon*. He there detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to re-animate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens who came running to join him on all sides. He divided them into small parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made these dispositions, and offered up his prayers to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every street as he passed he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and songs of victory, mingled with the prayers and blessings of all the Syracusans, who called Dion their preserver and their god, and his soldiers their brothers and fellow-citizens. At that instant, there was not a single man in the city so fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's safety than his own, and not to fear much more for him than for all the rest together, seeing him march foremost to so great a danger, over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets and squares were universally covered.

On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no less terrible: for they were animated by rage and despair, and were posted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their safety and retreat, and durst not remove from it, lest their communications should be cut off. But what was most capable of disordering and discouraging Dion's soldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For, wherever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midst of fire; exposing themselves to being crushed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams, and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, whilst they opened their way through frightful clouds of smoke mingled with dust.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very small number on each side were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the unevenness of the ground. But at length Dion's soldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardour of the Syracusans, charged the enemy with such redoubled vigour, that the troops of Nysius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near; and those who remained without, being broken, were cut to pieces in the pursuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner so great an exploit deserved; the Syracusans being obliged to employ themselves in rescuing their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire; which, however, they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city, but all fled self-condemned, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct; that it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to show himself equally so in greatness of soul, by subduing his resentment and revenge, and forgiving the ungrateful, who owned themselves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplications, Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their vile and malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the soldiers, and in so doing, exterminate from the state that spirit of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really something of madness in it, and is no less to be feared from its pernicious consequences than tyranny itself. But Dion, to appease them, said, "That other captains generally made the means of conquering their enemies

¹ Two or three leagues.

their sole study; that for his part, he had passed much time in the Academy, in learning to subdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of the mind: that the sign of having conquered them is not kindness and affability to friends and persons of merit; but treating those with humanity who have injured us, and in being always ready to forgive them: that he did not desire so much to appear superior to Heracles in power and ability, as in wisdom and justice; for in that, true and essential superiority consists: that if Heracles be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself by base resentment? It is true, according to human laws, there seems to be less injustice in revenging an injury, than committing it; but if we consult nature, we should find both the one and the other to have their rise in the same weakness of mind. Besides, there is no disposition so odourate and savage, but may be vanquished by the force of kind usage and obligations.¹ Dion, influenced by these maxims, pardoned Heracles.

He engaged next in enclosing the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracusans to go and cut a large stake. In the night, he set his soldiers to work, whilst the Syracusans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived; so that in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of the execution, were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy as the citizens.

Having finished this palisade, he buried the dead; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he summoned an assembly. Heracles proposed in it, that Dion should be elected generalissimo with supreme authority by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens, were pleased with the proposal, and desired that it might have the sanction of the assembly. But the mariners and artisans who were sorry that Heracles should lose the office of admiral; and convinced that, however little estimable he might be in all other respects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion, opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid exasperating them, did not insist upon that point, and re-instated Heracles in his command-in-chief at sea. But his opposing the distribution of lands and houses which they were anxious should take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heracles, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues against Dion; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himself master of Syracuse, and to shut the gates upon his rival. But it proved unsuccessful. A Spartan, who had been sent to the aid of Syracuse, negotiated a new accommodation between Heracles and Dion, under the strictest oaths, and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracusans having dismissed their sea forces, who were become unnecessary, applied solely to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the besieged, and bread began to fall short with them, the soldiers grew mutinous and would no longer observe any discipline. The son of Dionysius, finding himself without hope or resource, entered into a capitulation with Dion, by which he surrendered to him the citadel, with all the arms and other warlike stores. He carried his mother and sisters away with him, filled five galleys with his followers and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to withdraw unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all hurried to the port to gratify their eyes with so agreeable a spectacle, and to solemnize the joyful day, on which, after so many years' servitude, the sun arose for the first time upon the liberty of Syracuse.

Apollocrates having set sail, and Dion beginning

his march to enter the citadel, the princesses, who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground and full of tears. Dion embraced his sister first, and afterwards his son. Aristomache then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus: "The tears you see her shed, at the time that your presence restores us life and joy, the shame expressed in her looks, her silence itself, and her confusion, sufficiently denote the grief with which she is penetrated, at the sight of a husband, to whom another has been substituted contrary to her will, but who alone has always possessed her heart. Shall she salute you as her uncle, shall she embrace you as her husband?" Aristomache having spoken in this manner, Dion, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced his wife; gave his son again into her arms, and sent them home to his house; because he thought proper to give up the citadel to the Syracusans, as greater evidence of their liberty.

For himself, after having rewarded with a truly royal magnificence all those who had contributed to his success, each according to their rank and merit; at the height of glory and happiness, and the object of admiration, not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who esteemed him the wisest and most fortunate captain that ever lived, he still retained his original simplicity; as modest and plain in his garb, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with people bred in armies, with officers and soldiers, who often breathe nothing but pleasures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time that Plato wrote to him, "That the eyes of all mankind were upon him alone;" little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that school of wisdom and virtue, where exploits and successes were judged of, not from the external splendour and noise with which they are attended, but from the wise and moderate use which is made of them.

Dion designed to establish a form of government in Syracuse, composed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the aristocracy was always to prevail, and to decide the most important affairs, by the authority, which, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council of elders. Heracles again opposed him in this scheme, still turbulent and seditious as usual, and solely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, caresses, and other popular arts. One day, when Dion sent for him to the council, he answered that he would not come; and that, being only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated insults, permitted those to kill him whom he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his house and despatched him. We shall see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracusans were deeply affected with his death, but as Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and forgave him the murder; convinced that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, while Heracles and Dion governed together.

After that murder Dion never knew joy nor peace of mind.² A hideous spectre, which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The phantom seemed a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury, and who swept his house with violence. His son's death, who for some unknown grief had thrown himself from the roof of a house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the finishing stroke to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship whilst he lodged in his house at Athens, and with

¹ Plat. p. 981. 683. Diad. p. 429

whom he had lived ever after in an entire freedom and unbounded confidence. Callippus, having given himself up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and devised how to get rid of Dion, who was the sole obstacle to his designs. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's sister and wife, who lost no time, and spared no pains, to discover the truth by a very strict inquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconsolable, that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the great oath, as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapped in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations, against himself which it is possible to imagine.

The oath cost him nothing, but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from several hands, as did Dion himself, and all his friends in general persuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a just and sudden punishment. But he never could resolve upon it. The death of Heracles, which he looked upon as a horrible blot upon his reputation and virtue, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrors his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present his throat himself to whoever would kill him, than live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened to the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assassinated in his own house by some Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The sister and wife of that prince were put into prison, where the latter was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse there herself.

After this murder, Callippus was A. M. 3646, for some time in a splendid condition, Ant. J. C. 353. having made himself master of Syracuse by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service, and whom he had gained by the gifts he bestowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the Divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life; and Plutarch observes, that the success of Callippus occasioned very great complaints against the gods, as if they suffered calmly, and without indignation, the vilest of men to raise himself to so exalted a fortune by so detestable and impious a method. But Providence was not long without justifying itself, for Callippus soon suffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catana, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off the yoke of so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost abundance of men, and particularly all the Zacynthian soldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was killed by Leptines and Polyperchon, and, it was said, with the same dagger with which Dion had been assassinated.

History has few examples of so striking an attention of Providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, perjury, treason, either in the authors of those crimes themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices who were any way concerned in them. The divine justice displays itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occasion; but it does not always distinguish itself by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristomache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Ictas of Syracuse: one of Dion's

friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind, had he persevered: but complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board, under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them on the voyage, and to throw them into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery; for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two daughters of that traitor.

The relations and friends of Dion,¹ soon after his death, had written to Plato, to consult him upon that manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what sort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible, and for that purpose to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful sovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them (and, according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings, one to be Hipparinus, Dion's son another Hipparinus, Dionysius the younger's brother, who seemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionysius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be duly prescribed him; and to invest them with an authority not much unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the same scheme, thirty-five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly observed; these were to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to serve as a balance between the power of the kings, the senate, and the people.

It does not appear that this advice was ever followed, and indeed it had great inconveniences. It is only known,² that Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, having landed at Syracuse with a fleet and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power two years.

The history of Sicily, which I have related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionysius the elder, who reigned thirty-eight, to the death of Dion.

SECTION IV.—CHARACTER OF DION.

It is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person as were united in Dion. I do not consider, in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his art of associating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment of his leisure; I confine myself to the statesman and patriot; and in this view, how admirable does he appear! Greatness of soul, elevation of sentiments, generosity in bestowing his wealth, heroic valour in battle, attended with a coolness of temper, and a prudence scarce to be paralleled: a mind vast and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers or the most unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his country and of the public good carried almost to excess: these are part of Dion's virtues. The design he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, show us of what he is capable.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and if I may say so, the most above human nature, is the greatness of soul, the unexampled patience, with which, he suffered the ingratitude of his countrymen. He had abandoned and sacrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty: in return for such great services they shamefully expelled him the

¹ Plat. p. viii

² Diod. l. xvi. p. 436.

city, accompanied with a handful of foreign soldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their base perfidy the most cruel outrages and indignity; to punish those ungrateful traitors he had only a signal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his soldiers: master of their temper, as well as his own, he curbs their impetuosity, and, without disarming their hands, restrains their just rage, suffering them, in the very height and ardour of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There seems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having something rigid and austere in his temper, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even persons of worth and his best friends at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, had often warned him of this. But notwithstanding the reproaches which were made him upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible severity, with which he treated the people, he still piqued himself upon making no abatement of them: whether his natural disposition was entirely averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion; or that from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaisant discourses of their orators, he thought fit to employ that rough and manly manner of behaviour towards them.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the art of managing men's tempers,¹ and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by harshly domineering over them, by commanding haughtily, and contenting one's self with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible rigour. There is, even in worth itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules, but it is always laudable, and often necessary, to soften and make them more pliant; which is best effected by mildness of demeanour, and an insinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigour; overlooking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and animadverting upon those which are more considerable with favour and mildness; in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought that trouble and anguish upon him that lasted till the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cause.

SECTION V.—DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER RE-ASCENDS THE THRONE. SYRACUSE IMPLORES AID OF THE CORINTHIANS, WHO SEND TIMOLEON. THAT GENERAL ENTERS SYRACUSE, NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THE ENDEAVOURS OF ICETAS TO PREVENT HIM. DIONYSIUS SURRENDERS HIMSELF TO HIM, AND RETIRES TO CORINTH.

Callippus who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long.² Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he held during two years.

Syracuse and all Sicily, being harassed by different factions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition. Dionysius, taking advantage

of those troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nypæus, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions.

It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment,³ and to express his gratitude to them, that he sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphi of very great value. The galleys which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at that time near Corcyra with a fleet.⁴ He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of this sacred booty, and was answered that he need not examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained bitterly of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote, wherein he reproached them, with great warmth and justice, for their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.

A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religious towards the Romans about fifty years before.⁵ The latter, after the taking of Veii, the siege of which had lasted ten years, sent a golden cup to Delphi. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the custom to divide among the citizens all the prizes they took as a common stock.⁶ The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timasitheus,⁷ and his behaviour agreed well with the signification of his name. Full of respect for their character of envoys, the sacred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and still more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all possible marks of distinction, and their expenses borne by the public. Timasitheus conveyed them with a strong squadron to Delphi, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And more than 150 years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do further honour to the family of their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both sides; but the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius. Though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions evinced no humanity for his subjects. His past misfortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

The most worthy and considerable of the citizens,⁸ not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had had recourse to Ictas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, had elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most avowed tyrants, but because they had no other resource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who

¹ Diod. l. xvi. p. 453.

⁴ Corfu.

² Liv. Decad. l. v. c. 28. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307.

³ Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio, partem prædam dividere. Fortè eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis: qui legatum nomen, dumque, et deum cui mitteretur, ei doni causam veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, quæ semper ferme regiis est similia, religione justè implevit; adductoque in publicum hospitium legatos cum præsidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutos, Romam inde sociis restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatusconsulto est factum, donaque publicæ data. Tit. Liv.

⁵ Timasitheus signifies one who honours the gods.

⁶ Diod. l. xvi. p. 459 et 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236.

¹ Which art an ancient poet called *serenarius, atque omni-um regina rerum oratio*. Cic. l. de divin. n. 80.

² Diod. l. xvi. p. 439—438.

were almost always at war with the Syracusans, having arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, had already made a great progress there. The Sicilians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in favour of liberty. Ictas, who proposed no other end from his command than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thought of setting it free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in public he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syracusans, and even sent his deputies along with theirs.

Corinth received the ambassadors perfectly well, decreed that aid should be sent to the
A. M. 3655. Syracusans, and immediately appointed
Ant. J. C. 349. Timoleon general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in public affairs, and was far from believing that at his age, and in the circumstances he then was, he should be thought on upon such an occasion.

He was descended from one of the noblest families of Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered upon all occasions a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants and bad men. He was an excellent captain; and as in his youth he had possessed all the maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the most ardent youth.

He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and saved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the sharpest affliction. He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty; kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon a heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be assassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought that, upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch seems to pass the same judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and some people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon himself. His mother especially, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the sight of her son's murderer, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors against him.

He was then struck with all the horror of his guilt, and giving himself up to the most bitter remorse, considered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and resolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment. It was with great difficulty his friends dissuaded him from that fatal resolution. Overcome by their prayers and entreaties, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for several years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desert places, abandoned to excess of grief and melancholy. So true it is, that neither the praises of flatterers, nor the false reasonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of conscience, which is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those who dare to violate the most sacred rights and ties of nature!

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general, but he did not think it allowable to refuse the service of his country, and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

Whilst Timoleon assembled his troops, and was

preparing to sail, the Corinthians received letters from Ictas, in which he told them, "That it was not necessary for them to make any further levies, nor to exhaust themselves in great expenses to come to Sicily, and expose themselves to evident danger; that the Carthaginians, apprised of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron in its passage with a great fleet; and that their slowness in sending their troops, had obliged him to call in the Carthaginians themselves to his aid, and to make use of them against the tyrant." He had made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated, that after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse, he should take possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incensed them still more, and hastened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked with ten galleys, and arrived safe upon the coast of Italy: here the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and discouraged his troops. An account was brought, that Ictas had defeated Dionysius; and having made himself master of the greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the *Isle*, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach and landing, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have compelled that general to retire.

And indeed the Carthaginians had sent twenty galleys to Rhegium. The Corinthians upon their arrival at that port, found ambassadors from Ictas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was an absolute insult, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels which the barbarians had caused to advance to intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon to extreme distress the whole of Sicily, which could not avoid being the reward of Ictas's treasury, and of the support which the Carthaginians should give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to exonerate himself, and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betrayed its interests. There was a secret understanding between him and the governors and magistrates of Rhegium. They desired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing so much as the neighbourhood of the barbarians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order that they might devote their attention solely to the present affair.

The people being assembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the same subject, and repeating the same reasons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. Whilst this was doing, nine of the Corinthian galleys went off, and were suffered by the Carthaginian vessels to pass, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers who were in the city, and that those nine galleys were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Ictas's army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whisper that his galleys were at sea, he slipped gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the sea-side, embarked directly; and having rejoined his galleys, they arrived together at Taormenum, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to reinstate the Sicilians in their liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprised and ashamed of being so deceived: but, as somebody told them, being Phœni-

ciens (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world,) fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Ictas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian galleys advance. They had 150 long ships, 50,000 foot, and 300 armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they saw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Ictas master of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than 1000 soldiers, and he had scarce provision for their subsistence. Besides which, the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had lately suffered from the extortion and cruelty that had been practised amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharas; who being both sent, the one from Athens, and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, so severe were the vexations with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below mount Ætna, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in Ictas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with near 5000 men, and the other with only 1200. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in disorder, and employed in taking up their quarters and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no sooner saw him than they took to flight. This occasioned their killing only 300, and taking twice as many prisoners; but the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the same time, and received Timoleon. Other cities sent their deputies to him soon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for Ictas, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon, sent ambassadors to the latter, to treat of surrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers, with 400 soldiers, file off into the castle, not all at once, nor in the day time, that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the harbour, but in small bodies, and by stealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it with all the tyrant's effects, and all the stores he had laid up there. For he had a considerable number of horse, all sorts of warlike engines and darts, besides 70,000 suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also 2000 regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Ictas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had seen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that ever had been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it for ten whole years before Dion took arms against him, and for some years after that, though always in the midst of wars and battles. He was sent to Corinth with only one galley, without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for

A. M. 3657. A sight, every body running to gaze at him; some with a secret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man whom the name of tyrant rendered odious;

others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition from which he had fallen, with the unfathomable abyss of distress into which they beheld him plunged.

His conduct at Corinth no longer excited any sentiments towards him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in the perfumers' shops, in taverns, with courtesans, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them upon the rules of music and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought that he behaved in such a manner through policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to suffer any thought or desire of recovering his dominions to be discovered. But such an opinion does him too much honour; and it seems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he passed his life, in the kind of slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

Some writers say,¹ that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, says Cicero² (without doubt jestingly,) to retain still a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding. Whether that were his motive or not,³ it is certain that Dionysius, who had seen himself master of Syracuse, and of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the same Dionysius,⁴ reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a schoolmaster, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations, warning them not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. This was the admonition which the Lacedæmonians some time after gave Philip. That prince having written to them in very haughty and menacing terms,⁵ they made him no other answer, than *Dionysius at Corinth*.

An expression of Dionysius written has been preserved, seems to argue if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his misfortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. Whilst he lived at Corinth,⁶ a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an indecent rudeness, upon the intercourse which he had kept up with the philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him by way of insult, "Of what advantage all the wisdom of Plato had been to him?"—"Can you believe then," replied he, "that I have received no benefit from Plato, when you see me bear ill fortune as I do?"

SECTION VI.—TIMOLEON, AFTER SEVERAL VICTORIES, RESTORES LIBERTY TO SYRACUSE, WHERE HE INSTITUTES WISE LAWS. HE RESIGNS HIS AUTHORITY, AND PASSES THE REST OF HIS LIFE IN RETIREMENT. HIS DEATH. HONOURS PAID TO HIS MEMORY.

AFTER the retreat of Dionysius.⁷

Ictas pressed the siege of the citadel A. M. 3658. of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, Ant. J. C. 346. and kept it so closely blocked up,

that the convoys sent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, threw them in thither frequently. To deprive them of this resource, Ictas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the ramparts that those who had been left to continue the siege were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden furious sal-

¹ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. iii. n. 27.

² Dionysius Corinthi pueros docebat, osque aded imperio carere non poterat.

³ Val. Max. l. vi.

⁴ Tantâ mutatione majores natu, nequis nimis fortune crederet, magister ludi factus ex tyranno decessit.

⁵ Demet. Phaler. de Elocut. l. viii.

⁶ Plut. in Timol. p. 243.

⁷ Ibid. p. 243.—248. Diod. l. xvi. p. 465 474.

ly upon them, whilst they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to flight, and seized the quarter of the city called *Achradina*, which was the strongest of it, and that which had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.

This bad news caused Mago and Ictas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron, which was posted to intercept them. When they were landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken possession of Messina, marched in battle array against Syracuse. His army consisted of only 4000 men. When he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries amongst the soldiers that bore arms for Ictas. They represented to them that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to endeavour to deliver up Syracuse and all Sicily to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all barbarians: that Ictas had only to join Timoleon, and that in concert with him they would soon overwhelm the common enemy. Those soldiers, having spread these insinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed; besides which, he had already for some time sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the entreaties and warm remonstrances of Ictas, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with so much vigour and success, that Ictas's troops were universally overthrown and put to flight. Thus, by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion, in sparing the forts and public edifices on account of their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first had raised distrust, though without foundation, against that great man, and at length had ruined him, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all Syracusans, who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which the Syracusans, considering that proclamation and day as the happy commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes, and not only demolished the citadel, but the palaces of the tyrants; breaking open their tombs at the same time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the same place from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the asylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was master of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it: for some having perished in the wars and seditions, and others having fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a desert, and the grass was grown so high in the streets, that horses grazed in them. Almost all the cities of Sicily were in the same condition. Timoleon and the Syracusans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to desire that people might be sent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise the country could never recover itself, especially as it was more-over threatened with a new war. For they had received advice that Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his commission, had hung up his body upon a cross, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army at the beginning of the year.

Those letters being arrived with the ambassadors from Syracuse, who conjured the Corinthians to take compassion of their city, and to be a second time the founders of it; the Corinthians did not consider the calamity of that people as an occasion of aggrandizing

themselves, and of making themselves masters of the city, according to the maxims of a base and infamous policy; but sending to all the sacred games of Greece, and to all public assemblies, they caused proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians having abolished the tyranny in Syracuse, and expelled the tyrants, declared free and independent the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who should return into their own country; and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and just distribution of the lands amongst them. At the same time they despatched couriers into Asia, and into all the isles whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as soon as possible to Corinth which would provide them vessels, commanders, and a safe convoy, to transport them into their country at its own expense.

Upon this proclamation Corinth received universal praises and blessings, as it justly deserved. It was every where proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here upon the grandeur of so noble and generous an action: the mere relation of it must make upon the mind of every one that impression that always results from what is great and noble; and every body must own, that never conquest or triumph equalled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a disinterestedness.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece, to augment this new kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to at least 10,000, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had already joined Timoleon. It is said their number amounted to 60,000 and upwards. Timoleon distributed the lands amongst them *gratis*; but sold the houses, with which he raised a very great sum; leaving to the old inhabitants the power of redeeming their own; and by this means he collected a considerable fund for such of the people as were poor, and unable to support either their own necessities or the charges of the war.

The statues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily were put up to sale; but first they were cited to trial, and regularly proceeded against in due form of law. One alone escaped the rigour of this inquiry, and was preserved; which was that of Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians near Himera, and had governed the people with lenity and justice; for which his memory was still cherished and honoured. If all statues were made to undergo the same scrutiny, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

History has preserved another sentence passed also in regard to a statue,¹ but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuse the digression. Nicon, a champion of Thasos,² had been crowned 1406 times victor in the solemn games of Greece. A man of such merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors insulted his statue, and gave it several blows; to revenge, perhaps, those he had formerly received from him it represented. But the statue, as if sensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that insulted it, and killed him. The son of him who had been crushed to death proceeded juridically against the statue, as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. That famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even inanimate things should be destroyed, whose fall should occasion the death of a man. The Thasians, conformably to this law, decreed that the statue should be thrown into the sea. But some years after being afflicted with a great famine, and having consulted the oracle of Delphi, they caused it to be taken out of the sea, and rendered new honours to it.

¹ Buidas in *Nixos*. Pausan. l. 6. p. 364

² An island in the *Ægean sea*.

Syracuse being thus raised in a manner from the grave, and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and of finally extirpating tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Ictas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts, and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptines, tyrant of Apollonia and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force, surrendered himself. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let all Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of humiliation and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians; for he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and the sole administration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at the same time, he sent them, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. Those troops brought over several cities from the barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with considerable sums of money, which was of great service in the support of the war.

About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Asdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of 70,000 men, 200 ships of war, and 1000 transports, laden with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing; and though he could raise only 6 or 7000 men, so great was the people's terror, he marched with that small body of troops against the formidable army of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimæsus; an account of which may be found in the history of the Carthaginians. Timoleon returned to Syracuse amidst shouts of joy and universal applauses.

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, and formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and soon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all suffer the just punishment their revolt deserved. Ictas, amongst others, with his son, were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters, having been sent to Syracuse and brought before the assembly of the people, were also sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, designed to avenge Dion, their first deliverer, by that decree. For it was the same Ictas who had caused Arete, Dion's wife, his sister Aristomache, and his son an infant, to be thrown into the sea.

Virtue is seldom or never without those who envy it. Two accusers summoned Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges; and having assigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded sureties of him. The people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have dispensed with so great a man's observing the usual formalities; this, however, he strongly opposed, giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due course. He was accused of malversation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himself the trouble to refute those calumnies, only replied: "That he thanked the gods, for that they had heard his prayers, and that he at length saw the Syracusans enjoy an entire liberty of saying every thing; a liberty absolutely unknown to them under the tyrants, but which it was just to confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had

purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had so long infested it, had re-established peace and security universally, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of re-instating themselves. After such glorious actions, which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he voluntarily quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had given him the best house in the city, in gratitude for his great services, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the prudence by resigning every thing to shelter himself also entirely from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and substantial. He shunned the rock on which the greatest men, through an insatiate lust of honours and power, are often shipwrecked; that is, by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by choosing rather to sink under, than to lay down, the weight of them.^a

Timoleon, who knew all the value of a noble and glorious leisure, acted in a different manner. He passed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such a numerous people, indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always respected, and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of land, nor regulation of government, seemed well done, if Timoleon had not been consulted, and put the last hand to it.

His age was tried with a very sensible affliction, which he supported with astonishing patience; it was the loss of sight. That accident, far from lessening the consideration and regard of the people towards him, served only to augment them. The Syracusans did not content themselves with paying him frequent visits, they conducted all strangers, both in town and country, to see their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the assembly of the people, they called him in to their assistance; he came thither in a chariot drawn by two horses, went through the public square to the theatre; and in that manner was introduced into the assembly, amidst the shouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiously observed, his domestics re-conducted him across the theatre, and he was escorted by all the citizens beyond the gates, with continual shouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had still greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the procession which followed his bier, of which the noblest ornaments were the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered by every body in honour of his memory. Those tears were neither the effect of custom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by a public decree, but flowed from a native source, and sprung from sincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconsolable sorrow. A law was also made, that, annually, for the future, upon the day of his death, musical and gymnastic games should be celebrated, and horse-races run in honour of him. But what was still more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracusan people; that whenever Sicily should be engaged in a war with foreigners, they should send to Corinth for a general.

I do not know that we discover in history any thing more great and accomplished than what we are told of Timoleon. I speak not only of his military exploits and the happy success of all his undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristic in them, which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great men of his times; and he makes use, upon that occasion, of a very remarkable comparison. There are, says he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which at the first view may be known to be the works of a master; but some of them denote

^a *Maluit deficere, quàm desinere. Quintil.*

^b *Otium cum dignitate. Cic.*

^c *Plut. in Timol. p. 248, 235.*

their having cost abundance of pains and application; whereas in others, an easy and native grace is seen, which adds exceedingly to their value; and amongst the latter he places the poems of Homer. Something of this sort occurs, he goes on, when we compare the great actions of Epaninondas and Agesilaus with those of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter there is an easiness and facility, which distinguishes them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune seems to have taken pleasure in seconding. It is Plutarch who still speaks.

But not to mention the military actions of Timoleon, what I admire most in him, is his warm and disinterested passion for the public good, reserving for himself only the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services; his extreme remoteness from ambition and haughtiness; his honourable retirement into the country; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and, what is still more uncommon, his aversion for all flattery, and even just praises. When somebody extolled, in his presence, his wisdom, valour, and the glory he had acquired in having expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but that he thought himself obliged to express his gratitude to the gods, in that, having decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, they had vouchsafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for so honourable an office: for he was fully persuaded that all human events are guided and disposed by

the secret decrees of Divine Providence.¹ What a treasure, what a happiness for a state, is such a minister!

For the better understanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuse under Timoleon, with its state under the two Dionysuses. It is the same city, the same inhabitants, and the same people: but what a difference do we perceive under the different governments we speak of! The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themselves feared, and of depressing their subjects to render them more submissive. They were in fact dreaded, as they desired to be, but at the same time detested and abhorred, and had more to fear from their subjects, than their subjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked upon himself as the father of the Syracusan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleasure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: and he was remembered amongst them with blessings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind, at the same time, the wise legislator to whom they were indebted for those inestimable blessings.

¹ Cùm suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit quàm se in eâ re maximas diis gratias agere et habere, quòd cùm Sicilian recreare constituisset, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. *Cor. Nep. in Timol. c. iv*

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

BOOK XII.

CHAPTEP V

SECTION I.—STATE OF GREECE FROM THE TIME OF THE TREATY OF ANTALCIDAS. THE LACEDÆMONIANS DECLARE WAR AGAINST THE CITY OF OLYNTHUS. THEY SEIZE BY FRAUD AND VIOLENCE UPON THE CITY OF THEBES. OLYNTHUS SURRENDERS.

THE peace of Antalcidas,¹ of which mention has been made in the third chapter of

A. M. 3617. the ninth book, had plentifully scattered among the Grecian states the seeds of discontent and division. In

consequence of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and suffer them to enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw their power extremely augmented by it, and strove to make farther additions to it. They compelled the Mantinians, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

The two kings of Sparta,² Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and entertained equally different opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace and a strict observer of justice, was anxious that Sparta, who was already much exclaiming against for the treaty of Antalcidas, should suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust desire of extending her dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.

At the same time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, A. M. 3621. two very considerable cities of Macedonia. Ant. J. C. 383. donia, on the subject of Olynthus, a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally from Chalcis in Eubœa. Athens,³ after the victories of Salamis and Marathon, had conquered many places on the side of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke as soon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented

¹ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. . v p. 550 553.

² Diod. l. xv p. 341

Diod. l. xv. p. 554. 556.

in the general assembly of the allies, that Olynthus, situate in their neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its measures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and the Thebans. The affair being taken into consideration, it was unanimously resolved that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed that the allied cities should furnish 10,000 troops, with liberty to such as desired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli a day for each foot soldier,¹ and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedæmonians, to lose no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Endamidas, who prevailed with the Ephori, that Phæbidas, his brother, might have the leading of those which were to follow, and to join him soon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for that purpose, seized upon Potidæa, a city in alliance with the Olynthians, which surrendered without making any defence; and began the war against Olynthus, though slowly, as was incumbent upon a general whose troops were not all assembled.

Phæbidas began his march soon after A. M. 3622. ter,² and being arrived near Thebes, Ant. J. C. 392. encamped without the walls, near the Gymnasium or public place of exercise. Ismenius and Leontides, both polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and supreme magistrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The first, who had engaged Pelopidas on his side, was no friend to the Lacedæmonians, nor they to him; because he publicly declared for popular government and liberty. The other on the contrary, favoured an oligarchy, and was supported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole interest. I am obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am going to relate, and which was a consequence of it, was the occasion of the important war between the Thebans and the Lacedæmonians.

This being the state of affairs at Thebes, Leontides applied to Phæbidas, and proposed to him to seize the citadel called Cadmæa, to expel the adherents of Ismenius, and to give the Lacedæmonians possession of it. He represented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him than to make himself master of Thebes, whilst his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus: that he would thereby facilitate the success of his brother's enterprise; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms against the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel, to supply him with whatever number of horse and foot he should think proper, for the reinforcement of Eudamidas.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little prudence, and who sought only for an opportunity of signaling himself by some extraordinary action, without examining the consequences, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. Whilst the Thebans, in entire security and full reliance on the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian states, were celebrating the feasts of Ceres, and expected nothing less than such an act of hostility, Phæbidas, conducted by Leontides, took possession of the citadel. The senate was then sitting. Leontides went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the Lacedæmonians who had just entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of those who wished to disturb the public tranquillity; that as for himself, by the power his office of polemarch gave him, of confining whoever caballed against the state, he should put Ismenius into a place of security, who factiously endeavoured to break the peace. He was seized accordingly, and carried to the citadel. The party of Ismenius, seeing their chief a prisoner, and apprehending the utmost violence for themselves,

quitted the city with precipitation and retired to Athens, to the number of 400 and upwards. They were soon after banished by a public decree. Pelopidas was of the number; but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmolested, being disregarded, as a man entirely devoted to the study of philosophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of state; and also on account of his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new polemarch was nominated in the room of Ismenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The news of Phæbidas's enterprise, who at a time of general peace had taken possession of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim nor right, had occasioned great murmurings and complaints. Such especially as opposed Agesilaus, who was suspected of having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose orders Phæbidas had committed so strange a breach of public faith. Agesilaus, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phæbidas, and declaring openly and before all the world, "That the action ought to be considered in itself, in order to understand whether it were useful or not; that whatever was expedient for Sparta, he was not only permitted, but commanded to act, upon his own authority, and without waiting the orders of any body:" strange principles to be advanced by a person who upon other occasions had maintained, "That justice was the first of all virtues; and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing." It is the same man that made answer, when somebody in his presence magnified the king of Persia's grandeur; "He, whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than I, unless he be more just?" a truly noble and admirable maxim, THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER IS EXCELLENT AND GREAT! but a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformably to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine that a statesman ought always to have justice in his mouth, but should never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its counsels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the arguments discussed at large, and set in their full light, the assembly resolved, that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined 100,000 drachmas;³ but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a strong garrison in it. What a strange contradiction was this! says Polybius;⁴ what a disregard of all justice and reason! to punish the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by public authority, and continue it in the name of the state, in order to reap the advantages arising from it. But this was not all: commissioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were despatched to the citadel of Thebes, to try Ismenius, upon whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither for one's country's interest, nor one's own.

Teletius,⁵ Agesilaus's brother, had been substituted in the place of Phæbidas to command the rest of the troops of the allies designed against Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was strong, and furnished with every thing necessary to a good defence. Several sallies were made with great success, in one of which Teletius was killed. The next year king Agesipolis had the command of the army. The campaign passed in skirmishing, without any thing decisive. Agesipolis died soon after of a disease, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who reigned nine years.

About that time began the hundredth A. M. 3624 Olympiad. Sparta made fresh efforts Ant. J. C. 380

¹ Five-pence

² Xenoph. p. 556—558. Plat. in Agesil. p. 608, 609. Id. Polop. p. 230. Diod. l. xv. p. 341, 342.

³ About 22,000*l.* sterling. ⁴ Lib. iv. p. 296. ⁵ Xenoph. l. v. p. 559—565. Diod. l. xv. 342, 343

to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybius their general, pressed the siege with vigour. The place being in want of provisions was at last obliged to surrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

SECTION II.—SPARTA'S PROSPERITY. CHARACTER OF TWO ILLUSTRIOUS THEBANS, EPAMINONDAS AND PELOPIDAS. THE LATTER FORMS THE DESIGN OF RESTORING THE LIBERTY OF HIS COUNTRY. CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE TYRANTS WISELY CONDUCTED, AND HAPPILY EXECUTED. THE CITADEL IS RETAKEN.

The fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with greater splendour,¹ nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them, either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that of all Bæotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependance. Corinth was entirely at their devotion and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city or people in their alliance attempted to withdraw themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Persia and the tyrant of Syracuse, seemed to emulate each other in court- ing their friendship and alliance.

A prosperity founded in injustice can be of no long duration. The blow that was to shake the Spartan power, came from the very quarter where they exercised the most unjust violence, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to fear; that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas,² both descended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and having become, whilst young, sole heir of a very rich and flourishing family, employed his wealth, from the first possession of it, in the relief of such as had occasion for it and merited his favour; showing in that wise use of his riches, that he was really their master, and not their slave. For according to Aristotle's remark, repeated by Plutarch,³ most men make no use at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuse them in bad or trifling expenses. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost say, his joy and delight, consisted. He was born of poor parents, and consequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and easy to him by his taste for philosophy. Pelopidas who supported a great number of citizens, never having been able to prevail on him to accept his offers and to make use of his fortune, resolved to share in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modesty of his dress and the frugality of his table.

If Epaminondas was poor with respect to the goods of fortune,⁴ he was amply recompensed in those of the head and heart: modest, prudent, grave, skillful in taking advantage of favourable opportunities, possessing in a supreme degree the science of war, equally valiant and wise, easy and complaisant in his intercourse with the world, suffering with incredible patience the ill treatment of the people, and even of his friends, quitting with his ardour for military exercises a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, piquing himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity, that he made a scruple of telling a lie even in jest or for diversion. *Adde veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

¹ Xenoph. p. 565. Diod. p. 334.

² Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

³ Τὸν πλοῦτον, οἱ μὲν οὐ χροῦνται τῷ πλούτῳ διὰ μικροδουλίαν, οἱ δὲ παραδύναντες δι' ἀσέβειαν.

⁴ Corn. Nep. in Epam. c. lii.

They were both equally inclined to virtue.⁵ But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leisure, the one in the palestra and the chase, and the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.

But what persons of sense and judgment must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found amongst those of their high rank, is the perfect union and friendship that always subsisted between them, during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the public affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, dissension and debate. The two friends we speak of held the first offices in the state; all great affairs passed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In such delicate conjunctures, what occasions of pique and jealousy generally arise! But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the least emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good understanding. The reason of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is upon virtue; which in all other actions, says Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, those fatal sources of strife and division, in view, but solely the public good, and made them desire, not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such were the two illustrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events in which they will have a principal share.

Leontides being apprised that the exiles had retired to Athens,⁶ where A. M. 3626 they had been well received by the Ant. J. C. 378. people, and much respected by all people of worth and honour, laid a plot for secretly cutting them off, by means of certain unknown persons, whom he sent thither to assassinate the most considerable of them. Only Androclides was killed, and Leontides failed in his designs against all the rest.

At the same time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or assisting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as persons declared to be the common enemies of Greece by all the allies. Humanity, a virtue peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horror. They were transported with the opportunity of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature. For the Thebans had contributed the most to the re-establishment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a public decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes, that Thrasybulus had set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to them, "That it was neither becoming nor just to content themselves with having saved their own lives, and to look with indifference upon their country, enslaved and miserable; that whatever good-will the people of Athens might express for them, it was not fit that they should suffer their fate to depend upon the decrees of a people, which their natural inconsistency, or the malignity of the orators that turned them any way at will, might soon alter: that it was necessary to hazard every thing, after the example of Thrasybulus, and to set before themselves his intrepid valour, and generous fortitude as a model; that as he set out from Thebes to suppress and destroy the tyrants of Athens, so they ought to go from Athens to restore to Thebes its ancient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the exiles that could be expected. They sent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution

⁵ Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

⁶ Xenoph. Hist. Gr. l. v. p. 566—568. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280—294. In. de Socrat. Gen. p. 586—588. et 594—596. Diod. l. xv. p. 344—346. Corn. Nep. in Pelop. c. i. i.

who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons in the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then polemarchs or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaninondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans by his discourse with a passionate desire to throw off the Spartan yoke. He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected,¹ but he believed that he ought not to have any share in it, because, as he said, he could not resolve to imbrue his hands in the blood of his countrymen; foreseeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprise however lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone; and convinced besides, that a citizen, who should not appear to have taken either side, would have it in his power to make a more powerful impression upon the minds of the people.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper that Phereñicus, having assembled all the conspirators, should stop at Thrasium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a small number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themselves for this bold enterprise. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and despatched a messenger to Charon, to give him notice of their coming, they set out dressed in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands for pitching of tents; that such as they met on the way might have no suspicion of them, and take them only for hunters that had wandered after their game.

Their messenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon that they were set out, the approach of danger did not alter his sentiments; and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his house for their reception.

One of the conspirators, who was not a bad man, who even loved his country, and would have served the exiles with all his power, but had neither the resolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprise, and could think of nothing but the difficulties and obstacles that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination, appalled with the prospect of danger, retired to his house without saying any thing, and despatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprise, and return to Athens, there to await a more favourable opportunity. Happily, that friend, not finding his horse's bridle, and losing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peasants, having separated from each other, entered the city at different gates towards the close of day. As it was then early in the winter, the north wind blew, and the snow fell; which served the better to conceal them, every body keeping within doors on account of the cold weather; which gave them likewise a pretext for covering their faces. Some who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, secretary to the Bæotarchs,² who was in the plot, had some time before invited Archias and his companions to supper on that very day, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat down to table. They had circulated the glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without showing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias, however, sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him im-

mediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and swords, when, on a sudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Somebody went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately, he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded that the conspiracy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon should obey the order, and present himself before the magistrates with an air of assurance, as void of fear, and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatened only himself: but at that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending also that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house, should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only son of fifteen years old at most, who in beauty and strength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, saying at the same time, "If you discover that I have betrayed you, and have been guilty of treachery upon this occasion, revenge yourselves on me in this my only son, whom, dear as he is to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a victim without mercy to his father's perfidy."

These expressions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the most sensible pain was his imagining that there was any one amongst them so mean and ungrateful as to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimously, not to leave his son with them, but to put him into some place of safety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he should not be so fortunate as to escape the tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he shall stay with you, and share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler end can he make, than to perish with his father and best friends? For you, my son, exert yourself beyond your years, and show a courage worthy of you and me. You see here the most excellent of the Thebans. Make under such masters a noble essay of glory, and learn to fight; or if it must be so, to die, like them, for liberty. For the rest, I am not without hopes, for I believe that the justice of our cause will draw down the favour and protection of the gods upon us." He concluded with a prayer for them, and after embracing the conspirators, went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to compose his looks and voice, that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the house where the feast was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and asked the meaning of a report, that disaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house. He seemed astonished; and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information on the subject, he assumed a bolder tone, and said, "It is very likely the report you speak of is only a false alarm, intended to interrupt your mirth; however, as it ought not to be neglected, I'll go immediately, and make the strictest inquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, again engaged him in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promised them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared, not to conquer, nor to save their lives, but to die gloriously, and to sell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which they had no thoughts but of putting into instant execution a design, to which the least delay might occasion a thousand obstacles.

In fact, at that very instant happened a second storm, far more violent and more dangerous than the first, and which seemed as if it could not possibly fail

¹ Plot. de Gen. Socrat. p. 594.

² The magistrates and generals who were charged with the government of Thebes, were called Bæotarchs, that is to say commanders or governors of Bæotia.

of making the enterprise miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. The courier was brought first to Archias, who was already overcome with wine, and thought of nothing but pleasure. In giving him his despatches, he said, "My lord, the person who writes you these letters, conjures you to read them immediately, being serious affairs." Archias replied, laughing, "Serious affairs to-morrow;" which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under his bolster,¹ and continued the conversation and banquet.

The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one, with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. The latter had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment where the feast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in till the servants were all dismissed, which was done immediately. They were sent to neighbouring houses, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered sword in hand, and showing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the sword, and with them the magistrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more resistance. Leontides, who was asleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and rising immediately, armed himself with his sword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet, but was at last killed himself.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with so much despatch and success, couriers were immediately despatched to the exiles who had remained at Thriassium. The doors of the prisons were broken open, and 500 prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to resume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met, the spoils affixed to the porticoes being taken down, and the armourers and cutler's shops, broken open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Georgidas came in arms to join them, accompanied with a numerous band of young men, and with some old persons of great worth, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confusion; the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people, in a consternation at what had happened, and for want of sufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their destiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not having fallen upon them during their disorder; for the garrison consisted of 1500 men, besides 3000 who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they saw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, after having sent couriers to Sparta with the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate re-inforcement.

The next day at sun-rise the exiles arrived with their arms, and an assembly of the people was convened. Epaminondas and Georgidas conducted Pelopidas and his company thither, surrounded with all their sacrifices, carrying in their hands the sacred fillets, and exhorting the citizens to assist their country, and to join with their gods. At this sight, the whole assembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conspirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were elected Bæotarchs.

¹ Οὐδὲν ἔ; αἰετοῦ, ἰδοὺ, τὰ σπυδιῶνα.

² The Greeks ate lying on couches.

The arrival of the exiles was followed by that of 5000 foot and 500 horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Those troops, with others which joined them shortly after from all the cities of Bæotia, composed an army of 12,000 foot and 2000 horse, and without loss of time besieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The besieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than surrender the place; at least the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion. But they were not the greatest number of the garrison. When provisions began to fall short, and famine to press them, the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to surrender. The garrison had their lives granted them and were permitted to retire whither they thought fit. They were scarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition, might have saved the citadel. But this was not the first time that the natural slowness of the Lacedæmonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their most important enterprises. The three commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were punished with death; and the third had so great a fine laid upon him, that not being able to pay it, he banished himself from Peloponnesus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable of any that were ever executed by surprise and stratagem. Plutarch, with reason, compares it to that of Thrasylbulus. Both exiles, destitute in themselves of all resource, and compelled to implore a foreign support, form the bold design of attacking a formidable power with a handful of men; and having overcome all obstacles to their enterprise solely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thrasylbulus for that sudden and happy change, which, freeing them from the oppression under which they groaned, not only restored their liberty, but with it their ancient splendour and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta their ancient and constant rival, tremble in her turn. We shall see in like manner, that the war which is to reduce the pride of Sparta, and deprive her of empire over both sea and land, was the work of this single night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortress, but entering only one of twelve into a private house,³ unloosed and broke the chains imposed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other states of Greece, though they appeared to be so firmly rivetted as never to be broken or unloosed.

SECTION III.—SPHODRIAS THE LACEDÆMONIAN FORMS A DESIGN AGAINST THE PIRÆEUS WITHOUT SUCCESS. THE ATHENIANS DECLARE FOR THE THEBANS. SKIRMISHES BETWEEN THE LATTER AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

The Lacedæmonians,⁴ after the injury they pretended to have received A. M. 3627. by the enterprise of Pelopidas, did Ant. J. C. 377. not continue quiet, but applied themselves in earnest to take their revenge. Agesilaus, rightly judging that an expedition of that kind, the end of which was to support tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded king Agesipolis, under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Bæotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country; after which the king retired; and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Thebes, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedæmonians,

³ Περικλῆς, ἢ δὲ μεταπολεὶ τὸ ἄλκις, ἵππευ, ἄρμα καὶ δίκρυφον τοῦ δισκοῦ τῶ; Λακεδαιμονίων βυραμὸν ἑλόντες καὶ ἑξήκτους ἴππους ἀποκύντες.

⁴ Xenoph. Hist. Gr. l. v. p. 568—572. Plut. in Ages. p. 609, 610. Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

and were afraid of the consequences of the war in which the league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Of those who persisted to adhere to the Theban party, some were imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate; as no one came forward to support them. Pelopidas and Georgidas were then in office, and were concerting together means to enbroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians; and this was the stratagem they contrived.

Spodrias the Spartan had been left at Thespie with a body of troops, to receive and protect such of the Boeotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation amongst the soldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition: but he was rash, superficial, self-conceited, and consequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Georgidas sent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himself, of a considerable sum of money, and with insinuations better calculated to persuade him than money, since they flattered his vanity. "After having represented to him that a person of his merit and reputation ought to form some great enterprise which might immortalize his name, he proposed to him the seizing of the Piræus, by attacking the Athenians by surprise, and when they could have no expectation of such an attempt. He added, that nothing could be more grateful to the Lacedæmonians, than to see themselves masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, enraged at the Athenians, whom they considered as traitors and deserters, would lend them no assistance."

Spodrias, anxious to acquire a great name, and envying the glory of Phæbidas, who, in his opinion, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more brilliant and glorious exploit to seize the Piræus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook therefore with great joy an enterprise, which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of the Cadmea, but executed neither with the same boldness nor with the same success. For having set out in the night from Thespie, with the view of surprising the Piræus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thrasium near Eleusis, and finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thespie with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors with their complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Spodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that summons, having just reason to apprehend the issue of a trial, and the resentment of his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship with the son of Agesilaus. The latter solicited his father so earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunities, and perseverance, that he could not refuse Spodrias his protection, and got him fully acquitted. Agesilaus had little delicacy, as we have seen already, with respect to the duties of justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was besides, of all mankind, the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick amongst them, and that having been one day surprised by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till himself was a father.

The unjust sentence passed in favour of Spodrias by the Spartans exceedingly incensed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to assist them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet of sixty sail, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, son of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well sustained by his

own valour and exploits. It was he whom his enemies, through envy of the glory he had acquired by his great success, painted sleeping, with the goddess Fortune at his feet, taking towns in nets for him: but upon this occasion he proved that he was not asleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the isle of Corcyra, which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alterations in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their side made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy situation between Sicily and Greece rendered that island very important. They therefore engaged Dionysius the tyrant in this expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they despatched their fleet under the command of Mnassippus. The Athenians sent sixty sail against him to the relief of Corcyra, under the command of Timotheus at first; but soon after, upon his seeming to act too slowly, Iphicrates was substituted in his place. Mnassippus having made himself odious to his troops by his haughtiness, rigour, and avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice that the Syracusan squadron of ten galleys was approaching, which he attacked so successfully that not one of them escaped. He had demanded, that the orator Callistratus, and Chabrias, one of the most renowned captains of his time, should be joined in commission with him. Xenophon admires his wisdom and greatness of soul upon that account, in being not unwilling to appear to have occasion for advice, and not apprehending that others might share the glory of his victories with himself.

Agesilaus had been prevailed upon to take the command of the troops against Thebes. He entered Boeotia, where he did abundance of damage to the Thebans, not without considerable loss on his own side. The two armies came every day to blows, and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in skirmishes, which served to instruct the Thebans in the art of war, and to inspire them with valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported that the Spartan Antalcidas told Agesilaus very justly upon this head one day, when he was brought back from Boeotia much wounded, "My lord Agesilaus, you have a fine reward for the lessons you have given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught it them, they never would nor could learn." It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycorgus, in one of the three laws which he calls *Rhetra*, forbade the Lacedæmonians to make war often upon the same enemy, lest they should make them good soldiers, by obliging them too frequently to defend themselves.

Several campaigns passed in this manner without any thing decisive on either side. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their soldiers time to inure and embolden themselves. When the occasion was favourable, they let them seasonably loose like generous hounds, and after having given them a taste of victory by way of reward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their success and this wise conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprise against Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedæmonians, at his return he found the enemy posted to intercept him near Tegyra. As soon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, somebody ran in all haste to Pelopidas, and told him, "We are fallen into the enemy's hands." "Why so," replied he: "Why should we not rather say, that they are fallen into ours?" At the same time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was assured that his foot, which were only 300, and were called the *sacred battalion*, wherever they charged, would break through the enemy, though superior in number, as they were

ny at least two-thirds. The assault began where the generals of each party were posted, and was very fierce. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were presently killed; all that were with them being either slain or dispersed. The rest of the Lacedæmonian troops were so daunted, that they opened a passage for the Thebans, who might have marched on and saved themselves if they had thought fit: but Pelopidas, disdaining to make use of that opening for his retreat, advanced against those who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a slaughter of them, that the rest were all dismayed, and fled in disorder. The Thebans did not pursue them far, lest they should be surprised. They contented themselves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat, not inferior to a victory, because it was made through an enemy dispersed and defeated.

This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the source of the great actions and events we shall soon relate. It had never happened till then in any war, either against the Barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the superiority of number on their side, nor even with equal forces in a pitched battle. For which reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durst show themselves in the field before them, unless superior in number. They now lost that glory; and the Thebans in their turn are to become the terror and dread even of those who had hitherto rendered themselves so universally formidable.

The enterprise of Artaxerxes Mne-
A. M. 3627. mon against Egypt, and the death of
Ant. J. C. 377. Evagoras king of Cyprus, should nat-
A. M. 3630. urally come in here. But I shall de-
Ant. J. C. 374. fer those articles, to avoid breaking in
upon the Theban affairs.

SECTION IV.—NEW TROUBLES IN GREECE.
THE LACEDÆMONIANS DECLARE WAR AGAINST
THEBES. THEY ARE DEFEATED AND PUT TO
FLIGHT IN THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA. EPAMI-
NONDAS RAVAGES LACONIA, AND MARCHES TO
THE GATES OF SPARTA.

WHILST the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war,¹ great troubles arose in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Platææ,² and afterwards Thespiæ, entirely demolished those two cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Platæans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmost kindness, and adopted into the number of citizens.

Artaxerxes,³ being informed of the
A. M. 3633. state of the Grecian affairs, sent a
Ant. J. C. 371. new embassy thither, to persuade the
several cities and republics at war, to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcidas. By that peace, as has been observed in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedæmonians pressed the Thebans to restore liberty to all the cities of Bœotia, to rebuild Platææ and Thespiæ which they had demolished, and to restore them with the territories dependent on them to their ancient inhabitants. The Thebans on their side insisted also, that the Lacedæmonians should give liberty to all those of Laconia, and that the city of Messene should be restored to its ancient possessors. This was what equity required; but the Lacedæmonians, believing themselves much superior to the Thebans, were for imposing a law upon them, to which they would not submit themselves.

All Greece being weary of a war which had already lasted several campaigns, and had no other origin than the ambition and injustice of Sparta, nor any other end than the aggrandizing of that state, was seriously intent upon effecting a general peace, and with

that view had sent deputies to Lacedæmon to concert together the means of attaining so desirable an event. Amongst those deputies,⁴ Epaminondas was of the first rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy; but he had not yet had an opportunity of giving any very distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies and the administration of public affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common error of too imperious a power on one side, and too servile a submission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a wise and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view than the public good. He made a speech, not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, whilst the rest of Greece was reduced and ruined by it. He insisted principally upon the necessity of establishing the peace upon the basis of equality and justice; because no peace could be solid and of long duration, but that wherein all parties should find an equal advantage.

A discourse like this, founded evidently upon reason and justice, and pronounced with a grave and serious tone, never fails of making an impression. Agesilaus plainly perceived, from the attention and silence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, "Whether he thought it just and reasonable that Bœotia should be free and independent?" that is to say, Whether he agreed that the cities of Bœotia should depend no longer upon Thebes? Epaminondas immediately asked in his turn, with great vivacity, "Whether he thought it just and reasonable that Laconia should enjoy the same independence and liberty?" Upon which, Agesilaus, rising from his seat in great rage, insisted upon his declaring plainly, "Whether he would consent that Bœotia should be free?" Epaminondas retorted his question again, and asked, "Whether on his side he would consent that Laconia should be free?" Agesilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, struck their name directly out of the treaty of alliance which they were about to conclude. The rest of the allies signed it, less out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whose power they dreaded.

In consequence of this treaty,⁵ all the troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then in Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republic's resolutions. Prothous, one of the principal senators, represented that there was no room for deliberation, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, had made the recall of the troops indispensable. Agesilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on war for an opportunity of revenge, and the present seemed particularly favourable, when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded from the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, who treated him as an honest well-meaning doctard,⁶ that knew nothing of the matter; the Divinity from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march again; the Thebans with his troops, and sent orders at the same time to all their allies, to assemble their forces, who were very averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contradicting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of resentment

¹ Diod. l. ii. p. 361, 362.

² Platææ, a city of Bœotia; Thespis of Achaia.

³ Xenoph. History Græc. 6 p. 590—593. Diod. p. 365, 366.

⁴ Plut. in Agésil. p. 611.

⁵ Xenoph. l. vi. p. 593—597. Diod. l. xv. p. 365—371.

Plut. in Agésil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 285, 286.

⁶ Ἐκείνους μὲν φωνάζουσιν γυμναστές, ἕκαστος γὰρ, ὡς τοῦτο καὶ διαμαρτυρεῖται ὕμνος.

and revenge; the Lacedæmonians, however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

The Thebans were much alarmed. A. M. 3634. at first. They saw themselves alone. Ant J. C. 370. without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost, not knowing that in a single man they had more than an army. This man was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several colleagues joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to 6000 men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were told him to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is, "There is but one good omen,¹ which is, to fight for one's country." However, to re-assure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favor, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded the sacred battalion. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears, to take care of himself: "That," said he, "should be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occasion for such advice; they should only be exhorted to take care of others."

Epaminondas had had the wise precaution to secure a pass, by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Boeotia, between Plateæ and Thepiæ. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if, with such a superiority of troops, he declined fighting, it would confirm the report which was secretly spread, that he covertly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an essential reason for hastening a battle, to anticipate the arrival of the troops which the enemy daily expected. However, the six generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their sentiments. A seventh, who came up very seasonably, joined the three that were for fighting; and his opinion, which coincided also with that of Epaminondas, carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon. This was in the second year of the 102d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been said, consisted of 24,000 foot and 1600 horse. The Thebans had only 6000 foot and 400 horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their success in former campaigns, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill-disciplined, was as much inferior to that of their enemies in courage as it was superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as it has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and were besides dissatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his time. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of the sacred battalion, composed of 300 young Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, consisting of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take advantage of the superiority of his horse in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedæmonians.

Archidamus, Agesilaus's son was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. The sacred battalion was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his right flank, to refuse his right wing and keep it as a kind of reserve, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them (after the enemy's example) in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broken, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon the sight of that movement advanced with incredible speed and boldness at the head of the sacred battalion to prevent the enemy's design, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very fierce and obstinate; and whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour. But the left wing, seeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx had been broken, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, but erected a trophy and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeats till then had scarce ever cost them more than 4 or 500 of their citizens. They had been seen, however, animated, or rather violently incensed, against Athens, to ransom by a truce of thirty years, 800 of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be shut up in the little island of Sphacteria. Here they lost 4000 men, of whom 1000 were Lacedæmonians, and 400 Spartans, out of 700 who were in the battle.² The Thebans had only 300 men killed, among whom were but few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta was at that time celebrating the gymnastic games, and was full of strangers whom curiosity had brought thither, when the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat. The Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any change to take place in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations who were killed, and stayed in the

¹ Those were properly called Spartans, who inhabited Sparta: the Lacedæmonians were those settled in the country.

² *ἡ δὲ σὺνδὴ ἀνέστη, ἀναιρεῖσθαι πρὸς πέναν.*

liad. xi. v. 423.

theatre to see that the dances and games were continued without interruption, to the end.

The next day in the morning, the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle met in the public square, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks; whilst the others kept themselves close in their house, or, if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect which sensibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons were seen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied but such sentiments evince great courage and resolution; but I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased had there been less of ferocity in them.

Sparta was under no small difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families in the city, it was not safe to inflict upon them the punishments assigned by the laws, lest their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution that might be fatal to the state. For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a disgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to suffer. They were besides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours; and, lastly, they were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It would be a great loss to the Spartans to be deprived of so many of their soldiery, at a time when they had such pressing occasion for them. To remove this difficulty, they chose Agesilaus legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agesilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing, any thing, found means to save the fugitives without prejudice to the state. In a full assembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, "That for the present day, the laws should be suspended, and of no effect; but ever after to remain in full force and authority." By those few words he preserved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time restored to the state that great number of its members, by preventing their being for ever degraded, and consequently useless to the republic.

After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were industriously employed, the one in retrieving their loss, and the other in improving their victory.¹

Agesilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia;² but with a full resolution carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himself to attacking some small towns of the Mantineans, which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave Sparta some joy, and they began to take courage from believing their condition not entirely desperate.

The Thebans, immediately after their victory, had sent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the same time against the common enemy. The senate was then sitting, and received the courier with great coldness, did not make him the usual presents, and dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the considerable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not dissemble the umbrage and dissatisfaction which so sudden and unexpected an increase of a neighbouring power gave them, which might soon render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Boeotia. Having assembled all the troops of the Boeotians and their allies, whose number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus, and made abundance of places and states revolt from the Lacedæmonians; Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and the greatest part of Laconia itself. It was then about

the winter solstice, and towards the end of the last month of the year, so that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the first day of the next month being assigned by law, for their resigning them to the persons appointed to succeed them, upon pain of death if they held them beyond that term. Their colleagues apprehending the badness of the seasons, and still more the dreadful consequences of inflicting that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes.

Pelopidas was the first who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to pursue their enterprise without regard to a formality, from the observance of which they might justly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself, as the service of the state, when founded in justice, is the sovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of 70,000 good soldiers, of which the Thebans did not form a twelfth part. But the great reputation of the two generals was the cause, that all the allies, even without orders, or a public decree, obeyed them with respectful silence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was 600 years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time they had never seen, till now, an enemy upon their lands; none having hitherto dared to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any opposition whatsoever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Ischolas the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible, with his small body of troops, to support the enemy's attack, and thinking it disgraceful for a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men who were of an age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. These, unanimously devoting themselves, after the example of Leonidas, to the public good, sold their lives very dear; and after having defended themselves a long time, and made great slaughter of their enemies they all perished to a man.

Agesilaus acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous to oppose, whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and after some ravages subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle and all the most important parts of the city, and with strongly securing all the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name and called upon him to come out and defend his country, him who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, by kindling the war.

But a subject of far greater affliction to Agesilaus were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the highest affliction and despair from being witnesses of what they saw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatening cries of the enemy, and seeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilst the flames and smoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agesilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being sensibly affected with so mournful an object, to which was added the grief of sullyng his reputation who, having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition when he came to the government, now saw it fallen to such a degree, and all its ancient glory lost under him! He was, besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, "that no woman of Sparta had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's camp."

¹ Xenoph. l. vi. p. 598. Diod. l. xv. p. 375-378.

² Plut. in Agesil. p. 613-615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither; and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad designs, he said to them, "Comrades, it is not there I sent you." At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprize had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, evinces a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shows, that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought it more advisable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous inquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swollen by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans pointed him out to Agesilaus: who, after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, said only, "Wonderful man!"¹ in admiration of the valour that induced him to undertake such great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta itself, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it. He did not however dare to attempt the forcing of the city; and not being able to induce Agesilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itself long against a victorious army. But the prudent captain who commanded it was apprehensive of drawing upon his hands the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, of exciting the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying so potent a republic, and pulling out, as Leptius says, one of the eyes of Greece, as a proof of his skill.² He confined himself therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whose laconic language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of lengthening their monosyllables.³ On his return he again wasted the country.

In this expedition the Thebans reinstated Arcadia into one body,⁴ and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it very long,⁵ after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best soil in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country, natural to all men, and almost as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the name of the old one, was called Messene. Amongst the unhappy events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more sensible displeasure, or rather more lively grief, than this; because from time immemorial an irreconcilable enmity had subsisted between Sparta and Messene, which seemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

Polybius points out an ancient error in the conduct of the Messenians with regard to Sparta,⁶ which was the cause of all their misfortunes. This was their too great solicitude for present tranquillity, and through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it sure and lasting. Two of the

most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. The latter, from their first settlement, in the country, had declared open war against them: the others, on the contrary, always joined with them, and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians had neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcilable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two states were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, with little foresight for the future and regarding only their present repose, made it a rule never to engage in the quarrel on either side, and to observe an exact neutrality. On such conjunctures they congratulated themselves upon their wisdom and success in preserving their tranquillity, whilst their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confusion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedæmonians having subdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unsupported by allies, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduced them to submit, either to the yoke of a rigid slavery, or to banish themselves from their country. And this was several times their case. They ought to have reflected, says Polybius,⁷ that as there is nothing more desirable or advantageous than peace, when founded on justice and honour; so there is nothing more shameful, and at the same time more pernicious, when attained by bad measures, and purchased at the price of liberty.

SECTION V.—THE TWO THEBAN GENERALS, AT THEIR RETURN, ARE ACCUSED AND ACQUITTED. SPARTA IMPLEORES AID OF THE ATHENIANS. THE GREEKS SEND AMBASSADORS TO ARTAXERXES. INFLUENCE OF PELOPIDAS AT THE COURT OF PERSIA.

IT might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after such memorable actions, should have been received with general applause, and all the honours that could be conferred upon them. Instead of which, they were both summoned to answer as criminals against the state; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to resign their command to new officers, retained it four months beyond the appointed term; during which they had executed in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all those great exploits we have related.

Such conduct is surprising, and the relation of it cannot be read without a secret indignation: but it had a very plausible foundation. The zealous assertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehensive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorizing some future magistrate to maintain himself in command beyond the established term, and in consequence to turn his arms against his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the same manner; and if they were so severe as to put an officer to death, though victorious, for having fought without his general's orders, how would they have behaved to a general who should have continued four months in the supreme command, contrary to the laws?

Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal.⁸ He defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character for he was naturally warm and fiery. That valour, haughtiness and intrepidity in fight, forsook him before the judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and grovelling in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, and it was not without difficulty that they acquitted him. Epaminondas appeared, and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifi-

¹ Ὁ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπύμονος ἀνέκδοτος. The Greek expression is not easy to be translated. It signifies, Oh the actor of great deeds.

² Arist. Rhet. l. iii. c. 10.

³ The Lacedæmonians answered the most important despatches by a single monosyllable. Philip having written to them, "If I enter your country, I will put all to fire and sword," they replied, "If," to signify they would take all possible care to put it out of his power.

⁴ Paus. l. iv. p. 267, 268.

⁵ The Messenians had been driven out of their country 227 years.

⁶ Polyb. l. iv. p. 299, 300.

⁷ Εἰς τὴν γὰρ, καὶ, μὴ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ πενήτου, καλὸν ἵσταναι πρὸς τὴν αἰσθητικὴν καὶ ἀντιληπτικὴν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ δουλοπρεπὴς ἀνέκδοτος, πάντως ἀφελὸς τοῦ αἰσθητικῆς καὶ ἀντιληπτικῆς.

⁸ Plut. de sui laude, p. 540

ifying himself, he made a panegyric upon his actions, and repeated in a lofty style, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and reunited Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would concede the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature designed for great actions, and gave an air of grandeur to every thing he did. His enemies,¹ jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected *Telearnch*; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however bought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that "the office did not only show what the man was, but also the man what the office was."² He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted in only taking care that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common sewers in good order.

The Lacedæmonians,³ having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late successes had rendered still more haughty and enterprising than ever, and seeing themselves exposed every moment, to a new road, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke, began with describing in the most pathetic terms, the deplorable condition and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the insolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the making themselves masters of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear from them, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece, and contributed to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with saying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously sacrificed itself for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse, but at the same time they had not forgotten the bad treatment which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat in Sicily. However, their compassion of the present misfortunes of Sparta prevailed over their resentment of former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. A short time after,⁴ the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcidas, and the intention of the king of Persia, who was continually urging its execution.

A slight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies,⁵ raised them from that dejection of spirits in which they had hitherto remained; as it generally happens, that in a mortal distemper the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope and recalls joy. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, having received a considerable aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called *the battle without tears*,⁶ because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been so much accustomed to conquer, that they had become almost insensible to the pleasure of victory:

but when the news of this battle arrived, and they saw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the officers and magistrates. The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had risen so high.

Philiscus,⁷ who had been sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphi, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all consulted in the affair which was discussed in the assembly. The Spartans demanded, that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the Theban's refusal to comply with that demand, the assembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having left considerable sums of money with the Lacedæmonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the Persian's fear or jealousy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of inquietude.

To form a league against Thebes with greater certainty,⁸ the allies had sent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their side deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wise choice, from the great reputation of the ambassadors, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negotiation. The battle of Leuctra had spread his fame into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongst the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, "This is he who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta, to confine itself between the Eurotus and Taygetus; Sparta, that not long since, under its king Agesilaus, threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Ecbatana."

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himself upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in esteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and self-love, and to insinuate to his subjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambassadors, and more simple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was saying a great deal, he esteemed him more than ever; and as it is common with kings,⁹ who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not dissemble his extreme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprized the king, how important it was to the interest of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make a useful diversion against those republics, the perpetual and irreconcilable enemies of Persia, and which had lately caused it so many losses and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him: because being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and at the same time of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having pressed Pelopidas to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, "That Messene should continue free and exempt from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian galleys, which had sailed to infest the coast of Bœotia, should be recalled, or that war should be declared against Athens; that those who would not come into the league, or march against such as should oppose it, should be attacked first." All which was decreed, and the Thebans de-

¹ Plut. de Præcept. reip. ger. p. 811.

² Οὐ μὲν ἔρχη ἄνδρα δεικνύων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔρχαν ἑψ.

³ Xenoph. l. vi. p. 609—613.

⁴ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 613—616.

⁵ Plut. in Agesil. p. 614, 615. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619.

⁶ Diod. l. xv. p. 383.

⁷ Xenoph. p. 619. Diod. p. 381.

⁸ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 620—622. Plut. in Pelop. p. 294.

⁹ Πᾶσι βασιλεὺς παῖς.

clared friends and allies of the king. When this decree was read to the ambassadors, Leon, Timagoras's colleague, said, loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, "Athens has nothing now to do but to find some other ally than the king."

Pelopidas, having obtained all he desired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many presents, than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of them, the envoy from the Arcadians, said, on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the king's court but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain ostentation, and that the so-much-boasted plane-tree of gold,¹ which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grass-hopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office; which shows that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. He received also twenty-four cows with slaves to take care of them: as it was necessary for him to drink milk for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side at the king's expense, who gave four talents² for that service. His colleague, Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having held any communication with him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to trial in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear that the acceptance of presents was what most incensed the Athenians against Timagoras. For Epicrates, a simple porter, who had been at the Persian court, and had also received presents, having said, in a full assembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to pass, by which, instead of the nine archons annually elected, nine ambassadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people, to be sent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage: the assembly only laughed and made a jest of it. But what offended them more, was the Thebans having obtained all they demanded. In which, says Plutarch, they did not duly consider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much stronger and more efficacious that was in persuading, than all the harangues and rhetorical flourishes of the other ambassadors; especially with a prince accustomed to caress and comply with the strongest, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who besides was not sorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the ancient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-establishment of Messene; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition with which he was commissioned by the Thebans against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. I shall relate it entire, and unite under one point of view all which relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court.

SECTION VI.—PELOPIDAS MARCHES AGAINST ALEXANDER, TYRANT OF PHERÆ, AND REDUCES HIM TO REASON. HE GOES TO MACEDONIA, TO APPEASE THE TROUBLES OF THAT COURT, AND BRINGS PHILIP TO THEBES AS A HOSTAGE. HE RETURNS INTO THESSALY, IS SEIZED BY TREACHERY, AND MADE A PRISONER. EPAMINONDAS DELIVERS HIM. PELOPIDAS GAINS A VICTORY AGAINST THE TYRANT, AND IS KILLED IN THE

BATTLE. EXTRAORDINARY HONOURS PAID TO HIS MEMORY. TRAGICAL END OF ALEXANDER.

THE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens,³ which for many years A. M. 3634. had dominion over all Greece, either Ant. J. C. 370. in conjunction or separately, had inspired some of their neighbours with the desire of supplanting those cities, and given birth to the hope of succeeding them in the pre-eminence. A power had risen up in Thessaly, which began to grow formidable. Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, had been declared generalissimo of the Thessalians by the consent of all the people of that province; and it was to his merit which was generally acknowledged, that he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above 8000 horse and 20,000 heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light-armed soldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their general. But death prevented his designs. He was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction.

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were substituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ, who seized the tyranny under the pretence of avenging the death of Polydorus his A. M. 3635. father. Against him Pelopidas was Ant. J. C. 369. sent.

As the tyrant made open war against several states of Thessaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the cities sent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the conduct of this expedition. He set out for Thessaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, and obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He there endeavoured, by mild usage and friendship, to change his disposition, and from a tyrant to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, and insatiable avarice, he began to employ warm reproofs and severe menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at such usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in security from any attempts of the tyrant, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his presence had been desired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by Perdiccas,⁴ with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see the most right.

Pelopidas was no sooner arrived, than he put an end to all their disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia for hostages, he carried them to Thebes, to show the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and the entire confidence that was placed in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia some years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to ar-

¹ Xenoph. l. vi. p. 579—583, et 598—601. Diod. l. xv. p. 371—373.

² Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy; which cannot agree with Æschines's account (de Fals. Legat. p. 400.) of the affairs of Perdiccas after Alexander's death, which I shall relate in the history of Philip. As Æschines was contemporary with them, I thought it proper to substitute Perdiccas in the place of Alexander.

¹ It was a tree of gold, of exquisite workmanship, and great value, which people went to see out of curiosity.
² Four thousand crowns.

rive before Ptolemy, who was making new efforts to establish himself upon the throne, had time to execute his projects; and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in haste, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary soldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side.* At the same time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his superior and master, had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promised in the most solemn manner to hold the crown only as guardian to the son of the deceased, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were so to the Thebans; and as security for his engagements, he gave his son Philoxenus and fifty other children, who were educated with him as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary soldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed that they had sent the greatest part of their effects, with their wives and children, into the city of Pharsalus,¹ and conceived that to be a fair opportunity for being revenged on them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together some Thessalian troops, and marched to Pharsalus, where he was scarce arrived before Alexander the tyrant came against him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambassador to him, believing that he came to justify himself, and to answer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him accompanied only by Ismenias, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that respect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing against his person. He was mistaken: for the tyrant, seeing them alone and unarmed, made them both prisoners, and seized Pharsalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occasion.² There are, says he, in the intercourse of society, certain assurances, and, as it were, ties of sincerity, upon which one may reasonably rely: such are the sanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all the consistency of the past conduct of those with whom one treats; when, notwithstanding those motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a fault: but to trust one's self to a notorious traitor and villain, is certainly an instance of temerity for which there is no excuse.

This heinous perfidy of Alexander filled the minds of all his subjects with terror and distrust,³ who very much suspected, that, after so flagrant an injustice and so daring a crime, the tyrant would spare nobody, and would behave upon all occasions, and towards all sorts of people, as a man in despair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incensed at so base a deed, immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and as they were displeased with Epaminondas, whom they suspected, though without any good reason, of having been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain occasion, they nominated other generals; so that he served in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country and of the public good extinguished all resentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is but too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour or personal discontent.

The tyrant in the mean time carried Pelopidas to Phære, and made a show of him to all the world at first, imagining that such a treatment would humble his pride and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the inhabitants of Phære in great consternation, perpetually consoled them, advising them not to despair, and assuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be punished. He caused him to be told, that it was very imprudent and very unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to spare his life, who, he knew, would no sooner

be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes deserved. The tyrant, astonished at his greatness of soul, sent to ask him why he took so much pains to meet death? "It is," returned the illustrious prisoner, "that thou mayest perish the sooner by becoming still more detestable to the gods and men."

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody should see or speak to him. But Thebæ, his wife the daughter of Jason, who had also been tyrant of Phære, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had a curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not refuse her his permission.⁴ He loved her tenderly (if indeed a tyrant may be said to love any body: but notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and having first sent some of his guard to search every coffer for concealed poniards. Wretched prince! cries Cicero, who could confide more in a slave and a barbarian, than in his own wife!

Thebe therefore desiring to see Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dressed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might console him in his distress. Not being able to refrain from tears at such a sight, "Ah, unfortunate Pelopidas," said she, "how I pity your poor wife!"—"No Thebæ," replied he, "it is you who are to be pitied, who can endure such a monster as Alexander, without being his prisoner." Those words touched Thebe to the quick, for it was with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous excesses. Hence, by going often to see Pelopidas, and openly bewailing before him the injuries she suffered, she daily conceived new abhorrence for her husband, whilst hatred and the desire of revenge grew continually more strong in her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thessaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant pursued them in their retreat, harassed them shamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated if the soldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who served as a private man amongst them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, sometimes sustaining the enemy's attacks and sometimes charging them in his turn, he completed the retreat with success, and preserved the Bœotians. The generals upon their return, were each of them fined 10,000 drachmas,⁵ and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the public good was his sole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and was amply recompensed by the glory that attended so generous and disinterested a conduct.

Some days after he marched at the head of the army into Thessaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had spread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror amongst the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas dismayed, and joy amongst the people, from the assurance they entertained of being speedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant punished for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own glory, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, chose rather to protract it, from the apprehension that the tyrant, if reduced to despair, like a wild beast, would turn his whole rage upon his prisoner. For he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reason nor justice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears and wild boars, and setting his dogs upon them, caused them to be torn in pieces, or shot them to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports and diversions. In

* A city of Thessaly.

¹ Lib. viii. p. 512.

² Plat. in Pelop. p. 992, 993. Diod. l. xv. p. 322, 323.

⁴ Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 25.

⁵ About 225*l.* sterling

the cities of Melibœa and Scotusa¹ which were in alliance with him, he called an assembly of the citizens, and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their young men to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the *Troades* of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the theatre, and sent to the actor to tell him not to be under any apprehension upon that account, for that his leaving the place was not from being displeased with him, but because he was ashamed to let the citizens see him weep at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Andromache, who had never felt any compassion for those who he had murdered.

Though he was little susceptible of pity, he was much so of fear at this time. Amazed at the sudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he made haste to despatch persons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas could not endure that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days: and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind.² The tyrant of Phœæ soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of Pythia, Achæa, and Magnesia. Those cities sent deputies to Thebes to demand a succour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden eclipse of the sun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noon-day. The dread and consternation were general. Pelopidas knew very well what to think of this accident, which was no more than was natural; but he did not think it proper for him to expose 7000 Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were seized. He therefore gave himself alone to the Thessalians; and taking with him 300 horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed, contrary to the prohibition of the soothsayers, and the opinion of the most wise and judicious.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, through resentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebæ his wife had said, and he himself knew, of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and a universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itself. For his sole desire and ambition was to show all Greece, that at the same time that the Lacedæmonians were sending generals and officers to Dionysius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people that declared open war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongst the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having assembled his army at Pharsalus, he marched against the tyrant; who, being apprised that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by somebody that Alexander was approaching with a great army; "so much the better," replied he, "we shall beat the greater number."

Near a place called Cynoscephalæ, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. Both armies were in motion to seize that post with their foot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's; and whilst they pursued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the top of the hills, having, outstripped the Thessalian infantry; and charging fiercely such as

endeavoured to force those heights and intrenchments, he killed the foremost and repulsed the others, obliging them to give way. Pelopidas, seeing this, recalled his horse, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to those who were fighting upon the hills.

He presently made way through his infantry, and passing in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his soldiers' vigour and courage in such a manner as made the enemies believe themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported two or three charges with great resolution; but finding Pelopidas's infantry continually gaining ground, and that his cavalry, who were now returned from the pursuit, came to support them, they began to give way, and retired slowly, still making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, seeing from the top of the hills the whole army of the enemy, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great disorder, he stopped for some time, looking about every where for Alexander.

As soon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary soldiers, he could contain himself no longer, but, fired with the sight, and abandoning to his sole resentment the care of his life and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and ran forwards with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no answer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himself amongst his guards. The battalion standing firm for some time, Pelopidas broke the first ranks, and killed the greatest part of the guards upon the spot. The rest, continuing the fight at a distance, pierced his arms and breast at length with their javelins. The Thessalians, alarmed at the danger in which they saw him, made all the haste they could from the tops of the hills, to his assistance; but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The infantry and the Theban horse, returned to fight against the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and pursued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead: for more than 3000 of the tyrant's troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effects of a consummate valour, is inexcusable, and has been generally condemned, because there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence. The greatest courage is cool and sedate. It spares itself where it ought, and exposes itself when occasion makes it necessary. A general ought to see every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the proper remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself where there is the danger of his being cut off, and of causing the loss of his army by his death.

Euripides,³ after having said in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory while he preserves his own life, adds, "that if it be necessary for him to die, he ought to do so by resigning his life into the hands of virtue;" as if he wished to imply, that virtue alone, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is to preserve him who preserves others.

It is in this sense that the saying of Timotheus is so just and amiable.⁴ When Chares was one day showing to the Athenians the wounds he had received whilst he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike: "For my part," said Timotheus, "when I was besieging Samos, and a dart happened to fall very near me, I was much ashamed as having exposed myself like a young man without necessity, and more than was consistent for the general of so great an army." Hannibal certainly cannot be suspected of fear, and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he fought, he never received any wound, except only at the siege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas is reproached with having sacrificed all his other virtues to his valour, by thus throwing away his life, and with having died rather for himself than his country.

¹ Cities of Magnesia.

² Plut. in Pelop. p. 295—296. Xenoph. l. vi. p. 601.

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³ Plut. in Pelop. 317.

⁴ Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

Never was a captain more lamented than he. His death changed the victory so lately gained into mourning. A profound silence and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city through which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests, came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophies, and armour, all of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the same time highly afflicted by his death, and equally sensible of their obligations to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their sole expense the obsequies of a general, who had devoted himself for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For, says Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of sorrow, which may be imposed by the public authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real sentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as public, the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanimous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and a homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but resolved to avenge him. A small army of 7000 foot and 700 horse were immediately sent against Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, and to give the Magnesians, Pythiots, and Achæans, their liberty; to withdraw his garrisons from their country; and to swear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march at their orders against all their enemies.

Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, says Plutarch, did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: they had reserved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebe, his wife, who saw with horror and detestation the cruelty and perfidy of her husband, and had not forgotten the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her whilst in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch through the whole night; but he placed little confidence in them, and as his life was in some sort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding fierce, and knew nobody but his master, Thebe, and the slave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebe shut up her brothers during the day-time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered his own chamber at night, as he was overcharged with meat and wine, he fell into a deep sleep immediately. Thebe went out presently after, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, that he might not disturb her husband's repose; and lest the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ascend softly, armed with daggers: when they came to the door, they were seized with terror, and would go no farther. Thebe, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to him. Shame and fear re-animated them: she made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, whilst they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all sorts of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a

prey to the dogs and vultures: a just reward for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

SECTION VII.—EPAMINONDAS IS CHOSEN GENERAL OF THE THEBANS. HIS SECOND ATTEMPT AGAINST SPARTA. HIS CELEBRATED VICTORY AT MANTINEA. HIS DEATH AND EULOGY.

THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm A. M. 3641 to the neighbouring states.¹ Every Ant. J. C. 363 thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had sprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attach themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and was advancing towards Mantinea, he formed an enterprise, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different route from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprise, as it had neither walls, defence, nor troops: but happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprise Agesilaus of his design, he immediately despatched one of his horse to advise the city of the danger that threatened it, and arrived there soon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt. He therefore made his troops advance,² and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city in several quarters, penetrated as far as the public square, and seized that part of Sparta which lay upon the side of the river. Agesilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He saw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only on the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair; means which he had never yet used, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great success in the present dangerous emergency. For by this happy despair and prudent audacity, he in a manner snatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His son Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest, and with his small troop stopped the enemy, and made great head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome, perfectly well-shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor clothes, his body shone with oil, and he held a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other.

In this condition he rushed with impetuosity from his house, and breaking through the throng of the Spartans that were fighting, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself, whether it were that the enemy were dismayed at so astonishing a sight, or whether, says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him upon account of his extraordinary valour. It is said, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a 1000 drachmas³ for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

¹ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 642—644. Plac. u. Agesil. p. 615. Diod. p. 391, 392.

² Polyb. l. ix. p. 547. ³ About 25*l*.

Epaminondas, having failed in his aim, and foreseeing that the Arcadians would certainly hasten to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces upon his hands at the same time, returned with expedition to Tegeæ. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear.

This general, considering his command was upon the point of expiring, and that if he did not fight, his reputation might suffer extremely, and that immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for battle.

The Greeks had never fought amongst themselves with more numerous armies. That of the Lacedæmonians consisted of more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse; the Theban army of 30,000 foot and near 3000 horse. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantinea, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the centre; and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in the disposition of his army, a time which cannot be too much saved in great enterprises.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column along the hills with his left wing foremost, to make them imagine that he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over against them at a quarter of a league's distance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy in fact were deceived by that stand, and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to extinguish which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops on whom he could not rely.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, says Xenophon. He assured himself that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of their army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground in readiness to flank the Athenians, as well to cover his right, as to alarm them; and gave them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to the ranks.

Whilst Epaminondas was marching against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left,

the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had judiciously planted bowmen, slingers, and lancers in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins upon them. The other army had neglected to take the same precautions, and had committed another fault not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons as if they had been a phalanx. By this means their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had attacked the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops came to the charge on both sides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the spear; and those first arms being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while without the victory's inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed therefore a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and putting himself at the head of them, made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. His troop by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid band, were compelled to give ground. The main body of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them, warded off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breast through his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broken off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury; the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not pursue them far; and returning immediately, contented themselves with remaining masters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing farther, as if they stayed for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, dismayed by the accident of Epaminondas, whom they believed to be dead, and seeming rather vanquished than victorious, neglected to pursue their success in the same manner, and returned to their former post.

Whilst this was passing on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being seconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, broke, and obliged them to fly. After having dispersed and repulsed them, a

this manner instead of pursuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into disorder, and pushed with great vigour. Just as they were about to take to flight, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reserve, seeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the spur to its relief, charged the Theban horse, who expected nothing less, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the same time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied; and instead of going to the assistance of their foot which was roughly handled, they attacked the detachment posted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line, and put it to the sword.

After these different movements, and this alternation of losses and advantages, the troops upon both sides stood still and rested upon their arms; and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy: the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides refused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however, first sent a herald to demand the permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain on their respective sides.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, which concludes his history, recommends to the reader's attention the disposition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And the Chevalier Follard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the masterpiece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. These words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction: they were inconsolable on seeing so great a man about to die, and to die without issue. For him, the only concern he expressed was about his arms, and the success of the battle. When they showed him his shield, and assured him that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air: "Do not regard," said he, "this day as the end of my life, but as the beginning of my happiness, and the completion of my glory. I leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece delivered from the yoke of servitude. For the rest, I do not reckon that I die without issue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illustrious daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, and to transmit it to posterity." Having spoken to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound and expired.

It may be truly said that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero seems to rank above all the illustrious men Greece ever produced.¹ Justin is of the same opinion,² when he says, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted, so Thebes, after having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not distinguished by any memorable

action; and after him, it sunk into its original obscurity; so that it saw its glory take birth and expire with this great man.

It has been doubted whether he was a more excellent captain or good man.³ He sought not power for himself, but for his country; and carried his disinterestedness to such a pitch, that at his death he did not leave sufficient wealth to defray the expenses of his funeral. Truly a philosopher, and poor by inclination he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and if Justin may be believed he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him; and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to the dignities, than the dignities to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for 1000 crowns in his name.⁴ That rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon such an errand; "Why," replied Epaminondas, "it is because this honest man is in want, and you are rich."⁵

He had imbibed those generous and noble sentiments from the study of polite learning and philosophy,⁷ which he had made his usual employment and sole delight from his earliest infancy; so that it was surprising, and a question frequently asked how, and at what time, it was possible for a man, always busy amongst books, to attain, or rather seize, the knowledge of the art military in so great a degree of perfection. Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shunned public employments, and intrigued only to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure and almost unknown. His merit, however, discovered him. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated that philosophy, though generally despised by those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully well calculated to form heroes. For besides its being the greatest step towards conquering the enemy, to know how to conquer one's self, in this school anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy,⁸ the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a true discharge of them, what we owe to our country, the right use of authority wherein true courage consists, in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain.

He possessed all the ornaments of the mind: he had the talent of speaking in perfection, and was well versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all those excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and he knew not what it was to be ostentatious of them. Spitharus, in giving his character, said, "That he never had met a man, who knew more, and spoke less."⁹

It may be said therefore in praise of Epaminondas, that he falsified the proverb, which treated the Boeotians as boorish and stupid. This was the notion commonly entertained of them;¹⁰ and it was imputed to

¹ Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux esset. Nam et imperium non sibi semper sed patriam quaesivit; et pecunie adeo parvus fuit, ut sumptus funeri defuerit. Gloriam quoque non cupidior, quam pecunie; quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt, honoreque ita gessit, ornamentum non accipere, sed dari ipsi dignitati videretur. Justin.

² A talent. ³ Plut. de præcept. reipub. ger. 809.

⁴ Ὅτις χρηστός, λίαν, οὕτως ἀνδρὶς ἀγαθὸν ἐν δὲ πᾶσι ταῖς.

⁵ Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiæ doctrinæ tanti ut mirabile videretur, and tam insignia militiæ scienti homini inter literas nato. Justin.

⁶ The works of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle, are proof of this.

⁷ Plut. de audit. p. 39.

⁸ Inter locorum naturas quantum intersit, videmus Athenia tenuē calidum, ex quo auctiores etiam putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani. Cic. de Fato, n. 7.

¹ Epaminondas princeps, meo judicio, Græciorum. Acad. Quest. l. i. n. 4.

² Nam sicuti telo, si primam aciem præfrigeris, reliquo ferro vix nocendi sustuleris; sic illo, velut mucrone teli, ablato dux Thebanorum, rei quoque publicæ vires hebetatæ sunt: ut non tam illum amissis, quam cum illo omnes interire videretur. Nam neque hunc ante ducentum ullam memorabile bellum gesserit, nec postea virtutibus, sed eladibus, insignes fuisse: ut manifestum sit, patriam gloriam et natam et extinctam cum eo fuisse. Justin. l. vi. c. 8.

the gross air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taste was attributed to the subtlety of the air they breathed. Horace says, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taste for poetry, one would swear him a true Boeotian.

Boeotum in cramo jurares aëre natum.

Epist. l. i. 2.

In thick Boeotian air you'd swear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination to music, he thought fit to make this excuse: "It is for Thebans to sing as they do,¹ who know not how to speak." Pindar and Plutarch, who had very little of the soil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that sort of merit which results from elevation of genius and the study of the sciences.

I shall conclude this portrait and character with a circumstance that gives place to nothing in all his other excellencies, and which may even be preferred to them, as it indicates a good heart, and a tenderness and sensible disposition; qualities very rare amongst the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes which the generality of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and fancy almost the only objects worthy of either being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring states upon Epaminondas, and caused him to be looked upon as the supporter and restorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain, that ever was in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of intoxicating, in a manner, the general of an army, Epaminondas, little sensible to so affecting and so deserved a glory, "My joy,"² said he, "arises from my sense of that which the news of my victory will give my father and my mother."

Nothing in history seems to me so valuable as such sentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart which neither false glory nor false greatness have corrupted. I confess it is with grief I see these noble sentiments daily expire amongst us, especially in persons whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends; and who would think it derogatory to them to express for a father or mother the tender regard, of which we have here so fine an example from a Pagan.

Until Epaminondas's time, two cities had exercised alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a distinguished pre-eminence, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals, and especially of Pausanias, soon made it lose. The Athenians, until the Peloponnesian war, held the first rank; but in a manner scarcely discernible in any other respect, than in their care to acquit themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themselves their equals. They judged at that time, and very justly, that the true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evince their superiority only by their good offices and the benefits they conferred. Those times, so glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years' continuance, and they retained a part of that pre-eminence, during the twenty-seven years of the Peloponnesian war, which make in all the seventy-two, or seventy-three years, which Demosthenes assigns to the duration of their empire;³ but for this latter space of time, the Greeks disgusted by the haughtiness of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedæmonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued so from the time Lysander made himself master of Athens, until the first war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themselves and the rest of the Greeks from the

tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more insolent than ever. At length, Thebes disputed the supremacy; and by the exalted merit of a single man, saw itself at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above cited, that the pre-eminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a pre-eminence of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independence in the other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of justice, in established customs, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and without any ground of personal discontent, to espouse with ardour the cause of the injured.

I shall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius.⁴ He attributes the wise conduct of the Athenians, in the times I have spoken of, to the ability of their generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. A vessel, without a master, says he, is exposed to great dangers, when every one insists upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will not suffer others to guide him. If then a rude storm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they abandon themselves to the pilot's skill, and all the rowers doing their duty, the ship is saved, and in a state of security. But if, when the tempest ceases, and the weather grows calm again, the discord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and some are for continuing their voyage, whilst others resolve to stop in the midst of the course; if on one side they loose their sails, and furl them on the other; if often happens that, after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in port. This, says Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republic. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wise counsels of an Aristides, a Themistocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious from the great dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but its own caprice, and being become too insolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest misfortunes.

SECTION VIII.—DEATH OF EVAGORAS KING OF SALAMIS. NICOCLES HIS SON SUCCEEDS HIM. ADMIRABLE CHARACTER OF THAT PRINCE.

THE third year of the 101st Olympiad,⁵ and soon after the Thebans had destroyed Platæa and Thespis, Ant. J.C. 374, as has been observed before, Evagoras, king of Salamis, in the isle of Cyprus, of whom much has been said in the ninth book of this volume, was assassinated by one of his eunuchs. His son Nicocles succeeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father; and he seemed to consider it as his duty to make it his study and to tread in his steps.⁶ When he took possession of the throne, he found the public treasury entirely exhausted by the great expenses which his father had been obliged to incur in the long war which he had to maintain with the king of Persia. He knew that the generality of Princes, upon like occasions, think every means just for the re-establishment of their affairs; but for his part, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The public felicity was his sole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually; not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expenses, and by using a wise economy in the administration of his revenues. "I am sure," said he, "that no citizen can complain

¹ They were great musicians.

² Plut. in Coriol. p. 215. ³ Demost. Philip. iii. p. 89.

⁴ Polyb. l. vii. p. 488.

⁵ Diad. l. xv. p. 363.

⁶ Isocrat. in Nicoc. p. 64.

that I have done him the least wrong: and I have the satisfaction to know that I have enriched many with an unsparing hand."¹ He believed this kind of vanity, if it be a vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to throw out such a defiance to his subjects.

He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue,² which is the more worthy of admiration in princes, as it is very uncommon among them; I mean temperance. It is most amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a rank of life to which every thing seems to be lawful, and wherein pleasure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, and anticipating his desires, to make a long resistance against the violence and insinuation of her assaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts should be treated with due regard in civil society, whilst that of marriage, the most sacred and inviolable of obligations, was broken through with impunity; and that men should not blush to commit an infidelity in respect to their wives, of which, should their wives be guilty, it would throw them it to the utmost anguish and despair.

What I have said of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, Isocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he would have made him speak in such a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse, supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to them the duties of subjects to their princes: love, respect, obedience, fidelity, and unbounded devotion to their service; and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, he does not disdain to give them an account of his own conduct and sentiments.

In another discourse,³ which precedes this, Isocrates lays before Nicocles all the duties of the sovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that subject, of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him that the virtue of private persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inseparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they are frequently exposed, by their distance from pleasures and luxury, and particularly by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas, the generality of princes have none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and inactive life, should set apart a fixed time for business and the public affairs, should form his council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom as he is by his dignity, and especially to acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Persist," said he, "in the religion you have received from your forefathers, but be assured that the most grateful adoration and sacrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that of the heart, in rendering yourself good and just. Show, upon all occasions, so high a regard for truth, that a single word from you may be more confided in than the oath of others. Be a warrior, by your ability in military affairs, and by such a warlike provision as may intimidate your enemies; but let your inclinations be pacific, and be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or undertaking any thing unjustly. The only certain proof that you have reigned well, will be the power of bearing this testimony to yourself; that your people are become both more happy and more wise under your government."

What seems to me most remarkable in this discourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to

approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and it is still more to the credit of the prince than the writer. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsels, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, 20,000 crowns.⁴

SECTION IX.—ARTAXERXES MNEMON UNDERTAKES THE REDUCTION OF EGYPT. IPHICRATES THE ATHENIAN IS APPOINTED GENERAL OF THE ATHENIAN TROOPS. THE ENTERPRISE MISCARRIES BY THE ILL-CONDUCT OF PHARNABAZUS THE PERSIAN GENERAL.

ARTAXERXES,⁵ after having given his people an interval of relaxation A. M. 3627 for several years, had formed the Ant. J. C. 377 design of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias the Athenian had the command.⁶ He had accepted that office of himself, and without the authority of the republic.

Pharnabazus, having been charged with this war sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republic with the king's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. Achoris,⁷ king of Egypt, died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephertus was the next, and four months after Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

Artaxerxes,⁸ to draw some troops out of Greece, sent ambassadors A. M. 3630. thither, to declare to the several Ant. J. C. 374 states, that the king's intent was, they should all live in peace with each other, conformably to the treaty of Antalcidas, that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received his declaration with pleasure, except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.

At length,⁹ every thing being in readiness for the invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Aco, since called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of 200,000 Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus and 20,000 Greeks under Iphicrates. The naval forces were in proportion to those of the land; their fleet consisted of 300 galleys, besides 200 vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the same time; and that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the siege of Pelusium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable, both by sea and land. The fleet, therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, sailed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile called the Mendesian. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, of which only two remain at this day;¹⁰ and at each of these mouth

¹ Isocrat. p. 65, 66.

² Isocrat. ad Nicoc.

³ Isocrat. p. 64.

⁴ Plut. in vit. Isoc. p. 838.

⁵ Cor. Nep. in Chab. et in Iphicr.

⁶ Diod. l. xv. p. 355.

⁷ Diod. l. xv. p. 355.

⁸ Diod. l. xv. p. 355.

⁹ Diod. l. xv. p. 355.

¹⁰ Diod. l. xv. p. 355.

¹¹ Diod. l. xv. p. 358, 347.

¹² Euseb. in Chron.

¹³ Ibid. p. 358, 359.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 358, 359.

there was a fort with a strong garrison to defend the entrance. The Mendesian not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

After this signal action, Iphicrates thought it advisable to sail up the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis, the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had had time to recover the panic into which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they would have found the capital without any defence, it would inevitably have fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been re-conquered. But the main body of the army not being arrived, Pharnabazus believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-assembled all his troops, under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that, in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decisive moments which it is absolutely proper to seize, judged quite differently; and in despair to see an opportunity suffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, he earnestly demanded permission to go at least with the 20,000 men under his command. Pharnabazus refused to comply with that demand, out of abject jealousy; apprehending, that if the enterprise succeeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrison into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and harassed the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phœnicia, after having lost a considerable part of their troops to no purpose.

Thus this expedition, which had cost immense sums, and from which the preparation alone had given so much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals who had the command of it. Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its success; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabazus. But well assured that that nobleman would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, he determined, in order to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabazus caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it; and some time after, the Athenians declared him sole admiral of their fleet.

Most of the projects of the Persian court generally miscarried by their slowness in putting them in execution.¹ Their generals' hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their discretion. They had a plan marked out for them in their instructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived the opportunity was entirely lost. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabazus took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and penetration that could be desired in an accomplished general,² and that nevertheless they were not carried into execution, asked him one day, how it happened that he was so quick in his views and so slow in his actions? "It is," replied Pharnabazus, "because my views depend only upon myself, but their execution upon my muster."

SECTION X.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS SEND AGE-SILAUS TO THE AID OF TACHOS, WHO HAD REVOLTED FROM THE PERSIANS. THE KING OF SPARTA'S ACTIONS IN EGYPT. HIS DEATH. THE GREATEST PART OF THE PROVINCES REVOLT AGAINST ARTAXERXES.

AFTER the battle of Mantinea,³ both parties equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was secured to each city; and the Messenians were included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That resolution, of which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republic again in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity to which the want of money exposed them of borrowing great sums, and of levying heavy imposts instead of taking advantage of the favourable opportunity that now offered to conclude a peace, and put an end to all their evils.

Whilst matters were thus passing in Greece,⁴ Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could to defend himself against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours to reduce that kingdom.

For this purpose Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians, with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his having forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were rejoiced to have this opportunity of expressing their resentment. Chabrias, the Athenian, went also into the service of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republic's participation.

This commission did Agesilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to serve a Barbarian who had revolted against his master.

As soon as he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals and the great officers of his house came to his ship, to receive and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were as solicitous to see him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agesilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea which his exploits had led them to entertain of him, they saw nothing splendid or majestic either in his person or equipage, and saw only an old man of a mean aspect and small stature, without any striking appearance, and dressed in a sorry robe of a very coarse stuff, they were seized with an immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much surprised at finding that he was not appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the sea-forces, and that Tachos retained the command-in-chief to himself. This was not the only mortification he had to experience.

Tachos came to a resolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more advisable to make that country the seat of war, than to await the enemy in Egypt. Agesilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs were not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he

¹ Plut. in Agesil. p. 616—618. Diod. l. xv. p. 337—401.

² Xenoph. de reg. Agesil. p. 663. Cor. Nep. in Agesil. viii.

³ Diod. l. xv. p. 358

⁴ Diod. l. xv. p. 357.

would do much better to remain in them, and content himself with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. Agesilaus was so much incensed at such conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms against him during his absence, and had placed Nectanebus, his cousin, upon the throne.¹ Agesilaus, abandoning the king, to whose aid he had been sent, and joining the rebel who had dethroned him, alleged in justification of himself, that he was sent to the assistance of the Egyptians; and that they having taken up arms against Tachos, he was not at liberty to serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He despatched expresses thither; and the instructions he received were, to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebus. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but even gave him the command of his troops against the rebels.

Agesilaus covered so criminal a conduct with the veil of the public utility. But, says Plutarch, let that delusive blind be removed, the most just and only true name which can be given to the action, is that of perfidy and treason. It is true that the Lacedæmonians, making the glorious and the good consist principally in the service of their country, which they idolized, knew no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am surprised so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, that Agesilaus attached himself to that of the two kings who seemed the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes, set up for himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebus. This new competitor had an army of 100,000 men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave him advice to attack them before they were exercised and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it would have been easy to have defeated a body of people raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebus imagined that Agesilaus only gave him this advice to betray him afterwards, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agesilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince besieged them. Nectanebus would then have attacked the enemy before his works, (which were begun in order to surround the city) were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused to comply at first, which extremely augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line as the troops within the city might occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebus that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their surrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for razing his troops in such a manner as that they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agesilaus's plan; the besiegers were beaten, and from thenceforth Agesilaus conducted all the operations of the war with so much success, that the prince their enemy was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

A. M. 3643. The following winter, after having Ant. J. C. 361. firmly established Nectanebus, he embarked to return to Lacedæmon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called the port of Menelaus, where he fell sick and died, at the age of four score and four years. He had reigned forty-one of them at Sparta; and of those forty-one he had passed thirty with the reputation of the greatest and most powerful of all the Greeks, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of almost all Greece, till the bat-

tle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon in his eulogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Agesilaus was carried to Sparta. Those who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan custom to cover the bodies they wished to embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His son Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Agesilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part of the provinces in subjection to Persia revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildness and sweetness of temper in his character, but that easiness degenerated into sloth and luxury and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he discovered a dislike for all business and application, from whence the good qualities which he otherwise possessed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became useless and without effect. The satraps and governors of provinces, abusing his favour and the infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treated them with insolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes, and did every thing in their power to render the Persian yoke insupportable.

The discontent became general, and broke out, after long suffering, almost at the same time on all sides, Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were Ariobarzanes satrap of Phrygia, Mausolus king of Caria, Orontes governor of Mysia, and Autophradates governor of Lydia. Datanes, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder would not have been sufficient for the expenses of a war against the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and those who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke were also the foremost in resuming it, and in betraying the interests of the others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Asia Minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their general. They had also resolved to add 20,000 foreign troops to those of the country, and had charged the same Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had got the money for that service into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himself, and delivered to the king the persons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Reomithras, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor, being sent into Egypt to draw succours from that kingdom, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country 500 talents and fifty ships of war, he assembled the principal revolters at Leucas, a city of Asia Minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiation, seized them all, delivered them to the king to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in Egypt for the confederacy. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, dissolved of itself, or to speak more properly, was suspended for some time.

SECTION XI.—TROUBLES AT THE COURT OF ARTAXERXES CONCERNING HIS SUCCESSOR. DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.

THE end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with cabals.² The whole court were divided into factions

¹ Diodorus says he was sent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nectanebus.

² Plot. in Artax. p. 1024—1027. Diod. l. xv. p. 400. Justin. l. x. c. 1, 2.

¹ Diodorus calls him his son; Plutarch, his cousin.

in favour of one or other of his sons, who pretended to the succession. He had 350 by his concubines, who were in number 360, and three by his lawful wife Atossa; Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these intrigues, he declared Darius, the eldest, his successor; and to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to assume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal tiara.¹ But the young prince was for having something more real. Besides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incensed him, and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tiribazus, of whom mention has been made several times in the preceding volume, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution, from a like subject of discontent against the king; who having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke his word both times, and married them himself. Such abominable incest was permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting it.

The number of the conspirators was already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when a eunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so great a danger, by neglecting a strict inquiry into it; but that it would be much more so, to give credit to it without certain and unquestionable proof. He assured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspirators were suffered to enter the king's apartment, and then seized. Darius and all his accomplices were punished as they deserved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors; Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames. The two former pretended to the throne in right of birth, being the sons of the queen. The third had the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice against Ariaspes, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely simple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he had found means to corrupt, threaten him so terribly in the name of the king his father, that, expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arsames to give him umbrage, because his father and all the world considered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he caused to be assassinated by Harpates, son of Tiribazus.

This loss, which followed close upon the other, and the exceeding wickedness with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: nor is it surprising, that at his age he should not have strength enough to support so great

A. M. 3643. an affliction. It overpowered him, Ant. J. C. 361. and brought him to the grave, after a reign of forty-three years, which might have been called happy, if it had not been interrupted by many revolts. That of his successor will be no less disturbed with them.

SECTION XII.—CAUSES OF THE FREQUENT INSURRECTIONS AND REVOLTS IN THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

I HAVE taken care in relation to the seditions that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here, under one point of view, the different causes of these insurrections, which foretell the approaching decline of the Persian empire.

¹ This tiara was a turban, or kind of head-dress, with the plume of feathers standing upright upon it. The seven counsellors had also plumes of feathers, but these they wore aslant, and before. All others wore them aslant, and behind.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to the charms of voluptuousness and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces, amongst women and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying, in soft effeminate ease and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and make their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were, besides, princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity in the art of governing, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor sufficient strength to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of public business, the fatigues of commanding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprises; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of the Great King, and the King of kings.

III. The great officers of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either the claim of service or merit. It was the influence of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the solicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons who were to fill the most important posts of the empire, and appropriated the rewards due to the officers who had done the state real service, to their own creatures.

IV. These courtiers, frequently, through a base and mean jealousy of the merit that gave them umbrage and reproached their small abilities, removed their rivals from public employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state. Sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false informations,² bring them to trial as criminals against the state,³ and force the king's most faithful servants, in order to defend themselves against their calumniators, to seek their safety in revolting and in turning those arms against their prince, which they had so often made triumph for his glory and the service of the empire.

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependence, restrained them under such limited orders as obliged them to let slip the opportunities of conquering, and prevented them, by waiting for new orders, from pushing their advantages. They also often made them responsible for their bad success, after having let them want every thing necessary to conduct to it.

VI. The kings of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus and the ancient Persians, who contented themselves with creases and salads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the single meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to excess; and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory, as we have seen in the younger Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine to the Red Sea and Ethiopia, and from the rivers Ganges⁴ and Indus to the Egean Sea, was a great obstacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their masters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their satraps or governors; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia did not compose a uniform empire, nor the

¹ Pharnabazus, Tiribazus.

² Datames, &c.

³ [Our author is mistaken here. The Persian empire never extended to the Ganges. It extended only a short way beyond the Indus, into the Panjab. See a former note on Darius' conquest of India.]

regular body of a state whose members were united by the common ties of interest, manners, language, and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and independent; of whom some, who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their forefathers, saw themselves with grief transported into unknown regions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered in retaining their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation between them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not feel any affection for a government that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tributes; to adjudge the quarrels of cities, provinces, and vassal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of

commanding absolutely and of reigning. In consequence of which, it was with great repugnance they submitted to be removed from their governments, and often endeavoured to support themselves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and ministers, gloried in imitating in their equipages, tables, furniture, and dress, the pomp and splendour of the court in which they had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, and to supply expenses so much above the fortunes of private persons, they were reduced to oppress the subjects under their jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions and the shameful traffic of a public venality, that set those offices to sale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity lavished, or luxury exhausted, was made good by mean arts, and the violent rapaciousness of an insatiable avarice.

These gross irregularities, and abundance of others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people's patience, and occasioned a general discontent amongst them, the usual forerunner of the ruin of states. Their just complaints, long time despised, were followed by an open rebellion of several nations, who endeavoured to do themselves that justice by force, which was refused to their remonstrances. In such a conduct, they failed in the submission and fidelity which subjects owe to their sovereigns; but Paganism did not carry its lights so far, and was not capable of so sublime a perfection, which was reserved for a religion that teaches, that no pretext, no injustice, no vexation, can ever authorise the rebellion of a people against their prince.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

BOOK XIII.

SECTION. I.—OCHUS ASCENDS THE THRONE OF PERSIA. HIS CRUELITIES. REVOLT OF SEVERAL NATIONS.

THE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility, by whom he had made himself abhorred for the murder of his two brothers. To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion,¹ he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's persons, to conceal his death from the public. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders and sealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, still by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this

manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes. Authors, however, most frequently give A. M. 3644. him that of Ochus, by which name I Ant. J. C. 360. shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions soon evinced. In a very short time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders. To remove from the revolted provinces all pretext of setting some other of the royal family upon the throne,² and to rid himself at once of all trouble that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he put them all to death, without regard to sex, age or proximity of blood. He caused his own sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive; and having

¹ Polyen. B. ratag. vii

² Justin. l. x. c. 3.

shot up one of his uncles, with 100 of his sons and grandsons,¹ in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because those princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle is probably the father of Sisymbrius, the mother of Darius Codomannus: for Quintus Curtius² tells us that Ochus had caused fourscore of her brothers, with their father, to be massacred in one day. He treated with the same barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility whom he suspected of harbouring the least discontent whatsoever.

The cruelties exercised by Ochus A. M. 3648. did not deliver him from inquietude,³ Ant. J. C. 356. Artabazus, governor of one of the Asiatic provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him, and with his aid defeated an army of 70,000 men sent by the king to reduce him. Artabazus, in reward of so great a service, made Chares a present of money to defray the whole expenses of his armament. The king of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians towards him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The king's menace to join their enemies with a numerous army obliged them to recall Chares.

Artabazus, being abandoned by A. M. 3651. them, had recourse to the Thebans, Ant. J. C. 353. of whom he obtained 5000 men that he took into his pay, with Pammenes, to command them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two signal victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops and their commander great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republic was engaged in a war with the Phœaciens. It was, perhaps, an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. It is certain that soon after they made their peace with the king,⁴ who paid them 300 talents, that is to say, 300,000 crowns. Artabazus, destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon.

Ochus being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts towards Egypt, that had revolted long before. About the same time several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no connexion with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here, after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

SECTION II.—WAR OF THE ALLIES AGAINST THE ATHENIANS.

SOME few years after the revolt of A. M. 3646. Asia Minor, of which I have been Ant. J. C. 358. speaking, in the third year of the 105th Olympiad, Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which till then they had been dependant. To reduce them, the Athenians employed both great forces and great captains; Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. They were the last of the Athenian generals,⁵ who did honour to their country; no one after them distinguishing himself by his merit or reputation.

Chabrias had already acquired a great name,⁶ when, having been sent to the aid of the Thebans, against the Spartans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken flight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, having closed their files with one knee upon the ground, covered with their bucklers, and pre-

sending their pikes in front in such a manner that they could not be broken; and Agesilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude in which he had fought.

Iphicrates was of a very mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the sole nobility. This person may be truly said to have been the son of his actions. Having signalized himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In a prosecution carried on against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and plumed himself extremely upon his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth; "Yes," replied he, "the nobility of my family begins in me; that of yours ends in you." He married the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace.

He is ranked⁷ with the greatest men of Greece especially in what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline. He made several useful alterations in the soldiers' armour. Before his time the bucklers were very long and heavy, and for that reason were too great a burden, and extremely cumbersome. He had them made shorter and lighter, so that, without exposing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary, he lengthened the pikes and swords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a greater distance. He also changed the cuirasses, and instead of iron and brass, of which they were made before, he caused them to be made of linen. It is not easy to conceive how such armour could defend the soldiers, or be any security against wounds: but the linen, being soaked in vinegar, mingled with salt, was prepared in such a manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable to the sword as well as fire. The use of it was common amongst several nations.

No troops were ever better exercised or disciplined than those of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and in times of peace and tranquillity made them perform all the necessary evolutions, either for attacking the enemy, or defending themselves; for laying ambuscades or avoiding them; for keeping their ranks even in pursuit of the enemy, without abandoning themselves to an ardour which often becomes pernicious; or to rally with success, after having begun to break and give way. So that when a battle was to be fought, on the first signal all was in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and soldiers drew themselves up of their own accord, in order of battle, and even in the heat of action performed their parts as the most able general would have directed them; a merit very rare, as I have been informed, but very estimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, and implies a very uncommon superiority of genius in the general.

Timotheus was the son of Conon; so much celebrated for his great actions and the important services he had rendered his country. He did not degenerate from his father's reputation,⁸ either with regard to his merit in the field, or his ability in the government of the state; but he added to those excellencies the glory which results from the talents of the mind, having distinguished himself particularly by the gift of eloquence and a taste for the sciences.

No captain at first ever experienced less than himself the inconstancy of the fortune of war.⁹ He had only to undertake an enterprise, to accomplish it.

¹ Diod. l. xv. p. 300. Cor. Nep. in Iphicr. c. 1.

² Iphicrates Atheniensis, non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quam disciplinâ militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum ætatis sue cum primis compararetur, sed et de majoribus natu quidem quiescenti anteponebatur. Cor. Nep.

³ Hic a patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus, neque minus civitatis regebat. Cor. Nep. c. i.

⁴ Timotheus Cononis filius, cum belli laude non inferior fuisset quam pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ et ingenii gloriâ adiecit. Cic. l. i. de Offic. n. 116.

⁵ Plut. Syl. p. 454.

¹ Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.

² Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 5.

³ Diod. l. xvi. p. 423, 424.

⁴ Diod. l. xvi. p. 428.

⁵ Hæc extrema fuit ætas Imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabrias, Timothei; neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoriâ. Cor. Nep. in Timol. c. 2.

⁶ Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. i.

Success perpetually attended his views and desires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite jealousy. Those who envied him, as I have already observed, caused him to be painted asleep, with Fortune by his side taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coolly, "If I take places in my sleep, what shall I do when I am awake?" He took the thing afterwards more seriously; and angry with those who pretended to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in public, that he did not owe his success to Fortune, but to himself. That goddess, says Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never successful afterwards. Such were the chiefs employed in the war of the allies.

The war and the campaign opened with the siege of Chios. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the sea forces.¹ All the allies exerted themselves in sending aid to that island. Chabrias, having forced the mouth of the harbour, entered it notwithstanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other galleys were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately surrounded on all sides, and his vessel exceedingly damaged by the assaults of the enemy. He might have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as his soldiers did; but from a mistaken principle of glory, he thought it inconsistent with the duty of a general to abandon his vessel in such a manner, and preferred a death, glorious in his opinion, to a shameful flight.

This first attempt having miscarried, both sides applied themselves vigorously to making new preparations. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of sixty galleys, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed sixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies consisted of 100 sail. After having ravaged several islands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they undertook the siege of Samos. The Athenians on their side, having united all their forces, besieged Byzantium. The allies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other, were preparing to fight, when suddenly a violent storm arose: notwithstanding which, Chares resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more erudence and experience than he, thought it improper to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the soldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did defeat the enemy. He was naturally vain, ostentatious, and self-conceited; one who exaggerated his own services, depreciated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of success. He wrote to Athens against his two colleagues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people,² capricious, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to a trial.

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 100 talents;³ a worthy reward for the noble disinterestedness he had shown upon another occasion, in bringing home to his country 1200 talents arising from the booty taken from the enemy,⁴ without reserving any part for himself! He could bear no longer the sight of an ungrateful city, and, being too poor to pay so great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people, touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his son Conon pay to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event sufficiently odd, those very walls, which his grandfather had rebuilt with the spoils of the enemy, the grandson, to the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expense.

Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself before the judges.⁵ It was upon this occasion that Aristophon, another Athenian captain, accused him

of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the confidence which an established reputation inspires, asked him, "Would you have committed a treason of this nature?" "No," replied Aristophon, "I am a man of too much honour for such an action!" "How!" replied Iphicrates, "could Iphicrates do what Aristophon would not do?"

He did not employ the force of arguments alone in his defence, he called in also the assistance of arms.⁶ Instructed by his colleague's ill success, he saw plainly that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince his judges. He posted round the place where they assembled a number of young persons armed with poniards, which they took care to show from time to time. They could not resist so forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him with an acquittal. When he was afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding; "I should have been a fool indeed," said he, "if, having made war successfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing so for myself."

Chares, by the recall of his two colleagues, was left sole general of the whole army, and was in a condition of very much advancing the Athenian affairs in the Hellespont, if he had known how to resist the magnificent offers of Artabazus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Asia Minor against the king of Persia his master, besieged by an army of 70,000 men, and just upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabazus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward suitable to the service. The action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republic for a foreign war, but had moreover offended the king of Persia, who threatened by his ambassadors to equip 500 sail of ships in favour of the islanders who were united in confederacy against Athens. The credit of Chares saved him again upon this as it had done several times before on similar occasions. The Athenians, intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this measure to them in a fine discourse, which is still extant,⁷ wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, for abandoning themselves blindly to the insinuations of the orators who flatter their passions, whilst they treated those with contempt who gave them the most salutary counsels. He applies himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days, so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty and the preservation of Greece, and compares them with those sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had plunged both states successively into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice; but in the wise government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A state," says he, "cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its neighbours, when it knows how to unite in all its measures two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the most violent methods to crush and subvert whatever opposes it; so justice, when unarmed and without power, is exposed to injury, and is incapable of defending

¹ Dind. l. xvi. p. 412. Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. iv.

² Populus acer, suspiciens, mobilis, adversarius, invidiosus, acrius potentis, donum revocat. Cor. Nep.

³ One hundred thousand crowns.

⁴ Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

⁵ Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23.

⁶ Polyæn. Stratag. l. iii.

⁷ De Pace seu sociali

use of or protecting others." The conclusion drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning is, that Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought to confine her dominion within just bounds, not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lordship over all other states; but to conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare herself the irreconcilable enemy of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene such measures.

The peace was concluded accordingly under such conditions; and it Ant. J. C. 356. was stipulated that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chios, and Cos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner, after having continued three years.

SECTION III.—DEMOSTHENES ENCOURAGES THE ATHENIANS, ALARMED BY THE PREPARATIONS MADE BY ARTAXERXES FOR WAR. HE HARANGUES THEM IN FAVOUR OF THE MEGALOPOLITANS, AND AFTERWARDS OF THE RHODIANS. DEATH OF MAUSOLUS. EXTRAORDINARY GRIEF OF ARTEMISIA, HIS WIFE.

This peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage; and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.

Athens took the alarm upon this Ant. J. C. 355. rumour. The orators increased the fears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have immediate recourse to arms, to prevent the king of Persia, by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league with all the states of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in public at this time, and mounted the tribunal to give his opinion. He was twenty-eight years of age. (I shall speak more extensively of him shortly.) Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the procuring to the republic the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner the proposals that had been made, lest he should render himself suspected; but admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not consistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a premature declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at present, was to fit out a fleet of 300 sail (and he entered into a copious detail of the means by which this was to be effected),¹ and to hold the troops in readiness, to enable them to make an effectual and vigorous defence in case of being attacked; that by so doing, all the people of Greece, without farther invitation, would be sufficiently warned by the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of such an armament would be enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting that he should have formed any designs against Greece.

For the rest, he was not of opinion that it was necessary to levy any immediate tax upon the estates of private persons, in order to provide for the expense of this war, which would not amount to a great sum, nor suffice for the occasion. "It is better," said he, "to rely upon the zeal and generosity of the citizens. Our city may be said to be alone almost as rich as all the other cities of Greece together, (He had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to 6000 talents, about 850,000*l.* sterling.) When we shall see the danger to be real

and imminent, every body will be ready to contribute cheerfully to the expenses of the war; as none can be so void of reason, as to prefer the hazard of losing their whole estate with their liberty, to sacrificing a small part of it in order to preserve themselves and their country.

"And we ought not to fear, as some people would insinuate, that the great riches of the king of Persia enable him to raise a great body of auxiliaries, which will render his army formidable. Our Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt, or Orontes and the other barbarians, serve willingly under the Persians; but none of them, I dare affirm, not a single man of them, will ever resolve to bear arms against Greece."

This discourse had its full effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator, in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully giving reason to suppose at the same time that it would fall only upon the rich, whose zeal he commended, was well calculated to render abortive an affair which had no other foundation than in the overheard insinuations of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

Two years after,² an enterprise of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another opportunity of signaling his zeal and displaying his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved, therefore, to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who probably had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection. The other states concerned sent also their deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

Demosthenes first assigns,³ as the basis of his discourse, this principle; that it was of the utmost importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give law to the rest of Greece. For this purpose it was requisite to balance their power, and maintain always an exact equilibrium between them. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the most certain means to preserve so necessary a balance between Sparta and Thebes; because whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilst the Arcadians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to those of either of the two other states.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes was the alliance actually subsisting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, said the orators who opposed Demosthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change thus with the times? or is it consistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought," replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place, "we ought indeed always to have justice in view,⁴ and to make it the rule of our conduct; but, at the same time, our conformity to it should be connected with the public good and the interest of the state. It has been a perpetual maxim with us to assist the oppressed." He cites the Lacedæmonians themselves, the Thebans, and Eubceans, as examples. "We have never varied from this principle. The reproach of changing, therefore, ought not to fall upon us, but upon those whose injustice and usurpation oblige us to declare against them."

I admire the language of politicians. To hear

¹ *Diod. l. iv. p. 401.*

² *Demost. Orat. pro Megalop.*

³ *Ὅτι ἐκείνη μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν καὶ ἐγγύς τινος τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγγύς τινος τῆς Σπάρτης.*

⁴ I reserve this scheme for the seventh section, as it is rather curious, and very proper to explain in what manner the Athenians fitted out, and maintained their fleets.

them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determine them: but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. This language is an effect and remnant of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the minds of all men, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are few who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also few, who observe it with fidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states is a proof of their decline, and often enotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

The Athenians,¹ moved by the eloquent discourse of Demosthenes, sent 3000 foot and 300 horse to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of Pammenes.² Megalopolis was reinstated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who had assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publicly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly.

He died the second year after the A. M. 3650. treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years. Artemisia his wife succeeded him;³ and as she was supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.

In speaking here of Artemisia, it is proper to observe, that she must not be confounded with another Artemisia, who lived above 130 years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished herself so much by her resolution and prudence in the naval battle of Salamis. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error through inadvertency.

This princess immortalized herself by the honours which she paid to the memory of Mausolus her husband.⁴ She caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the *Mausoleum*, and for its beauty was esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world, and has caused the name of *Mausoleum* to be given to all great and magnificent structures of the same kind.

She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Mausolus by other monuments,⁵ which she believed more durable than those of brass or marble, but, which are often no better proof against the injuries of time;—I mean the productions of the mind. She caused excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her husband, and proposed a prize of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Amongst many others, the celebrated Isocrates, and Theopompus his disciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in public of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the reputation of fine parts to that of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus in his history as a prince most sordidly avaricious, who thought all means of amassing treasure legitimate. He painted him, without doubt, in very different colours in his panegyric, or else he would never have pleased the princess.

That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus, from that I have been speaking of.⁶ Having gathered his ashes, and caused the bones to be beaten in a mortar, she mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drunk it

all off; desiring by that means to make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Instead of the tears in which most writers plunge Artemisia during her widowhood, there are some who say she made very considerable conquests. It appears by one of Demosthenes's orations,⁷ that she was not considered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have something more decisive upon this head. Vitruvius tells us,⁸ that after the death of Mausolus, the Rhodians, indignant that a woman should reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpose with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The queen being informed of their design, had given the inhabitants orders to appear upon the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express by shouts and clapping of hands their readiness to surrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemisia came out with her galleys from the little port, through a small canal which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seized the enemy's fleet, which was incapable of making any resistance, and having put her soldiers and mariners on board of it, she set sail. The Rhodians having no means of escaping, were all put to the sword. The queen in the meantime advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raised great shouts, and received, with extraordinary marks of joy, their victorious and triumphant fleet. It was so in fact but in another sense than they imagined. Artemisia, having met with no resistance, took possession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and set up two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisia branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they surrounded it with a building which entirely prevented it from being seen.

All this, as Bayle observes in his Dictionary, does not indicate a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that all the marvellous reports of the sorrow of Artemisia, may have no other foundation than being advanced at a venture by some writer and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased, for the honour of Artemisia, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her sex affords many examples, she knew how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation. *Negotia pro solatiis accipiens.*⁹

The Rhodians being treated by Artemisia in the manner we have A. M. 3653. related,¹⁰ and unable to support any Ant. J. C. 351. longer so severe and shameful a servitude, had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt Demosthenes notwithstanding took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with setting forth their crime in its full light; he aggravated their injustice and perfidy; he seemed to enter into the people's just sentiments of resentment and indignation, and it might have been thought he was going to declare in the strongest terms against the Rhodians: but all this was only an artifice of the orator, to insinuate himself into his auditors' good opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary sentiments of mildness and compassion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the repub

¹ Diod. l. xv. p. 402.

² This is not the Pammones of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.

³ Diod. l. xvi. p. 435.

⁴ Plin. l. xxxvi c. 5.

⁵ Aul. Gel. l. x. c. 18. Plut. in Isocrat. p. 838.

⁶ Cic. Tuscul. Quest. l. iii. n. 75. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.

⁷ Demost. de Libertat. Rhod. p. 145.

⁸ Vitruv. de Architect. l. ii. c. 8.

⁹ Tacit. ¹⁰ Demost. de Libertat. Rhod.

lic's protection. He sets before them the grand maxima, which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens; of the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest: in showing the importance of declaring for a city that favoured the democratic form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes. This is the substance of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians*.

The death of Artemisia,¹ which happened the same year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idrieus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had Artemisia. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their husbands in the throne in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

SECTION IV.—SUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION OF OCHUS AGAINST PHENICIA AND CYPRUS, AND AFTERWARDS AGAINST EGYPT.

OCHUS meditated in earnest the re-
A. M. 3653. duction of Egypt to its allegiance, Ant. J. C. 351. which had long pretended to maintain itself in independence. Whilst he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phenicia. That people,² oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off so heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebus king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phenicia, this revolt was very seasonable for Nectanebus, who therefore sent Mentor the Rhodian to support the rebels, with 4000 Grecian troops.³ He intended by that means to make Phenicia his barrier, and to stop the Persians there. The Phenicians took the field with that reinforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia that had been sent against them, and drove the Persians entirely out of Phenicia.

The Cypriots,⁴ who were not better treated than the Phenicians, seeing the good success which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus sent orders to Idrieus, king of Caria, to make war against them; who immediately fitted out a fleet, and sent 8000 Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Eragoras, who is believed to be the son of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleasure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he still had there, might make the king of Persia choose him very judiciously to command in this expedition. They made a descent in the island, where their army increased to double its number by the reinforcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, that was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the siege of Salamis by sea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, so considerable as to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were, however, subjects of Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.

Ochus, having observed that the Egyptian wars had always been unsuccessful from the ill conduct of the generals sent thither, resolved to take the command in person. But before he set out, he signified his desire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions, and cease to make war upon one another.

It is a just matter of surprise that the court of Persia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty

of Antalcidas, the principal end of which was the establishment of a lasting union amongst them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy.

Ever since the miscarriage of the enterprise against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and silver a more proper means for subjecting it than that of the sword, the Persians did not attack it with open force, but by the method of secret intrigues. They conveyed considerable sums into it privately, to corrupt those who had most influence and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to deprive them of the leisure and means of invading themselves. They were particularly careful to declare sometimes for one, sometimes for another, in order to support a kind of balance amongst them, which put it out of the power of any of those republics to aggrandize itself too much, and by that means to become formidable to Persia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe a universal peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms, against such as should disobey. Persia, without doubt, did not take that resolution at a venture, and had its reasons for behaving in such a manner towards Greece.

Its design might be to soften their spirit by degrees, by disarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour which spurred them on perpetually by noble emulation; to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inaction and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of those nations, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardour which combats and even dangers are apt to inspire.

The king of Persia who then reigned, had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The famous retreat of the 10,000, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That price relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the intestine divisions of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him Ionia especially, and the neighbouring provinces. Now, the most certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprises.⁵

When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phenicia, where he found an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him, and he sent secretly to Ochus to make him offer not only of surrendering Sidon to him, but to serve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposals, upon which he engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and they in concert surrendered the place to Ochus.

The Sidonians had set fire to their ships upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence, by removing all other hope of security. When they saw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in despair they shut themselves up in their houses, and set them on fire. Forty thou-

¹ Strab. l. xiv. p. 556.

² Diod. l. xvi. p. 439.

³ Ibid. p. 440, 441.

⁴ Diod. l. xvi. p. 441—443.

sand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Susa, and having no further occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immensely rich. The fire having melted the gold and silver, Ochus sold the cinders for a considerable sum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city spread so great terror over the rest of Phenicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the king. Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, because he was unwilling to lose the time there which he had so much occasion for in the execution of his projects against Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter that country, he was joined by a body of 10,000 Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops from Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had excused themselves from furnishing him at that time: as it was impossible for them to do it, however desirous they might be, as they said, to maintain a good correspondence with the king. The Thebans sent him 1000 men under the command of Lachares; the Argives 3000 under Nicostratus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All these troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

The Jews must have had some share in this war of the Phenicians against Persia.¹ For Sidon was no sooner taken than Ochus entered Judæa, and besieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides which it appears that he carried a great number of Jewish captives into Egypt, and sent many others into Hyrcania, where he settled them along the coast of the Caspian sea.

Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus at the same time.² That of Egypt so entirely engrossed his attention, that in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was satisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who submitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little states. Evagoras demanded to be reinstated in the kingdom of Salamis. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the most flagrant acts of injustice during his reign, and that he had not been unjustly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamis, and the king gave Evagoras a government in another quarter. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamis, and was seized and put to death. How surprising a difference between Nicocles and his son Evagoras!

After the reduction of the isle of Cyprus and the province of Phenicia,³ Ochus advanced at length towards Egypt.

Upon his arrival, he encamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian, with equal authority. The first was under Lachares the Theban, and Rosaces, governor of Lydia and Ionia. The second was given to Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristaxanes, one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs, at the head of it. Each detachment had its peculiar order. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp which he had made choice of at first, to wait the event, and to be ready to support those troops, in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might gain.

Nectanebus had long expected this invasion, the preparations for which had made so much noise. He had 100,000 men on foot, 20,000 of whom were Greeks, 20,000 Libyans, and the rest Egyptian troops. Part of them he disposed in the places upon the frontiers, and posted himself with the rest in the passes, to dispute the enemy's entrance into Egypt.

Ochus's first detachment was sent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of 5000 Greeks. Lachares

besieged the place. That under Nicostratus going on board a squadron of fourscore ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and sailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed and fortified themselves well in a camp which was very advantageously situated. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action ensued, in which Clinias with 5000 of his troops were killed, and the rest entirely broken and dispersed.

This action decided the success of the war. Nectanebus, apprehending that Nicostratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Pelusium were apprised of this precipitate retreat, they believed all was lost, and capitulated with Lachares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus had given orders that all those who would submit should be treated with favour, and that such as made resistance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Those poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus seemed to confirm it; and the terror was so great, that the garrisons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission.

Nectanebus, having lost all hope of being able to defend himself, es- A. M. 3654. caped with his treasures and most Ant. J. C. 350. valuable effects into Ethiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, since whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.⁴

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, dismantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and especially with gold and silver, of which he carried away immense sums. He left the government of it to Pherendates, a Persian of the first quality.

Here Manetho finishes his commentaries,⁵ or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had written the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His work is often cited by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and several others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, to whom he dedicates his work, of which Syncellus⁶ has preserved us the abridgment.

Nectanebus lost the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Agesilaus, and afterwards supported in it by the valour and prudence of Diophanes the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedæmonian, who, whilst they had the command of his troops and the direction of the war, had rendered his armies victorious over the Persians in all the enterprises they had formed against him. It is a pity we have no detailed account of them, and that Diodorus is silent upon this head. That prince vain from so many successes, imagined, in consequence, that he was become sufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs by himself, and dismissed those persons to whom he was indebted for all those

¹ Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.

² Syncel. p. 256. Voss de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 14.

³ George, a monk of Constantinople, so called from his being Syncellus, or vicar to the patriarch Tarasus, towards the end of the ninth century.

⁴ Salom. c. xxv. Euseb. in Chron. &c.

⁵ Diod. l. xvi. p. 443. ⁶ Diod. p. 444—450.

advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to discover that the rank does not confer the qualifications of a king.

Ochus rewarded very liberally the service which Mentor the Rhodian Ant. J. C. 349. had rendered him in the reduction of Phenicia and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he dismissed the other Greeks laden with presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of 100 talents in money,¹ besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coast of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generalissimo of all his armies on that side.

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabazus, who had married their sister. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabazus, and the victories he had obtained over the king's troops. He was, however, overpowered at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his successors signal services; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his time, and of the greatest skill in the art of war. Neither did Mentor belie the high opinion entertained of him, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-established every where the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience; some he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew so well how to improve his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and reinstated the king's affairs in all those provinces.

In the first year of the 108th Olymp. A. M. 3658. piad, did Plato, the famous Athenian Ant. J. C. 348. philosopher.

SECTION V.—DEATH OF OCHUS. ARSES SUCCEEDS HIM, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY DARIUS CODOMANUS.

OCHUS,² after the conquest of Egypt, and the reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during the rest of his life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them; so that the first had all the provinces of the upper, and the latter all those of the lower Asia under him.

After having reigned twenty-three A. M. 3666. years, Ochus died of poison given Ant. J. C. 338. him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered it, he flattered himself that it would be in his power to soften the destiny of the one, and protect the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things in regard to both, which the eunuch saw with extreme sorrow, and always violently resented in his heart.

Ochus, not contented with having dismantled the cities and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been said, had besides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians; and in derision of their worship,³ he had caused the god Apis to be killed, that is, the sacred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occasion for this last action was,⁴ that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the insulting surname of the stu-

pid animal whom they found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus said that he would make them sensible that he was not an ass but a lion, and that the ass, which they despised so much, should eat their ox. Accordingly, he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and sacrificed to an ass. After which he made his cooks dress and serve him up to the officers of his household. This piece of wit incensed Bagoas. As for the archives he redeemed them afterwards, and sent them back to the places where it was the custom to keep them; but the affront which had been done to his religion was irreparable; and that, it is believed, was the real occasion of his master's death.

His revenge did not stop there:⁵ he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's; and to revenge his having made the officers of the household eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces: and as for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable that some new cause had awakened in the heart of this monster his ancient resentment; without which it is not to be conceived that he could carry his barbarity so far towards his master and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all power was at that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king's sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess with better security, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of king, whilst he reserved to himself the whole power of the sovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to discover his wickedness, and was taking measures to punish it, he prevented him by having him assassinated, and destroyed his whole family with him. Arses had reigned about two years.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, A. M. 3668. placed Darius upon it, the third Ant. J. C. 336. of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomanus: of him much will be said hereafter.

We see here clearly the sad effect of the pernicious policy of the kings of Persia, who, to ease themselves of the weight of public business, abandoned their whole authority to a eunuch. Bagoas might have more address and understanding than the rest, and thereby merited some distinction. It is the duty of a wise prince to distinguish merit; but it is equally his duty to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince like Ochus, that had made the greatest crimes serve as steps for ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have such a minister as Bagoas, who vied with his master in perfidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their first effects. Had he desired to have nothing to fear from him, he should not have been so imprudent as to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited power.

SECTION VI.—ABRIDGMENT OF THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES, TILL THE TIME OF HIS APPEARANCE WITH HONOUR AND APPLAUSE IN THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES AGAINST PHILIP OF MACEDON.

As Demosthenes will perform a conspicuous part in the history of Philip and Alexander, it is necessary to give the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried his talent of eloquence; which made him more formidable to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest military valour could have done.

That orator,⁶ born two years after Philip,⁷ and 280 before Cicero, was not the son of a dirty smoky blacksmith, as Juvenal would seem to inti-

¹ One hundred thousand crowns.

² Diod. l. xvi. p. 460.

³ Plut. de Isid. et Juir. p. 363.

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⁴ Elian. l. iv. c. 8.

⁵ Elian. l. vi. c. 8.

⁶ Plut. in Demost. p. 847—849.

⁷ The fourth year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad

mate, but of a man moderately rich, who made considerable profit by forges. Not that the meanest extraction could derogate in the least from the reputation of Demosthenes; his works are a higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. Demosthenes tells us himself,³ that his father employed thirty slaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, and those were each of them worth 100 crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the ancients consisted in slaves. Those forges, after all charges were paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, 1500 livres. To this first manufactory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or 100 livres.⁴

Demosthenes's father died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents.⁴ His son at that time was only seven years of age. He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of sordid and avaricious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to refuse their pupil's masters the stipend due to them: so that he was not educated with the care which so excellent a genius as his required; besides which, the weakness of his constitution, and the delicacy of his health, in conjunction with the excessive fondness of a mother that doated upon him, prevented his masters from obliging him to apply closely to his studies.

The school of Isocrates,⁵ in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens. But whether the avarice of Demosthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high;⁶ or that the soft and placid eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste, at that time he studied under Iseus, whose characteristic was strength and vehemence. He found means however, to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the former; but Plato⁷ in reality contributed the most to form Demosthenes; he read his works with great application, and even received lessons from him; and it is easy to distinguish in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

But he soon quitted the schools of Iseus and Plato for another;⁸ I mean to frequent the bar; of which this was the occasion. The orator Callistratus was appointed to plead in a full assembly the cause of the city of Oropus, situated between Bœotia and Attica. Chabrias, having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great distress, they hastened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, forgetting so great a service, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. Chabrias was suspected,⁹ and charged with treason upon this occasion. Callistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity and made a great noise in the city.

Demosthenes, who was then sixteen A. M. 3639. years of age, earnestly entreated his Ant. J. C. 365. masters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be present at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention: and having had extraordinary success, was

¹ Quem pater ardentis massæ fuligine lippus,
A carbone et foreipibus, gladiusque parant
Ineude, et luteo Vulcanò ad rhetora misit.

Juv. Sat. 10.

² In Orat. I. cont. Aphob. p. 896.

³ About 41. 10s.

⁴ Fourteen thousand crowns.

⁵ Isocrates—cujus à ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. *De Orat.* n. 94.

⁶ About 224. 10s.

⁷ Lectitavisse Platonem studiosè, audivisse etiam, Demosthenes dicitur: Idque apparere ex genere et granditate sermonis. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 121.

⁸ Illud iusjurandum, per cæcos in Marathonæ ac Salaminæ propugnaculis Reip. sœtis manifestè decet, præceptorem ejus Platonem fuisse. *Quintil. I. xii. c. 10*

⁹ Aul. Gel. I. iii. c. 13.

¹⁰ Demost. in Midii. p. 612.

attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours which he saw paid to the orator and still more with the supreme influence of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects; and not being able to resist its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures, and as long as Callistratus continued at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill fortune. He had a weak voice, an impediment in his speech, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to stop in the midst of them to take breath. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience: from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who, through all these imperfections, had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore, to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him, and having learnt from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not so desperate as he imagined. He desired him only to repeat some of Sophocles' or Euripides' verses to him, which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gesture, and spirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him understand the value, seem almost incredible, and prove that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. He stammered to such a degree,¹⁰ that he could not pronounce some letters, amongst others, that with which the name of the art he studied begins;¹¹ and he was so short-breathed that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He at length overcame these obstacles by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses in that manner without interruption; and that even when walking, and going up steep and difficult places; so that, at last, no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. He went also to the sea-side,¹² and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people and the tumultuous cries of public assemblies.

Demosthenes took no less care of his actions than of his voice.¹³ He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. To correct a fault which he had contracted by an ill habit, of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbert, in such a manner that, if in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well bestowed; for it was by this means that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it is capable.

¹⁰ Cic. I. i. de Orat. n. 260. 261.

¹¹ Quintil. I. x. c. 3.

¹² Rhetoric. 13 Id. I. xi. c. 2.

whence it is plain, he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than *Pronunciation*; insinuating, by making that reply three times successively, 'that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; and that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it the most excellent could not hope for the least success. He must have had a very high opinion of it, since, in order to attain a perfection in it, and to receive the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted so considerable a sum as 10,000 drachmas,¹ though he was not very rich.

His application to study was no less surprising. To be the more removed from noise, and less subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he sometimes shut himself up for whole months, shaving on purpose half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a small lamp, he composed the admirable orations which were said, by those who envied him, to smell of the oil; to imply, that they were too elaborate. "It is plain," replied he, "yours did not cost you so much trouble." He rose very early in the morning,² and used to say, that he was sorry when any workman was at his business before him. We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire perfection of every kind, from the pains he took in copying Thucydides' history eight times with his own hand, in order to render the style of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in several private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal, to treat there upon the public affairs; with what success we shall see hereafter. Cicero³ tells us that his success was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak: and he adds, that to merit, so great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence; I have enlarged sufficiently upon that elsewhere;⁴ I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip, and upon this point he is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority, the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians.⁵ His harangues, he said, were like machines of war, and batteries raised at a distance against him; by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprises, without its being possible to prevent their effect. "For I myself," says Philip of him, "had I been present, and heard that vehement orator declaim, I should have been the first to conclude that it was indispensably necessary to declare war against me." No city seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it: but he confessed, that, to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inaccessible to his presents. After the battle of Cheronea, Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger to which that orator, by the powerful

league he had been the sole cause of forming against him, and had exposed both himself and his kingdom.

Antipater spoke of him in similar terms.⁶ "I value not," said he, "the Piræus, the galleys, and armies of the Athenians. For what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feasts, and Bacchanalian rites? Demosthenes alone gives me pain. Without him, the Athenians are in no respect different from the meanest people of Greece. He alone excites and animates them. It is he that rouses them from their lethargy and stupefaction and puts arms and oars into their hands almost against their will. Incessantly representing to them the famous battles of Marathon and Salamis, he transforms them into new men by the ardour of his discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour and boldness. Nothing escapes his penetrating eyes nor his consummate prudence. He foresees all our designs, he countermines all our projects, and disconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we should be irremediably undone. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. All the gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides."

He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself, in making good his defence against Æschines, his accuser and declared enemy. "Whilst all the orators have suffered themselves to be corrupted by the presents of Philip and Alexander, it is well known," says he, "that neither delicate conjunctures, nor engaging expressions, nor magnificent promises, nor hope, nor fear, nor favour, nor any thing in the world, have ever been able to induce me to relax in any point, which I thought favourable either to the rights or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible by the Macedonian gold. The sequel will show whether he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal, or rather the statesman who is going to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the enterprises of Athens against Philip of Macedonia.

SECTION VII.—DIGRESSIONS UPON THE MANNER OF FITTING OUT FLEETS BY THE ATHENIANS, AND THE EXEMPTIONS AND OTHER MARKS OF HONOUR GRANTED BY THAT CITY TO SUCH AS HAD RENDERED IT GREAT SERVICES.

THE subject of this digression ought properly to have had place in that part of this volume where I have treated of the maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time I had not in my thoughts those orations of Demosthenes which speak of them. It is a deviation from the chain of the history, which the reader may easily pass over, if he thinks fit.

The word *Trierarchs*⁷ signifies no more in itself than commanders of galleys. But those citizens were also called *Trierarchs* who were appointed to fit out the galleys in time of war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, or at least with part of them.

They were chosen out of the richest of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes even ten *Trierarchs* were appointed to equip one vessel.

At length the number of *Trierarchs* in general was fixed at 1200,⁸ in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. A hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe, were nominated to furnish the expenses of these armaments; and thus each tribe furnishing six score, the number of the *Trierarchs* amounted to 1200.

¹ Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac summus orator esse numero nullo potest: medicis, hac instructus, summus sepe suptrare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundus, huic tertius. Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 213.

² About 2400. sterling.

³ Cui non sunt audire Demosthenis vigilis? qui dolere se sedit, si quando opificum antelucanæ victus esset industria. Tacet. Quest. l. iv. n. 44.

⁴ Lucian, advers. Indoct. p. 639.

⁵ Ne illud quidem intelligant, non modò ita memorie proditum esse, sed ita necesse fuisse, cum Demosthenes dicitur esset, ut concurrens, audiendi causâ ex totâ Græciâ fissent. In Brut. n. 239.

⁶ Art of studying the Belles Lettres, vol. ii.

⁷ Lucian. in Encom. Demosth. p. 940, 941.

⁸ Lucian. in Encom. Demosth. p. 934—936.

⁹ Τριεραρχοι.

¹⁰ Ulpian. in Olyath. li. p. 32.

Those 1200 men were again divided into two parts, of 600 each; and those 600 subdivided into two more, each of 300. The first 300 were chosen from among such as were richest. Upon pressing occasions they advanced the necessary expenses, and were reimbursed by the other 300, who paid their proportion as the state of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those 1200 were divided into different companies, each consisting of sixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and radically unjust, as it decreed that this number of sixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained that all citizens, from twenty-five to forty, should be included in one of these companies, and contribute one-sixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to provide for an expense so much above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time, or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens lost the most favourable opportunities for action.

Demosthenes,¹ always intent upon the public good, to remedy these inconveniences, proposed the abrogation of the law by another. By the latter, the Trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whose estate amounted to ten talents,² was obliged to fit out one galley at his own expense; and if to twenty talents, two; and so on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents were to join with as many others as were necessary to complete that sum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wiser than this law of Demosthenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary; the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it. For instead of contributing only a sixteenth, as by the first law, they were sometimes obliged by the second to equip a galley by themselves, and sometimes two or more, according to the amount of their estates.

The rich were in consequence very much offended at Demosthenes for this regulation; and it required, without doubt, no small courage in him to disregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himself. "Seeing,"³ says he, speaking to the Athenians, "that your maritime affairs were in a ruinous condition, the rich possessed of an immunity purchased at a very low rate, the citizens of middle or small fortunes overwhelmed with taxes, and the republic itself, in consequence of these inconveniences, never attempting any thing till too late to be of any avail; I had the courage to establish a law, whereby the rich are brought back to their duty, the poor relieved from oppression, and, what was of the highest importance, the republic enabled to make the necessary preparations for war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the proposing of this law, or at least to have suspended its execution: but he did not suffer himself to be swayed either by their threats or promises, and continued firm to the public good.

Not having been able to make him change his resolution, they contrived a stratagem to render it ineffectual. For it was without doubt at their instigation that a certain person, named Patroclus, cited Demosthenes before the judges, and prosecuted him judicially as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuser not having the fifth part of the voices on his side, was according to custom fined 500 drachmas,⁴ and Demosthenes acquitted of the charge. He himself informs us of these particulars.

I much doubt, whether at Rome, especially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn.

For we see, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the quarrel arose, it never was possible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprising than those of Athens, to renounce the possession of the lands, which they had usurped in manifest contravention of the institutions of the state. The law of Demosthenes was approved and confirmed by the senate and people.

We find, from what has been said, that the Trierarchs fitted out the galleys and equipped them at their own expense. The state paid the mariners and soldiers, generally at the rate of three *Oboli*, or five-pence a-day, as has been observed elsewhere. The officers had greater pay.

The Trierarch commanded the vessel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them to a ship, each commanded six months.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their administration, and delivered a state of the vessel's equipage to their successor, or the republic. The successor was obliged to go immediately and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his post by a time assigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of Trierarch was very expensive, those who were nominated to it, were admitted to point out some other person richer than themselves, and to demand that he should be put into their place; provided they were ready to change estates with such person, and to act as Trierarch after such exchange. This law was instituted by Solon, and was called the law of exchanges.

Besides the equipment of galleys, which must have amounted to very great sums, the rich had another burden to support in time of war; that was, the extraordinary taxes and imposts laid on their estates; upon which sometimes the hundredth, sometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth, were levied, according to the different necessities of the state.

Nobody at Athens,⁵ upon any pretence whatever, could be exempted from these two charges, except the *Novemviri*, or nine Archons, who were not obliged to fit out galleys. So that we see clearly, that without ships or money, the republic was not in a condition, either to support wars, or defend itself.

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to such as had rendered great services to the republic, and sometimes even to all their descendants; such as maintaining the public places for the exercises with all things necessary for such as frequented them; instituting a public feast for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expenses of games and shows; all which amounted to great sums.

These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour and rewards for services rendered the state; as well as the statues which were erected to great men, the freedom of the city which was granted to strangers, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytæum at the public expense. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions, which were sometimes perpetuated through families, was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all public employments, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

As Aristides died without any estate,⁶ and left his son Lysimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republic gave him 100 acres of wood, and as much arable land, in Eubœa besides 100 minæ at one payment, and four drachmas, or forty pence a-day.

Athens,⁷ in the services which were done it, regard

¹ Demosth. in Orat. de Clasiib.

² Ten thousand crowns

³ Demosth. pro Olesiph. p. 419.

⁴ Twelve pounds five shillings.

⁵ Demosth. advers. Lept. p. 545.

⁶ Idem in Orat. ad Lep. p. 558.

⁷ About two hundred and forty pounds

⁸ Demosth. in Orat. ad Lep. p. 757

ed more the good will than the action itself. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicercus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he saw ready to expire for want of food, distributed 100 minæ amongst them, that is, about 240*l*. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after, in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same Epicercus gave the city a talent.¹ These were but small matters on either occasion with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were deeply affected with the good will of a stranger, who, without any view of interest, in a time of public calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for the relief of those with whom he had no connection, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

The same Athens granted the freedom of their city,² and an exemption from customs, to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and to his children, because they imported from the lands of that prince a considerable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, subsisting almost entirely upon what came from foreign parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generosity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth that was imposed upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of supplying themselves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a considerable sum. For they brought from thence alone 2,000,000 of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almost 70,000.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from public offices. The names alone of those illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person, however, called Leptines, out of a mistaken zeal for the public good proposed to abrogate, by a new law, all the grants of that kind, which had been made from time immemorial, except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact, that for the future the people should not be permitted to grant such privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great delicacy towards the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve only to alienate the minds of the hearers, and to render an orator suspected, who discredits his cause himself, and shows its weak side, by substituting railing in the place of reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having shown that so odious a reform would prove of little or no advantage to the republic, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted persons, he goes on to expose its inconveniences, and sets them in a full light.

"It is first," says he, "doing injury to the memory of those great men, whose merit the state intended to acknowledge and reward by such immunities; it is in some manner calling in question the services

they have done their country; it is throwing a suspicion upon their great actions, injurious to, if not destructive of, their glory. And were they now alive and present in this assembly, which of us all would presume to offer them such an affront? Should not the respect we owe their memories make us consider them as always alive and present?"

"But if we are little affected with what concerns them, can we be insensible to our own interest? Besides that cancelling so ancient a law is to condemn the conduct of our ancestors, what shame shall we bring upon ourselves, and what an injury shall we do our reputation? The glory of Athens, and of every well-governed state, is to value itself upon its gratitude; to keep its word religiously, and to be true to all its engagements. A private person that fails in these respects, is hated and abhorred; and who is not afraid of being reproached with ingratitude? And shall the commonwealth, in cancelling a law that has received the sanction of public authority, and been in a manner consecrated by the usage of many ages, be guilty of so scandalous a prevarication? We prohibit lying in the very markets under heavy penalties, and require truth and good faith to be observed in them; and shall we renounce them ourselves, by the revocation of grants passed in all their forms, and upon which every private man has a right to insist?"

"To act in such a manner, would be to extinguish in the hearts of our citizens all emulation for glory, all desire to distinguish themselves by great exploits, all zeal for the honour and welfare of their country, which are the great springs and principles of almost all the actions of life. And it is to no purpose to object the example of Sparta and Thebes, which grant no such exemptions. Do we repent our not resembling them in many things; and is there any wisdom in proposing their defects, and not their virtues, for our imitation?"

Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it, but those who had a just title to them; and that a strict inquiry should be made for that purpose.

It is plain that I have only made a very slight extract in this place of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without confining myself to the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness in Leptines's desiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republic, by retrenching the moderate expenses that were an honour to it, and in no degree burdensome, whilst there were other abuses of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of public gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate also in a state an ardent zeal for one's country, and a warm desire to obtain distinction by glorious actions. It is not without pain I find amongst ourselves, that part of the privileges granted to the family of the Maid of Orleans have been retrenched. Charles VII.⁵ had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their descendants, even by the female line. In 1614, at the request of the attorney-general, the article of nobility on the women's side was retrenched.

¹ A thousand crowns.

² Demosth. in *Orat.* ad *Lep.* p. 545, 546.

⁵ Mesorai.

HISTORY OF PHILIP.

BOOK XIV.

For the Author's Introduction to this division of the Work, see Preface, page xxxix.

SECTION I.—THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF PHILIP.
BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN. HIS FIRST CONQUESTS.
THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER.

MACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, situated in ancient Thrace; and bounded on the south by the mountains of Thessaly; on the east by Bottia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestæ; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatic sea to the river Strymon. Edessa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II., who is reckoned the sixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about 430 years before; that is, in the year of the world 3210, and before Christ 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to descend from Hercules by Caranus, and consequently to be Greeks by extraction. Notwithstanding this, Demosthenes often styles them Barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. Alexander,¹ king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, on pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympic games; and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being descended originally from Argos. The above-mentioned Alexander,² when he went over from the Persian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter that Mardonius was determined to surprise them at day-break, justified this perfidy by his ancient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath them to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest.

We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece, and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having the very year after been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he had applied to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argeus, who was of the blood royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years.

Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians;³ upon which he was desirous of resuming the posses-

sion of the lands, which nothing but the unfortunate situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks and the Athenians in particular, sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin. It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them in enabling the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last-mentioned people. This close alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. This Philip was the father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot distinguish him better, than by calling him the father of such a son, as Cicero⁴ observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

Amyntas died,⁵ after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy.

Alexander, as eldest son, succeeded his father. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of Macedonia. Having concluded a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother, an infant, into their hands, by way of hostage, who was soon sent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas,⁷ his brother, who was become eldest by his death; but Pausanias, a prince of the blood royal, who had been exiled disputed it with him; and was supported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by seizing some fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had sent him with a small fleet: not to besiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the necessary preparations for besieging it. Eurydice, hearing of his arrival, besought him to pay her a visit, intending to request his assistance against Pausanias. When he was come into the palace, and had seated himself, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion, takes her two children, Perdiccas and Philip,⁸ and sets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; and then thus addresses him! "Remember Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of these unhappy orphans, had always a love for your country, and adopted you for his son. This double tie lays you under a double obligation. The amity which that king entertained for Athens, requires that you should acknowledge us publicly for your friends; and the tenderness which that father had for your person, claims from you the heart of a brother towards these

¹ Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 400.

² M. Cato sententiam dixit, hujus nostri Catonis pater Ut enim ceteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illud pragnit, ex fœtore nominandus. De Offic. l. lii. n. 66.

³ Dion. p. 373. Justin. l. vii. c. 4.

⁴ Æsch. de Fals. Legat. p. 390, 400.

⁵ Philip was not then less than nine years old

¹ Herod. l. v. c. 22.

² Ibid. l. vi. c. 44.

³ Diod. l. xiv. c. 307. 341.

children.^a Iphicrates, moved with this sight and discourse, expelled the usurper, and restored the lawful sovereign.

¹ Perdiccas² did not long continue in tranquillity. A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose. This was Ptolemy, his brother, the natural son of Amyntas, as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son, and claim the crown as such. The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, still more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty which they had accepted, among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to Thebes,³ where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, on yielding up this much-loved son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going a hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this circumstance. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher, that is to say, a wise and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of having been his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; and most happy would he have been, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving opportunities, which, however, formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage. But with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterestedness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and cherishing in their bosom the most dangerous enemy of Greece. After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city,⁴ the news of a revolution in Macedon made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he steals away, makes the utmost expedition, and finds the Macedonians in the deepest consternation at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians; but much more so, at finding they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infested it with perpetual incursions; the Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing Argeus, whom Mantius their general was ordered to support with a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a man to govern, and had only a child in Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of guardian to the prince; but very soon the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and, instead of the heir whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; persuaded that the

laws of necessity are superior to all others. Accordingly,⁵ Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne, the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

A. M. 3644.
Ant. J. C. 366.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people. Accordingly, he provides for and remedies every thing, revives the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and reinstates and disciplines the army. He was inflexibly rigid in the last point,⁶ well knowing that the success of his enterprises depended on it. A soldier, who was very thirsty, went out of the ranks to drink; Philip punished him with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down; him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time that he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became so famous, and was the choicest and the best disciplined body of troops the world had ever seen, and might dispute the pre-eminence in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamis. It is said that he drew up the plan, or at least improved it, from the idea suggested by Homer.⁷ That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by joining their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the sacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot-soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them with the title of his comrades or companions;⁸ and by such marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this section, a more particular description of the phalanx, and the use made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the series of our history; yet being placed separately, may probably please, especially by the judicious reflection of a man so well skilled in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of was, the negotiating a capacious peace with the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established. He therefore sent ambassadors to Athens, spared neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he does not seem so much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly versed in the art of dissimulation; and who, without the assistance of experience, was already sensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. He had seized upon Amphipolis,⁹ a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which consequently stood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much; not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship it was his interest to preserve, would have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other side, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republic, and in this manner to set them at variance with their ancient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by dint of promises and presents; resolving to attack them, after he had disunited his enemies, and weakened them by that disunion.

This address and subtlety established him more

^a Plot. in Pelop. p. 224.

¹ Plutarch says, that it was with Alexander that Ptolemy disputed the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of Æschines, who being his contemporary, is more worthy of credit. I have therefore thought proper to substitute Perdiccas instead of Alexander.

² Thucyd. triennio obis habitus, prima pueritiam rudimenta in urbe severitatis antequam, et in domo Epaminondæ summa et philosophi et imperatoris, deposuit. Justin. l. vii. c. 5. Philip lived in Thebes not only three, but nine or ten years.

³ Diod. l. xvi. p. 407. Justin. l. vii. c. 3.

⁴ Diod. l. xvi. p. 407—413.

⁵ Ælian. l. xiv. c. 49.

⁶ Iliad. N. v. 130.

⁷ Hecataeus signifies, literally, a fellow-foot soldier.

⁸ Polyæn. Strateg. l. iv. c. 17.

firmly on the throne, and he soon found himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pausanias, he marches against Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Egæ to Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his soldiers, and takes a multitude of prisoners; attacks the Peonians, and subjects them to his power. He afterwards turns his arms against the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to restore to him all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

Much about this time the Athenians, A. M. 3646. and acted with the greatest generosity Ant. J. C. 358. ty towards the inhabitants of Eubœa.

That island, which is separated from Bœotia by the Euripus, was so called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negropont. It had been subject to the Athenians,¹ who had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Eubœans disgusted the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Eubœa became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now speaking, one of these factions implored the assistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and easily made the faction they espoused triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless, sensibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private resentments, they immediately gave them such powerful succour, both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being absolute masters of the island, they restored to the inhabitants their cities and liberty, persuaded, says *Æschines*,² in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having restored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without desiring any other benefit for all their services, than the glory of having appeased the troubles of that island.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other states; and it was this gave rise to the war of the allies, of which I have spoken elsewhere.

Hitherto Philip, that is, during the A. M. 3646. first years of his reign, had been Ant. J. C. 358. gaged in ridding himself of his competitors for the throne; in pacifying domestic divisions; in repelling the attacks of his foreign enemies; and in rendering them incapable, by his frequent victories, of troubling him in the possession of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed with each other the empire of Greece, had weakened themselves by their reciprocal divisions. This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of raising herself to the supreme power: but Thebes having weakened itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his turn to the sovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and conqueror, he resolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he is not able to conquer at present; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, take a part in its intestine feuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other, in order to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spares neither artifices, open force, presents, nor promises. He employs for this purpose negotiations, treaties, and alliances, and each of them singly in such a manner as he judges most conducive to the

success of his design; expediency solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under the second character, in all the steps he takes thenceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcilable enemy either by open invasions or secret intrigues.

We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had seized upon Amphipolis, because it was well situated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis. The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a speedy siege,³ sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republic rejected their offer, for fear

of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. However,⁴ this monarch was not so delicate in this point; for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that had they acted at the time with the expedition they ought, they would have saved a confederate city, and spared themselves a multitude of misfortunes.

Philip had promised the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands,⁵ and by this promise had made them supine and inactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping his word, and sincerity was not the virtue he professed. So far from surrendering this city, he also possessed himself of Pydna⁶ and of Potidea.⁷ The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing them the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his interest.

From hence he proceeded to seize Crenides,⁸ which the Thracians had built two years before, and which he afterwards called Philippi, from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of 1000 talents, that is, about 144,000*l.* sterling; a prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before, and Philip first caused the golden coin bearing his name to be stamped there, which outlived his monarchy.⁹ Superiority of finances is of the utmost advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

Demosthenes says,¹⁰ that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, gold and silver were

¹ Demosth. Olynth. i. p. 2

⁴ Diod. p. 412

² Diod. p. 412.

³ Pydna, a city of Macedon, situated on the gulf anciently called Sinus Thermaicus, and now Golfo di Salonichi.

⁷ Potidea, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but sixty stadia, or three leagues from Olynthus.

⁸ Diod. p. 413

⁹ Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille Cherillus, incultis qui versibus et malè natis Retulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippus.

Horat. l. ii. *Ep. ad August.*

Cherilus the Pellaean youth approv'd.

Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd;

His dull, uneven verse, by great good fate,

Got him his favours, and a fair estate.

Creech's Hor.

Hic sunt numerati auri trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philippi.

¹⁰ Philip. iii. p.

Plaut. in Pœ.

¹ Vell. Patere. l. i. c. 4. Thucyd. lviij. p. 613. Demosth. pro Ctesiph. p. 489. *Æschin.* contra Ctesiph. p. 441.

² Οὐκ ἐχόμενοι δίκαιον ἴσους τὴν ἐξ-ἑν ἀπομνημονεύσαντες τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ.

ranked in the number of prohibited arms. But Philip thought, spoke, and acted in a quite different manner. It is said,¹ that having one day consulted the oracle of Delphi, he received the following answer:

Ἄρχεσθαι λόγῳ καὶ μάχῃ, καὶ πάντα κερτῆσαι.
Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all.

The advice of the priestess became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He boasted, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. It has been said, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them.² He had pensioners in all the commonwealths of Greece and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. And, indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was the son of Alcetas, king of the Molossi or Epirus. Olympias bore him Alexander, surnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the 106th Olympiad. Philip,³ who at that time was

A. M. 3648. absent from his kingdom, had three Ant. J. C. 356. very agreeable pieces of news brought him at one and the same time;—that he had carried the prize in the Olympic games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son. This prince,⁴ terrified at so signal a happiness, which the Heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, "Great Jupiter! in return for so many blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight misfortune."

We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince,⁵ by the letter which he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle to acquaint him even then that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. "I am to inform you," said he, "that I have a son born. I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as for having given him me while Aristotle is living. I may justly promise myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us both, and a king worthy of Macedonia." What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections upon it; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such a one; for every son is an Alexander to his father.⁷ It appears that Philip⁸ put his son very early under Aris-

totle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner in which they ought to be inculcated.

A description of the Macedonian phalanx.

The⁹ Macedonian¹⁰ phalanx was a body of infantry, consisting of 16,000 heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the centre of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and pike or spear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ (*sarissa*). This pike was fourteen cubits long, that is, twenty-one feet, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten battalions, each of which was composed of 1600 men, drawn up 100 in front, and sixteen in depth. Sometimes the file of sixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided, according as the occasion required; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two, deep: but its usual and regular depth was of sixteen.

The space between each soldier upon a march was six feet, or, which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were also about six feet asunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to deceive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each soldier occupying only the space of a foot and a half.

This evidently shows the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to consist of 16,000 men, at sixteen deep, and consequently always 1000 men in front. This space in the first case was 6000 feet, or 1000 fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the second case it was but half so much, and took up five furlongs, or 500 fathoms.¹¹ And, in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two furlongs and a half, or 250 fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy. Each soldier then took up three feet in breadth, and as many in depth. We observed above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and consequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and so of the rest, projected two cubits beyond the first rank; the pikes of the fourths four those of the thirds six, those of the seconds eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the soldiers who formed the first rank advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will easily conceive, that when the soldiers who composed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which bristled with pikes, as we have seen, moved all at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they must charge with great force. The soldiers who were behind the fifth rank held their pikes raised, but inclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of roof, which (not to mention their shields) secured them from the darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The soldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great assistance in battle to those in the front of them. For by supporting them behind with their utmost strength, and pressing upon their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the on-set; they gave their comrades such firmness and stability as rendered them immovable in attacks,

⁹ Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764—767. Id. l. xii. p. 664. *Ælms.* de instrum. acie.

¹⁰ Decem et sex millia positum more Macedonum armati fuisse, qui Phalangia appellabantur. Hec media ætas fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisæ. *Tal. Lav. l. xxviii. n. 40*

¹¹ Five stadia.

¹ Suidas
² Callidus emptor Olynthi. *Juv. Sat. xii. 47.*
Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, quàm victor, *Fal. Max. lib. vii. c. 2.*

Diffidit hætium
Portas vir Macedo, et desubrit æmulus
Reges muneribus. *Horat. lib. iii. Od. 16.*
When engines and when arts do fail,
The golden wedge can cleave the wall;
Gold Philip's rivet, kings o'erthrew. *Greece's Hor.*

³ Plat. in Alex. p. 606. *Justin. l. xii. c. 16.*
⁴ Plutarch supposes that this news was brought him immediately after the taking of Pouidea; but this city had been taken two years before.

⁵ Plat. in Apophth. p. 187.

⁶ Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.

⁷ Finximus Alexandrum dari nobis, impositum gremio, dignum tantæ eura infantem: (quamquam suus cuque dignus est.) *Quintil. l. i. c. 1.*

⁸ An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimis quoque optimo tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset? *Quintil. ibid.*

and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the soldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers (for it is those whom he compares to the Greeks in the place in question,) says he, take up, in fight, three feet each. And as they must necessarily move about very much either to shift their bucklers to the right and left in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or to strike with the edge of their swords, we must be obliged to allow the distance of three feet between every soldier. Thus every Roman soldier takes up six feet, that is, twice as much space as one of the phalanx,¹ and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank; and for the same reason is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we have before observed. Now it is impossible for a single soldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

This Livy shows evidently in a few words,² where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the siege of a city. The consul, says he,³ made his cohorts to advance, in order, if possible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields (pressed very close together) covered like a roof and a tortoise; the Romans, I say, drew their swords. But it was not possible for them either to come to a close engagement, or to cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike served as a point; so that this hedge of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.

Paulus Æmilius⁴ owned, that in the battle with Perseus, the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and astonishment. He did not remember, he said, ever to have seen any thing so formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle made so strong an impression upon him, as almost to induce him to despair of the victory.

From what has been said above, it follows that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible: nevertheless we find from history, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replies Polybius, so long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being so, it required a flat even spot of ground of large extent, without either tree, bush, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now we seldom find a spot of ground of this description, of fifteen, twenty, or more furlongs⁵ in extent; for so large a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us suppose (it is Polybius who still speaks,) that a tract of ground, exactly such as could be wish-

ed, were found; yet of what use could a body of troops, drawn up in the form of a phalanx be, should the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offering battle, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? In case the enemy should come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front (the centre, for instance;) designedly to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of pursuing them. In this case, it is manifest the phalanx would be broken, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to throw themselves, in order to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the same time that those soldiers who are pursuing the enemy, may be attacked in the same manner.

This reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly ought to have its place in history, as it is an essential part of it.

Hence appears, as M. Bossuet⁶ observes after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian phalanx⁷ formed of one large body, very thick on all sides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more calculated for movements of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property (these are Polybius's words,) that is to say, its solidity and thickness, because it requires peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of such spots, it encumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that if once broken, the soldiers who compose it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and situations, and suits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very easily form detachments, rally, and go through every kind of evolution, either in the whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength than the phalanx.

This⁸ enabled Paulus Æmilius⁹ to gain his celebrated victory over Perseus. He first had attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together,) holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broken or forced in any manner, and so made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground and the great extent of the front of the battle not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broken in an instant, and its whole force,

¹ Discourse on Universal History.

² *Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa phalanx immobilis, et unius generis: Romanae autem distinctior ex pluribus partibus constans; facilius patienti, quamcumque opus esset, facilius juncti.* Tit. Liv. l. xix. n. 19.

³ *Erant pleraque sylvestria circa, incommoda phalangi maxime Macedonum, quæ nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos objicit, (quod ut fiat, libero campo opus est,) nullius admodum utilis est.* Id. l. xxxi. n. 39.

⁴ Plutarch. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xliv. n. 41.

⁵ *Secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem: neque ulla evidenter causa victoriæ fuit, quam quod multa passim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem turbarent primò, deinde disjicerent phalangem; cujus confectæ, et intentis horrentis hastis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carpiim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue implicatur: si vero ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus incerpuit, ruine modo turbantur: sicut tum adversus cæteratim irruentes Romanos, et interruptâ multârum acie, obvium ire cogebantur: et Romani, quacumque dicta intervalla essent, insinuantibus ordine suos. Quæ si universa erant in fronte adversæ hæc, ut iam phalangem non solum non videmus: ac hastis, nec confectam aciem sustinebant.* Tit. Liv.

¹ It was before said, that each soldier of the phalanx took up only three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half so much when he waited his coming up. In this last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against twenty pikes.

² Liv. l. xxiii. n. 17.

³ *Cohortes invicem sub signis, quæ canneum Macedonum (Phalangem ipsi vocant,) si possent, vi perempunt, emittebat—Ubi conferti hastas ingentia longitudinis præ se Macedones obicissent, velut in constructam densitate clypeorum testimonium, Romani pilis nequequam emissis, cum strinxissent gladios; neque congressi propitis, neque præcedere hastas poterant: et, si quas incidissent aut præfragissent, hastilia fragmento ipso acuto inter spicula integrarum hastarum, velut vallum explebant.*

⁴ Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

⁵ Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.

which consisted merely in its union and the impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

The same Polybius,¹ in the twelfth book above cited, describes in few words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of 800, generally drawn up 100 in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or 100 fathoms, allowing the distance of one fathom, or six feet, for each horseman; a space which he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or 8000 horse, occupied ten times as much ground; that is, ten furlongs, or 1000 fathoms which make about half a league.

From what has been said, the reader may judge how much ground an army took up, by considering the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

SECTION II.—THE SACRED WAR. SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY OF PHILIP. HE ENDEAVOURS IN VAIN TO POSSESS HIMSELF OF THE PASS OF THERMOPYLE.

DISCORD,² which perpetually foreshadowed, A. M. 3649. mented among the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. That people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphi, ploughed up certain lands that were consecrated to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them as guilty of sacrilege; some from a spirit of sincerity, and others to cover their private revenge with the pious pretext of zeal for religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called *The Sacred War*, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were summoned to appear before the Amphictyons, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared sacrilegious, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved by some verse in Homer,³ that the sovereignty of the temple of Delphi belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflames them against this decree, induces them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately proceeds to Sparta to gain the Lacedæmonians in his interest. They were very much disgusted at a sentence which the Amphictyons had pronounced against them, at the solicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch, however, did not yet dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans, but promised to assist him with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, on his return home, raises soldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphi, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak resistance. The Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphi, took arms against him, but were defeated in several encounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprise with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphictyons against the Phocæans, publishes all over the country that he has no design to seize the riches of the temple, and that his sole view is to restore to the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a sanction from the god who presided at Delphi, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might

be favourable to him. The priestess at first refused to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance which he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become serious. The Amphictyons meeting A. M. 3650. a second time, a resolution was Ant. J. C. 354. formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the gods could not be better employed than in the deity's defence (for he gave this specious name to his sacrilegious attempt;) and being enabled by this fresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed equal on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious length to which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. The latter had at first gained several advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which, however, not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments which he had reason to dread, if he should fall alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus his brother was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

This new general had soon levied A. M. 3651. a fresh army, the advantageous pay Ant. J. C. 353. he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also by dint of money brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to act with remissness, by which he gained great advantages.

In this general movement of the Greeks, who had taken up arms in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans, Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater ease and advantage.

Being desirous of subjecting Thrace,⁴ and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess A. M. 3651. himself of Methone, a small city, Ant. J. C. 353. capable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs, whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of it and razed it. It was before this city that he lost one of his eyes, by a very singular accident.⁵ Aster of Amphipolis had offered his service to Philip as so excellent a marksmen, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer, "Well, I will take

¹ Lib. xii. p. 668.

² Diod. l. xvi. p. 425—433.

³ Iliad. l. ii. v. 516.

⁴ Diod. p. 434.

⁵ Suidas in Kappay

you into my service when I make war upon starlings;" which answer stung the cross-bow-man to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it; and it is no small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, "To Philip's right eye," and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for it hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow with this inscription, "If Philip takes the city, he will hang up Aster;" and accordingly he was as good as his word.

A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity,¹ that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish. But nevertheless this monarch was so weak,² as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word *Cyclops*, or even the word *eye*, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when, to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, "Now, son, every step you take will put you in mind of your valour."

After the taking of Methone,³ Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly, which had implored his assistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander of Phæræ was no more. Nevertheless, the brothers of his wife Thebe, who in concert with her, had murdered him, grown weary of having for some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers, who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phœceans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the seashore. Upwards of 6000 men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gullows; and 3000 who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Phæræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories, and those of his son.

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the same resources as he had done, in the immense riches of the temple, raised a numerous army; and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and other allies, whom he paid very largely, went into Bœotia, and invaded the Thebans. For a long time success and defeat were nearly equal on both sides; but at last Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phaleucus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader, treading in the steps of his predecessors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last the Phœceans opened their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call those to account who had any concern in the public moneys. Upon this, Phaleucus was deposed; and, after an exact inquiry, it was found, that from the beginning of the war there had been taken out of the temple upwards of 10,000 talents; that is, about 1,500,000*l.* Philip, after having freed

A. M. 3652. The Thessalians, resolved to carry his Ant. J. C. 352. arms into Phocis. This is his first

attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. With this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis, in order to punish the sacrilegious Phœceans, he marches towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hastened to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves very seasonably of this important pass, which Philip did not dare attempt to force; so that he was obliged to turn back into Macedonia.

SECTION III.—DEMOSTHENES, UPON PHILIP'S ATTEMPT ON THERMOPYLÆ; HARANGUES THE ATHENIANS, AND ANIMATES THEM AGAINST THAT PRINCE. LITTLE REGARD IS PAID TO HIS ADVICE. OLYNTHUS, UPON THE POINT OF BEING BESIEGED BY PHILIP, ADDRESSES THE ATHENIANS FOR SUCCESS. DEMOSTHENES ENDEAVOURS BY HIS ORATIONS TO ROUSE THEM FROM THEIR LETHARGY. THEY SEND BUT A VERY WEAK SUCCESS, AND PHILIP AT LENGTH TAKES THE PLACE.

As we shall soon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs, it may not be improper, before we enter upon that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age of which we are now speaking, from that of their ancestors, in the times of the battles of Marathon and Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims nor the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the public good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage in enduring the fatigues of war by sea and land, the same care in managing the revenues, the same willingness to receive salutary advice, the same discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of the magistrates to whom they intrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, had succeeded a fondness for repose, and an indolence with regard to public affairs; an aversion for military labours, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the public treasures in games and shows; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring public offices by intrigue and cabal: all the usual forerunners of the approaching ruin of states. Such was the situation of Athens at the time when the king of Macedon began to turn his arms against Greece.

We have seen that Philip, after various conquests, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; Ant. J. C. 352 because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylæ. Demosthenes, taking advantage of so favourable a disposition, mounted the tribunal, in order to set before them a lively image of the impending danger with which they were menaced by the boundless ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were under, from hence, to apply the most speedy remedies. Now, as the success of his arms and the rapidity of his progress spread throughout Athens a kind of terror, bordering very near upon despair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities solely to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themselves of their duty, and that in spite of their activity and their utmost efforts Philip had prevailed over them, they then indeed would not have the least resource or hope left. But in this oration, and all those

¹ Plin. l. vii. c. 37. ² Demet. Phaler, de Elocu. c. iii.

³ Diad. c. 432—435

• Demosth. 1 Philip

which follow, Demosthenes insists strongly, that the aggrandizement of Philip is wholly owing to the supineness of the Athenians; and that it is this supineness which makes him bold, daring, and swells him with such a spirit of haughtiness, as even dares to insult the Athenians.

"See," says Demosthenes to them, speaking of Philip, "to what a height the arrogance of that man rises, who will not suffer you to choose either action or repose: but employs menaces, and, as fame says, speaks in the most insolent terms; and not contented with his first conquests, which are incapable of satiating his lust of dominion, engages every day in some new enterprise. Possibly you wait till necessity reduces you to act. Can there be a greater to freeborn men than shame and infamy? Will you then for ever walk in the public squares with this question in your mouths, 'What news is there?' Can there be greater news, than that a Macedonian has vanquished the Athenians, and made himself the supreme arbiter of Greece? 'Philip is dead,' says one, 'No,' replies another, 'he is only sick.' [His being wounded at Methone had occasioned all these reports.] But whether he be sick or dead is nothing to the purpose, O Athenians! for the moment after Heaven had delivered you from him (should you still behave as you now do,) you would raise up another Philip against yourselves; since the man in question owes his grandeur infinitely more to your indolence than to his own strength."

But Demosthenes, not satisfied with bare remonstrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, proposed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the first place, he advises the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty galleys, and to resolve firmly to man them themselves. He requires them to reinforce these with ten galleys lightly armed, which may serve to escort the convoys of the fleet and the transports. With regard to the land forces,—as in his time the general, elected by the most powerful faction, formed the army only of a confused assemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little service,—Demosthenes requires them to levy no more than 2000 chosen troops, 500 of which shall be Athenians, and the rest raised from among the allies: with 200 horse, fifty of which shall also be Athenians.

The annual expense of maintaining this little army, with regard only to provisions and other matters independent of their pay, was to amount to little more than ninety talents (90,000 crowns),¹ viz. forty talents for ten convoys of galleys, at the rate of twenty minæ (1000 livres) per month for each galley; forty talents for the 2000 infantry; and ten drachmas, (five livres) per month for each foot-soldier, which five livres per month make a little more than three-pence farthing (French money) *per diem*. Finally, twelve talents for the 200 horse; at thirty drachmas (fifteen livres) per month for each horseman, which fifteen livres per month make five sols *per diem*. The reason of my relating this so particularly, is to give the reader an idea of the expenses of an army in those times. Demosthenes adds, that if any one should imagine that the preparation of provision is not a considerable step, he is very much mistaken; for he is persuaded, that, provided the forces do not want provisions, the war will furnish them with every thing besides; and that without doing the least wrong to the Greeks or their allies, they will not fail of sufficient acquisitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be surprised at Demosthenes's requiring so small a body of forces, he gives this reason for it, viz. that at present the situation of the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppose Philip with a force sufficient to make head against him in the field: and that it would be their business to make excursions only. Thus his design was, that this little army should be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, observe, harass and to press the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing such enterprises with ease, as they might think fit to attempt.

¹ Each talent was worth 1000 crowns.

What the success of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked personally, they, in consequence of the supineness natural to them, were very indifferent with regard to the progress of Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmon on one side were solely intent on reducing the strength of Thebes their rival; whilst, on the other side, the Thessalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most absolute manner to Philip; and assisted him, though unintentionally, in making chains for themselves.

Philip, like an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dissensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could not do but at the expense of the Athenians, who, since the defeat of Xerxes, had many colonies (besides several states who were either their allies or tributaries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace, in the peninsula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas, father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter upon his accession to the crown. However, as he was not yet firmly established on the throne, he at first employed dissimulation, and courted the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Potidea, an important fortress, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to besiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who saw the storm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an assembly of the people; and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the assembly. Each of them mounted the tribunal in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but four-and-thirty, did not speak till after his seniors had discussed the matter a long time.

In this discourse,² the orator, the better to succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpose, he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one side, he is a man whose unbounded ambition the empire of the whole world would not satiate; a haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies, as so many subjects or slaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too slow a submission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent on taking advantage of the oversights and errors of others, seizes with eagerness every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who supports perpetually the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of seasons; an intrepid hero, who rushes through obstacles and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse bargains, traffics, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she seems to have forgotten her inconstancy; but, on the other side, this same Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his vast projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempts, himself digs the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a small effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on

² Olynth. ii.

³ The oration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the second of the three Olynthiads which relate to this subject. But M. de Tourreil, chiefly on the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which ought to be of great weight on this occasion, changes the order generally observed in Demosthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthiads. Though I am of this opinion, I shall cite the orations in the order they are printed.

the most ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith, and villany; a usurper, hated universally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the infamy of his manners and his other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his soldiers, and of all his subjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of destroying by any hand that will administer to their wrath, and second their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tourneil draws, by uniting the several detached lineaments in the present oration of Demosthenes. By his we see the great freedom with which the Athenians spoke of so powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having represented Philip one moment as formidable, the next as very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy, would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appease domestic dissensions, and to suppress the cabals which are incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner, that every thing may unite in the sole point of the public service; and that, at a common expense, every man, according to his abilities, may concur in the destruction of the common enemy.

Demades,¹ bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously the advice of Demosthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians sent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty galleys and 2000 men to succour the Olynthians, who in this urgent necessity, which so nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain assistance only from the Athenians.

However, this succour did not prevent the designs of Philip, nor the Ant. J. C. 349. progress of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes several places of strength, makes himself master of the fortress of Gira, which he demolishes, and spreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus more closely pressed, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new reinforcement. Demosthenes argues very strongly in favour of their request, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This is the subject of the Olynthiac generally reckoned as the third.

The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the safety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by setting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a most dreadful prospect of the future, if they do not rouse from their lethargy; for that, in case Philip seizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising sufficient sums for defraying the expenses requisite for the succour of the Olynthians; because the military funds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years' peace with the Lacedæmonians, they resolved to put into their treasury, by way of reserve, 1000 talents every year; at the same time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulsing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new institutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, proposed to distribute amongst them in times of peace,² the 1000 talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the public shows, upon condition, however, that they might resume this fund in time of war. The proposal was approved and the restriction also. But as all concessions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athe-

nians were so highly pleased with this distribution, (called by Demades *birdtime* by which the Athenians would be caught) that they would not suffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuse was carried to such a height that Eubulus, one of the heads of the faction which opposed Demosthenes, caused a decree to be passed, prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, from so much as proposing to restore, for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public shows. Apollodorus was even punished for declaring himself of a contrary opinion, and for insisting upon it.

This absurd profusion had very strange effects. It was impossible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated strong feuds, and made the military preparations so very slow as quite defeated the design of them, without lessening the expense. As the artificers and seafaring people, who composed above two-thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their substance, and only lent their personal services, the whole weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with suffering the public moneys to be squandered upon festivals, plays, and the like superfluities. But the people being sensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to curtail their diversions, merely to ease people who possessed employments and dignities from which they were entirely excluded. Besides, any person who should dare to propose this to the people seriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demosthenes presumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After showing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprises of Philip, he hints (but covertly) that there are no other funds than those which were expended on theatrical representations, which can be assigned for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demands that commissioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws (there being already but too many established,) but to examine and abolish such as should be found prejudicial to the welfare of the republic. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital punishment, as enacted by those laws; because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law which gave pain to the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this sad alternative, either to ruin themselves, in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country, in case they observed a fearful prevaricating silence.

These remonstrances do not seem to have had the success they deserved, since in the following Olynthiac (which is commonly placed as the first) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorously attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill succoured by the mercenary soldiery of Athens, required, by a third embassy, a body of troops, which should not consist of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a sincere ardour for the interest both of their own glory and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest solicitation of Demosthenes, sent Chares a second time, with a reinforcement of seventeen galleys, of 2000 foot and 300 horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus.³ Neither the A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. succours nor the efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestic enemies. It was betrayed by Euthykrates and Lasthenes, two of its most eminent citizens, and actually in office at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately

¹ Suidas in voce Δεμαδῆς.

² These games, besides the two oboli which were distributed to each of the persons present, occasioned a great number of other expenses.

³ Died. l. xvi. p. 450—452.

he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and sells the rest for slaves; and distinguishes those who had betrayed their city, no otherwise than by the supreme contempt he expressed for them. This king, like his son Alexander, loved the treason but abhorred the traitor. And indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? Every one,¹ even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lasthenes for their perfidy; and when they complained to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical answer, infinitely more severe than the reproach itself: "Do not mind what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every thing by its real name."

The king was overjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests. Some years before,² the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, at least had not lost many men in the siege.

He now caused shows and public games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence; to these he added feasts and entertainments, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests considerable gifts, and treating them with the utmost marks of his friendship.

SECTION IV.—PHILIP DECLARES IN FAVOUR OF THEBES AGAINST THE PHOCÆANS, AND THEREBY ENGAGES IN THE SACRED WAR. HE LULLS THE ATHENIANS, NOTWITHSTANDING THE REMONSTRANCES OF DEMOSTHENES, INTO SECURITY, BY A PRETENDED PEACE AND FALSE PROMISES. HE SEIZES ON THERMOPYLE, SUBJECTS THE PHOCÆANS, AND PUTS AN END TO THE SACRED WAR. HE IS ADMITTED INTO THE COUNCIL OF THE AMPHICTYONS.

THE Thebans, being unable alone
A. M. 3657. To terminate the war which they had
Ant. J. C. 347. so long carried on against the Phocæans, had recourse to Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the sacred war; and he seemed to wait, in order to declare himself, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness and those ambitious views, with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republic in opposition to the Phocæans. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter choice would assist his design of securing to himself a share in the affairs of Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude which he affected to feel for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to derive honour from the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the insulted god; and was very glad to gain the reputation of a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god and of the temple of Delphi, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to screen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and sometimes even of religion; though they very frequently, in the main have no manner of regard for either.

There was nothing Philip had more at heart,³ than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair; and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis: but then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocæans. His business therefore was to deceive them by placing other objects in their view; and on this occasion the politics of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burdensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynon to sound the intentions of Philip, and discover what were his sentiments with regard to peace. They related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to enquire more strictly into the truth, and to procure the fullest information which so important a negotiation required. *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus*. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then that *Demosthenes*, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promised to return and ransom them at his own expense, endeavours to keep his word; and, in the mean time, advises his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded; and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy despatch, as they were desired, go an ambassador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, stay three months in that country, and give Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, having come to a conference with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace: but he, content with having lulled them asleep by the specious pretence of a treaty, deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambassadors one after another by presents, *Demosthenes* excepted, who, being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

In the mean time Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at *Pherie* in Thessaly, he at last ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuses to include the Phocæans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had signed the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially among those who were averse to the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was *Isocrates*.⁴ He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, together with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in public, and mounting like others the tribunal. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and success. However he had not entirely renounced the care of public affairs; and as others served their country *visâ voce*, in the public assemblies, *Isocrates* endeavoured to benefit it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and these being soon made public, were very eagerly sought after.

On the present occasion, he wrote a piece of considerable length, which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least fourscore and eight. The scope of this discourse was to

¹ Demosth. Orat. de falsâ Legatione

⁴ Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip

exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations and afterwards to turn his arms against the king of Persia. The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rest depended, viz. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confesses, that if Sparta or Athens were as powerful as formerly, he should be far from making such a proposal, which he was sensible they would never approve; and which the pride of those two republics, whilst cherished and augmented by success, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled each in their turn by fatal reverses of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had begun to set them; the present is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

In case he should be so happy as to succeed in such a project, so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had hitherto appeared most august in Greece. But the bare project in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Some persons indeed, who were prejudiced against Philip, represent and exclaim against him as a crafty prince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but, at the same time, has in reality no other object in view than the enslaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposes, that rumours so injurious as these have no manner of foundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being descended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and tyrannizing over it. But these very reports, which are so capable of blackening his name and of sullying all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity of them in the presence of all Greece by proofs that cannot be suspected, by leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties; by removing with the utmost care all suspicions of partiality; by not espousing the interest of one people against another; by winning the confidence of all men by a noble disinterestedness and an invariable love of justice: in fine, by aspiring to no other title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Persia's dominions that he ought to seek and merit those last titles. The conquest of it is open and sure to him, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He should call to mind, that Agesilaus, with no other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian throne, and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece by the intestine divisions which then broke out. The signal victory of the ten thousand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the sight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip against a prince inferior in every respect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Isocrates concludes with declaring, that it seemed as if the gods had hitherto granted Philip so long a train of successes, with no other view than to enable him to form and execute the glorious enterprise, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counsel he gave to three heads: That this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice; should heal the divisions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without desiring to possess any part of it himself; and this being done, that he should turn his victorious arms against a country which in all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction.

It must be confessed that this is a most noble plan,

and highly worthy a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it into execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation, or disinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was persuaded that it was his business first to make himself secure of Greece which indeed he was determine to do, not by kind services, but by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or persuade nations, but to subject and reduce them. As on his side he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himself, and wished to bind them to himself by much stronger ties than those of friendship, gratitude and sincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the state of affairs than Isocrates, so he formed a truer judgment of Philip's designs. Upon his return from his embassy, he declares expressly, that he does not approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had been bribed, assures the Athenians, that he had discovered nothing but the greatest candour and sincerity in the promises and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Thebes and Platæa should be re-peopled, in spite of the opposition of the Thebans; that in case he should succeed in subjecting the Phœaciens, he would preserve them, and not do them the least injury; that he would restore Thebes to the good order which had before been observed in it; that Oropus should be given up absolutely to the Athenians; and that, as an equivalent for Amphipolis, they should be put in possession of Eubœa. It was to no purpose that Demosthenes remonstrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithstanding all these glorious promises, was endeavouring to make himself absolute master of Phœcia; and that by abandoning it to him they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not attended to, and the oration of Æschines, who engaged that Philip would make good his several promises, prevailed over that of Demosthenes.

These deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to possess himself of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phœcia.¹ Hitherto there had been no possibility of reducing the Phœaciens; but Philip had only to appear; the bare sound of his name filled them with terror. Upon the supposition that he was marching against a herd of sacrilegious wretches, not against common enemies, he ordered all his soldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himself whose honour they avenged. The instant they appeared, the Phœaciens believed themselves overcome. Accordingly, they sue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalerus their leader leave to retire into Peloponnesus, with the 8000 men in his service. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engrossed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. This victory² gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the sole topic of conversation in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege, and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not seem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, assembles the council of the Amphictyons, and appoints them, for form's sake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phœaciens had rendered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phœcia shall be destroyed, or that they should all be reduced to small towns of

¹ *Diad. l. xvi. p. 455.*

² *Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. Illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum. Itaque Divis proximus habetur, per quem Deorum majestas vindicata sit. Justin. l. viii. c. 2.*

sixty houses each, and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who had committed the sacrilege shall be irrevocably proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall continue to be levied till such a time as the whole sums taken out of the temple of Delphi shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself upon this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their right of session in the council of the Amphictyons, which they had been declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphictyons, of whose vengeance he had now been the instrument, were afraid to refuse him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall see in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendence of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thessalians; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing in the sacrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes; and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traitor, who had sold his country. Besides the shame and grief with which they were seized, for having failed in the obligations by which they were bound to the Phocæans by their confederacy with them, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by possessing himself of Phocia, was become master of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. The Athenians, therefore, being justly alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls should be repaired, and the Piræus fortified in order to put themselves into a state of defence in case of an invasion.

The Athenians had no share in the decree by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphictyons. They perhaps had absented themselves purposely, that they might not authorize it by their presence; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obstacles and avoid the impediments he might meet with in the execution of his design, assembled, in an irregular manner, such of the Amphictyons alone as were entirely at his devotion. In short, he conducted his intrigue so very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the states, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an assembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, several were of opinion that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to infringe it in the present juncture; since that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians both the new Amphictyon and those who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they should not expose themselves unreasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate refusal to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphictyons; and protested, that it was their interest prudently to submit, for fear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, *Oration on the Peace*. We may reasonably believe that his advice was followed.

SECTION V.—PHILIP, BEING RETURNED TO MACEDONIA, EXTENDS HIS CONQUESTS INTO ILLYRIA AND THRACE. HE PROJECTS A LEAGUE WITH THE THEBANS, THE MESSENIANS, AND THE ARGIVES, TO INVADE PELOPONNESUS IN CONCERT WITH THEM. ATHENS HAVING DECLARED IN FAVOUR OF THE LACEDÆMONIANS, THIS LEAGUE IS DISSOLVED. HE AGAIN MAKES AN ATTEMPT UPON EUBOEIA, BUT PHOCION DRIVES HIM OUT OF IT. CHARACTER OF THAT CELEBRATED ATHENIAN. PHILIP BESIEGES PERINTHUS AND BYZANTIUM. THE ATHENIANS, ANIMATED BY THE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES, SEND SUC-COURS TO THOSE TWO CITIES, UNDER THE COMMAND OF PHOCION, WHO FORCES PHILIP TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF THOSE PLACES.

AFTER Philip had settled every thing relating to the worship of the god, and the security of the temple of Delphi, he returned into Macedonia crowned with glory, and carrying with him the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. Diodorus observes,¹ that all those who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple, perished miserably, and came to a tragical end.

Philip,² satisfied with having opened to himself a passage into Greece by his seizure of Thermopylæ; having subjected Phocis, established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphictyon; and gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to avenge the honour of the deity: judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to check his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, by discovering too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order, therefore, to remove all suspicion, and to soothe the disquietudes which arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep his troops always in exercise by some new expedition.

The same motive prompted him afterwards to go into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had dispossessed the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquests there. Suidas observes,³ that before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. The Chersonesus also was situated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninsula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, when Lysander had captured Athens; but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the son of Timotheus, had reinstated his country. Cotys, king of Thrace, afterwards dispossessed the Athenians of the Chersonesus; but it was restored to them by Chersobleptes,⁴ son of Cotys, who finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reserving, however, to himself Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formed, as it were, the gate and entrance to it. After Philip had deprived Chersobleptes of his kingdom,⁵ which happened the second year of the 109th Olympiad, the inhabitants of Cardia being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city as having formerly belonged to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.⁶

Diopithes, the head of the colony which the Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disavowed

¹ Diod. l. xvi. p. 456.

² In *Kaçar*.

³ Ibid. p. 464.

⁴ Ibid. p. 463.

⁵ Diod. l. xvi. p. 434.

⁶ Liban. in Demosth. p. 75.

marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilst he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged safe in Chersonesus. Philip, not being able to avenge himself in the manner he could have wished, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians by letters on that subject. Such as received pensions from him in Athens, served him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at least excusable. They declaim against Diopithes; impeach him of involving the state in war; accuse him of extortion and piracy; insist upon his being recalled, and prosecute his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes, seeing at this juncture that the public welfare was inseparably connected with that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration on the *Chersonesus*. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comic poet, whom Terence has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, because it was personal: he nevertheless pleads his apology (transiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia Minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unseasonably. But in this case, a bare decree, an accusation in due form,¹ a galley appointed to bring home the recalled general; all this is sufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprises. These cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raising troops, and fitting out galleys.

"Your orators," says he, "cry out eternally to you, that we must make choice either of peace or war; but Philip does not leave this at our option, he who is daily meditating some new enterprise against us. And can we doubt but it was he who broke the peace, unless it is pretended that we have no reason to complain of him, as long as he shall forbear making any attempts on Attica and the Piræus? But it will then be too late for us to oppose him; and it is now that we must prepare strong barriers against his ambitious designs. You ought to lay it down as a certain maxim, O Athenians! that it is you he aims at; that he considers you as his most dangerous enemies; that your ruin alone can establish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests; and that whatever he is now projecting, is merely with the view of falling upon you, and of reducing Athens to a state of subjection. And, indeed, can any of you be so vastly simple, as to imagine that Philip is so greedy of a few paltry towns,² (for what other name can we bestow on those which he now attacks?) as to submit to fatigues, the inclemency of the seasons, and dangers, merely for the sake of gaining them; but that as for the harbours, the arsenals, the galleys, the silver mines, and the immense revenues, of the Athenians; that he considers these with indifference, does not covet them in the least, but will suffer you to remain in quiet possession of them?

"What conclusions are we to draw from all that has been said? Why, that so far from cashiering the army we have in Thrace, it must be considerably reinforced and strengthened by new levies, in order that, as Philip has always one in readiness to oppress and enslave the Greeks, we, on our side, may always have one on foot to defend and preserve them." There is reason to believe Demosthenes's advice was followed.

The same year that this oration was spoken,³ Arymbas, king of the Molossi or Epirus died. He was son of Alcetas, and had a brother called Neopto-

lemus, whose daughter Olympias was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the influence and authority of his son-in-law, was raised so high as to share the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This first unjust action was followed by a greater. For after the death of Arymbas,⁴ Philip played his part so well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidas, son and lawful successor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, sole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but son-in-law, to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra he had married as will be observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this Æacidas re-ascended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus (so celebrated in the Roman history) and second cousin to Alexander the Great, Alcetas being grandfather to both those monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece.⁵ Lacedæmonia assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than that of being the strongest. Argos and Messene being oppressed, had recourse to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators that had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However so far from that, after having subdued Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta made them foment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians, and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily came into an alliance which suited his views. He proposed to the Amphictyons or rather dictated to them, the decree, which ordained that Lacedæmonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independence, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to succour them; and by an embassy pressed earnestly for the concluding of such an alliance as their common safety might require. The several powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, used their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip represented, by his ambassadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing so was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broken his word in this particular, he must first have given it; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip indeed said true, with regard to the written articles and the public stipulations; but Æschines had made this promise by word of mouth in his name. On the other side, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos and Messene, were also very urgent with the Athenians, and reproached them with having already secretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the professed enemies to the Thebans and the tyrants of Peloponnesus.

But Demosthenes,⁶ insensible to all these solicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal, in order to enforce the negotiation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his usual custom, with supineness, and indolence. He exposes the ambitious designs of Philip, which he still pur-

¹ Justin, book viii, ch. 6, curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds this succession.

² Demosth. in Philipp. ii. Libani in Demosth.

³ Philip, ii.

⁴ It was called Πάριος.

⁵ In Thrace.

⁶ Diod. l. xvi. p. 465.

sues, and declares that they aim at no less than the conquest of all Greece. "You excel," says he to them, "both you and he, in that circumstance which is the object of your application and your cares. You speak better than he, and he acts better than you. The experience of the past ought at least to open your eyes, and make you more suspicious and circumspect with regard to him: but this serves no other purpose than to lull you asleep. At this time his troops are marching towards Peloponnesus; he is sending money to it, and his arrival in person, at the head of a powerful army, is expected every moment. Do you think that you will be secure, after he shall have possessed himself of the territories round you? Art has invented for the security of cities various methods of defence, as ramparts, walls, ditches, and the like works; but nature surrounds the wise with a common bulwark, which covers them on all sides, and provides for the security of states. What is this bulwark? It is distrust." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouse from their lethargy; to send immediate succour to the Lacedæmonians; and, above all, to punish directly all such domestic traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their present calamities upon them, by spreading false reports, and employing captious assurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invasion of Peloponnesus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. However, he did not sit still, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time considered Eubœa as well calculated, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece; and in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to possess himself of it. He indeed set every engine to work at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the *Shackles of Greece*. But the Athenians, on the other side, were highly interested in not suffering it to fall into the hands of an enemy; especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. However, according to the usual custom, they continued indolent whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. At the request of certain of the inhabitants,¹ he sent some troops privately thither; possessed himself of several strong places: dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also seized upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Eubœa, of which it possessed the fourth part: and established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.

Upon this,² Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians upon this sent some troops under the command of Phocion. That general had already acquired great reputation,³ and will have, in the sequel, a great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestic. He had studied in the Academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told that no Athenian ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked barefoot,⁴ and without a cloak, unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say, laughing, "See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it is a sign of a hard winter."

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his adminis-

tration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it and with great success. Persuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value, Phocion had formed a lively, close, concise style, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it; "I am considering," says he, "whether it is not possible for me to retrench some part of the discourse which I am to make." He was a strong reasoner, and by that means prevailed over the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the public, say, "There is the axe which cuts away the whole effect of my words." One would imagine that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being more intelligible. But it was not so with the Athenians. Lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really understood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes, which is saying a great deal.

Phocion observing, that those persons who at this time were concerned in the administration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycorgus, and Hyperides, confined themselves merely to haranguing the people and proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leosthenes, and Chares, advanced themselves by military employments; he chose rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, political science with military valour. Whilst he was in employment peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wise government; and yet he commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predecessors. He was honoured with the supreme command five-and-forty times, without having once asked or made interest for it; and it was always in his absence that he was appointed to command the armies. The world was astonished, that being of so severe a turn of mind, and so great an enemy to flattery of every kind, he should know how, in a manner, to fix in his own favour the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athenians, though he frequently used to oppose very strenuously their will and caprice, without regard to their capriciousness and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themselves of his probity and zeal for the public good, extinguished every other sentiment; and that, according to Plutarch, was what generally made his eloquence so efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this slight idea of Phocion's A. M. 3663 character, because frequent mention Ant. J. C. 341 will be made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen perfidy; for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens but he was no sooner gone, than all the allies regretted the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the professed enemy of every kind of oppression and extortion, he knew how to insinuate himself into the minds of men with art; and at the same time that he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him still more. He one day made Chabrias a fine answer, who appointed him to go with ten light vessels to levy the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. "To what purpose," says he, "is such a squadron? too strong, if I am only to visit allies; but too weak if I am to fight enemies." The Athenians knew very

¹ Demosth. Philipp. iii. p. 93.

² Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 746. 747.

³ Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 743. 745.

⁴ Socrates used often to walk "a that manner,

well by the consequences, the signal services which Phocion's great capacity, valour, and experience, had done them in the expedition of Eubœa; for Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy Philip,¹ who did not lay aside the

A. M. 3664. design he had formed of conquering Ant. J. C. 340. all Greece, changed his plan of attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want than any other of foreign corn. To dispose at his discretion of their supplies, and by that means starve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighboring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing lest, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him in order to become his master, and train him under his own eye in the art of war.

Demosthenes still continued to exclaim against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouse from their lethargy; and also against the avarece of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people under the specious pretence of a peace which he had sworn to, yet violated openly every day by the enterprises he formed against the commonwealth. This is the subject of his orations, called the Philippics.

"Whence comes it,"² says he, "that all the Greeks formerly panted so strongly after liberty, and now run so eagerly into servitude? The reason is, because there prevailed at that time among the people, what prevails no longer among us; that which triumphed over the riches of the Persians; which maintained the freedom of Greece; which never acted inconsistently on any occasion either by sea or by land; but which being now extinguished in every heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and utterly subverted the constitution of Greece. It is that common hatred, that general detestation, in which they held every person who had a soul abject enough to sell himself to any man who desired either to enslave or even corrupt Greece. In those times, to accept of a present was a capital crime, which never failed of being punished with death. Neither their orators nor their generals exercised the scandalous traffic now become so common in Athens, where a price is set upon every thing, and where all things are sold to the highest bidder.

"In these happy times,³ the Greeks lived in a perfect union, founded on the love of the public good, and the desire of preserving and defending the common liberty. But in this age, the states abandon one another, and give themselves up to reciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them, without exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and ourselves no less than others; all, all, I say, form a separate interest; and this it is that renders the common enemy so powerful.

"The safety of Greece consists,⁴ therefore, in our uniting together against this common enemy, if that be possible. But at least, as to what concerns each of us in particular, this incontestable maxim should be deeply engraven in your minds, that Philip is actually attacking you at this time; that he has infringed the peace; that, by seizing upon all the fortresses around you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking you yourselves; and that he considers us as

his mortal enemies, because he knows that we are the only persons capable of opposing the ambitious designs he entertains of grasping universal power.

"These consequently we must oppose with all imaginable vigour,⁵ and for that purpose must ship off, without loss of time the necessary aids for the Chersonesus and Byzantium; you must provide instantly whatever necessities your generals may require; in fine, you must concert together such means as are most proper to save Greece, which is now threatened with the utmost danger. Though all the rest of the Greeks should bow their necks to the yoke,⁶ yet you O Athenians! ought to persist in fighting always for the cause of Liberty. After such preparations made in presence of all Greece, let us excite all other state to second us: let us acquaint every people with our resolutions, and send ambassadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Chio, and especially to the king of Persia; for it is his interest, as well as ours, to check the career of that man."

The sequel will show, that Demosthenes's advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards the Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place,⁷ the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was universally despised for his manners, rapine, and mean capacity; but intrigues and influence supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed over the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the choice which had been made: but what could be expected from a general whose abilities were as small as his voluptuousness was great;⁸ who took along with him, in his military expeditions, a band of musicians both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay and whose salary was defrayed out of the moneys appointed for the service of the fleet! In short, the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours; so that his fidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, ransoming the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

In the mean time,⁹ Philip was carrying on the siege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had 30,000 chosen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raised towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one side he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines: and on the other he beat down whole masses with his battering rams; nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was surprised to see another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the succours necessary. The Asiatic satrapæ, or governor, by the king of Persia's order, to whom we have seen the Athenians had applied for assistance, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours the Byzantines gave them, went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was desirous to appear (in outward show) very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse by fine words. At the time we now speak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours to shake off the edge of their resentments, by reproaching them in the strongest terms for their infraction of the several treaties, which he boasts he has observed very religiously: in this piece he interspersed very artfully (for he was a great master of eloquence) such complaints and menaces as are best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a princi

¹ Demost. pro Ctes. p. 486, 487.

² Philipp. iii. p. 90.

³ Ibid. iv. p. 102.

⁴ Ibid. p. 97.

⁵ Philipp. iii. p. 88.

⁶ Ibid. iii. p. 94, 95.

⁷ Plut. in Phoc. p. 747.

⁸ Athen. . xii. p. 550

⁹ Diod. l. xvi. p. 466—468.

ple of fear or shame. This letter is a masterpiece in the original. A majestic and persuasive vivacity shines in every part of it; a strength and justness of reasoning sustained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural consequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and concise style which is so well suited to crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip, what was said of Cæsar,¹ "That he handled the pen as well as he did the sword."

This letter is so long, and, besides, is filled with so great a number of particular facts (though each of these are important,) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I shall therefore cite but one passage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the rest.

"At the time of our most open ruptures," says Philip to the Athenians, "you went no farther than to fit out privateers against me; to seize and sell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions; to favour any party that opposed my measures; and to infest the places subject to me by your hostilities: but now you carry hatred and injustice to such prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to the Persian, in order to excite him to declare war against me. This must appear a most astonishing circumstance; for before he had made himself master of Egypt and Phœnicia, you had resolved, in the most solemn manner, that in case he should attempt any new enterprise, you then would invite me, in common with the rest of the Greeks, to unite our forces against him: and, nevertheless, at this time you carry your hatred to such a height as to negotiate an alliance with him against me. I have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed to the son of Pisistratus, as an unpardonable crime, his having requested the succour of the Persians against the Greeks; and yet you do not blush to commit yourselves what you were perpetually condemning in the person of your tyrants."

Philip's letter did him as much service as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to people who were very desirous of easing themselves of political inquietudes, and greater enemies to expense and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of Philip and the eloquent zeal of Demosthenes were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprises and infractions of the treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion, Demosthenes was sensible how highly necessary it was to erase, as soon as possible, the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an express declaration of war; and then, to animate his fellow citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he assures them that all things portend the impending ruin of Philip: the gods, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe, "A harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids contesting facts which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disproved them, and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed unanswerable."

The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this:² "Convinced of these truths, O Athenians! and strongly persuaded that we can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace (for Philip has now declared war against us by his letter, and has long done the same by his conduct.)

you ought not to spare either the public treasure or the possessions of private persons; but when occasion shall require, haste to your respective standards, and set able generals at your head than those you have hitherto employed. For no one among you ought to imagine, that the same men who have ruined your affairs will be able to restore them to their former happy situation. Think how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should contain dangers to such a degree, that, merely to aggrandize his empire, he should rush into the midst of combats, and return from battle covered with wounds; and that Athenians, whose hereditary right it is to obey no man, but to impose laws on others sword in hand; that Athenians, I say, merely through dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their country."

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raised a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having sent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up, and told the people, "That they ought not to be exasperated at the distrust of the allies, but at the conduct of the generals who had occasioned it. For it is these," continued he, "who render you odious and formidable even to those who cannot save themselves from destruction without your assistance." And indeed Chares, as we have already observed, was a general without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit consisted in having gained a great ascendancy over the people by the haughty and bold air which he assumed. His presumption concealed his incapacity from himself; and a sort of principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprises.

The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies upon the Hellespont. This choice contributed more than any thing to the preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but still more for his probity and disinterestedness. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as if they had been their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which seemed to be animated by the sight of danger. Phocion's prudence,³ seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. This very much diminished his fame and glory; for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing had been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned; and having made several descents upon different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces having assembled to check his progress, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens by a very honourable decree,⁴ preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here. "Under Bosphoricus the Pontiff,⁵ Damagetus, after having desired leave of the senate to speak, said, in a full assembly: Inasmuch as in times past the constant good will of the people of Athens towards the Byzantines and Perinthians, united by alliance and a common origin, has never failed upon any occasion; as this good will, so often signalized, has lately displayed itself, when Philip of Macedon (who had

¹ *Diad. l. xvi. p. 468.*

² *Demosth. pro Otea. p. 487, 488.*

³ *He probably was the chief magistrate.*

¹ *Enstem animo dixit, quo bellavit. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.*

² *Plut. in Phoc. p. 743.*

taken up arms to destroy Byzantium and Perinthus) battered our walls, burnt our country, cut down our forests; as in a season of so great calamity this beneficent people has succoured us with a fleet of 120 sail, furnished with provisions, arms, and forces; as they have saved us from the greatest danger; in fine, as they have restored us to the quiet possession of our government, our laws, and our tombs, the Byzantines and Perinthians, by a decree, grant to the Athenians liberty to settle in the countries belonging to Perinthus and Byzantium; to marry in them, to purchase lands and to enjoy all the prerogatives of citizens: they also grant them a distinguished place at public shows, and the right of sitting both in the senate and the assembly of the people, next to the pontiffs: and farther, that every Athenian, who shall think proper to settle in either of the two cities above mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of any kind: that, in the harbour, three statues of sixteen cubits each shall be set up, which statues shall represent the people of Athens crowned by those of Byzantium and Perinthus: and, besides, that presents shall be sent to the four solemn games of Greece; and that the crown we have decreed to the Athenians shall there be proclaimed: so that the same ceremony may acquaint all the Greeks, both with the magnanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Perinthians and Byzantines."

The inhabitants of the Chersonesus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: "Among the nations inhabiting the Chersonesus, the people of Sestos, of Eleontum, of Madytis, and of Alopeconnesus, decree to the people and senate of Athens a crown of gold of sixty talents;¹ and erect two altars, the one to the goddess of gratitude, and the other to the Athenians, for their having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the people of the Chersonesus, and restored them to the possession of their country, their laws, their liberty, and their temples: an act of beneficence which they will fix eternally in their memories, and never cease to acknowledge to the utmost of their power. All which they have resolved in full senate."

Philip,² after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know: but in cattle, in horses, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mæsia, disputed his passage, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle; and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid; and, covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

SECTION VI.—PHILIP, BY HIS INTRIGUES, SUCCEEDS IN GETTING HIMSELF APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO OF THE GREEKS, IN THE COUNCIL OF THE AMPHICTYONS. HE POSSESSES HIMSELF OF ELATEA. THE ATHENIANS AND THEBANS, ALARMED BY THE CONQUEST OF THIS CITY, UNITE AGAINST PHILIP. HE MAKES OVERTURES OF PEACE, WHICH, UPON THE REMONSTRANCES OF DEMOSTHENES, ARE REJECTED. A BATTLE IS FOUGHT AT CHERONEA, WHERE PHILIP GAINS A SIGNAL VICTORY. DEMOSTHENES IS ACCUSED AND BROUGHT TO A TRIAL BY ÆSCHINES. THE LATTER IS BANISHED, AND GOES TO RHODES.

THE Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration

of war. The king of Macedon,³ who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, little suspicious and apprehensive of the uncertainty of the events of war, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied the genius and character of Philip more than Phocion, and was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals.

It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war,⁴ which gave him great cause of disquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries, or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandise it wanted. Philip was sensible that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniences attending it, otherwise than by exciting the Thessalians and Thebans against Athens. He could not yet attack that city with any advantage, either by sea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republic; and the passage by land to Attica would be shut against him, as long as the Thessalians should refuse to join him, and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he were to ascribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very sensible that it would have no effect with either of the states; but in that case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief (upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause,) he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce in his desires, either by persuasion or deceit.

This was his aim; the smallest traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the design he meditated. In every city he retained pensioners who sent him notice of whatever passed, and by that means were of great use to him, and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations he raised divisions among the Locri Ozolæ, otherwise called the *Locrrians of Amphissa*, from the name of their capital city: their country was situated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having profaned a spot of sacred ground, by ploughing up the Cyrrhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphi. The reader has seen that a similar cause of complaint occasioned the first sacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphictyons. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or suspicious agent, he plainly saw that the Thebans and the Thessalians would infallibly suspect his design; in which case, all parties would not fail to stand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his designs by persons in the dark, which entirely prevented their being discovered. By the assiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the *Pylagori*, by which name those were called who were sent by the several Greek cities to the assembly of the Amphictyons. The instant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as, from being a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, he was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a visit to the place was appointed, in order to inspect the spot of ground, of which the Amphissians had hitherto been considered the lawful possessors, but which they now were accused of usurping by a most sacrilegious act.

¹ Sixty thousand French crowns.

² Justin, l. ix. c. 2, 3.

³ Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 749.

⁴ Demost. pro Ctes. p. 497, 498.

Whilst the Amphictyons were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fall upon them unawares, pour in a shower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage kindled the flames of resentment and war against these Locrians. Cotyphus, one of the Amphictyons, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following assembly of the Amphictyons, the affair was debated very seriously. It was there that the orators previously bribed by Philip exerted all their eloquence, and by a studied oration, proved to the deputies, that they must either assess themselves to support foreign soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to save their respective states the expense, and secure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved upon the latter. Upon which, by a public decree, ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and the Amphictyons, implore his assistance, beseech him not to neglect the cause of that god which the impious Amphissians make their sport; and notify to him, that for this purpose all the Greeks, associated in the council of the Amphictyons, elect him for their general, with full power to act as he shall think proper."

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired; the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had set at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately assembles his forces; and feigning to direct his march towards the Cyrrean field, forgetting now both the Cyrreans and Locrians who had only served as a specious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the least regard; he possessed himself of Elateæ, the greatest city in Phocis, standing on the river Cephissus, and the most happily situated for the design he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

This news being brought to Athens in the evening, spread terror through every part of the city. The next morning an assembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, "Who among you will ascend the tribunal?" However, no person appears for that purpose: upon which he repeated the invitation several times: but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propose some salutary counsel: For, says Demosthenes (from whom these particulars are taken,) whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country. During this general silence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were seized, Demosthenes, animated at the sight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, ascends the tribunal, and endeavours to revive the spirits of the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politics and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately suggests a plan which includes all that was necessary for the Athenians to perform both at home and abroad, by land as well as by sea.

The people of Athens were under a double error with regard to the Thebans, and he therefore endeavours to undeceive them. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch, and that the conquest of Elateæ has apprized them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most ancient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Atheni-

ans, which rose so high that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine for having applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems.¹ Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians that their own interest lies at stake; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards unfolds to them, the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his design, and wherefore did he possess himself of Elateæ? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage those of his faction in Thebes, and to inspire them with greater boldness, by appearing at the head of his army, and advancing his power and forces around that city. On the other side, he wishes to strike unexpectedly the opposite faction, and stun them in such a manner as may enable him to get the better of it either by terror or force. Philip," says he, "prescribes the manner in which you ought to act, by the example he himself sets you. Assemble, at Eleusis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit for service, and support these by your cavalry. By this step you will show all Greece that you are ready armed to defend yourselves, and inspire your partisans in Thebes with such resolution, as may enable them both to support their reasons, and to make head against the opposite party, when they shall perceive, that as those who sell their country to Philip, have forces in Elateæ ready to assist them upon occasion, in like manner those who are willing to fight for the preservation of their own liberties, have you at their gates ready to defend them in case of an invasion." Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to send ambassadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league against Philip.

This prudent and salutary advice was followed in every particular: and in consequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the several enterprises by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: "For this reason the senate and people of Athens, calling to mind the magnanimity of their ancestors, who preferred the liberty of Greece to the safety of their own country, have resolved, that, after offering up prayers and sacrifices to call down the assistance of the tutelary gods and demigods of Athens and Attica, 200 sail of ships shall be put to sea. That the admiral of their fleet shall go, as soon as possible, and cruise on the other side of the pass of Thermopylæ; while at the same time the generals by land, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot, shall march and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. That ambassadors shall likewise be sent to the other Greeks; but first to the Thebans, as these are most threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to have any dread of Philip, but to maintain courageously their individual independence, and the common liberty of all Greece. And let it be declared to them, that though formerly some subjects of discontent may have cooled the reciprocal friendship between them and us, the Athenians, however, obliterated the remembrance of past transactions, will now assist them with men, money, darts, and all kinds of military weapons; persuaded that such as are natives of Greece may, very honourably, dispute with one another for pre-eminence; but that they can never, without sully the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from the virtue of their ancestors, suffer a foreigner to despoil them of that pre-eminence, nor consent to so ignominious a slavery."

Demosthenes, who was at the head of this embassy,² immediately set out for Thebes: and indeed he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors to

¹ He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city the bulwark of Greece. Δῖπρον καὶ ἀσπίς, Ἑλλάδος ἱερὸν ἔσχατον, κλεινὸν Ἀῖονα. But the Athenians not only demurred the poet, and sent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a statue in honour of him.

² Plut. in Demosth. p. 853, 854

¹ Demost. pro Ctes. p. 501—504. Diod. lib. xvi. p. 477.

Thebes. Among these Python was the chief,¹ who distinguished himself greatly by his lively and persuasive eloquence, which it was scarce possible to withstand; so that the rest of the deputies were mere babblers in comparison to him: however, here he met with a superior. And,² indeed, Demosthenes, in an oration where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success, of so important a negotiation at the head of his political exploits.

It was of the utmost importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance,³ as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well disciplined, and had been considered, ever since the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, as holding the first rank among the several states of Greece for valour and military skill. To effect this was no easy matter; not only because of the great service which Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocia; but likewise because of the ancient inveterate antipathy between Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies spoke first. They displayed, in the strongest light, the kindness with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented, in the most forcible manner, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city: whereas, by joining in a league with the Athenians, Bœotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes: but the sight of an orator, who seemed to contest with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and inspired him with new vigour. To the captious arguments of Python he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatæa, which evidently discovered his designs. He represented him as a restless, enterprising, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the design of enslaving all Greece; but who, to succeed the better in his schemes, had the caution to attack the different states of it singly; a prince, whose pretended beneficence was only a snare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to disarm those whose zeal for the public liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprises. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, so far from satiating the inordinate avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes and the rest of the cities of Greece. That therefore the interest of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to erase entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

The Thebans were not long in forming their resolutions.⁴ The nervous eloquence of Demosthenes, says an historian, rushing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so ardent a zeal for their country and so mighty a passion for liberty, that, banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence, or ingratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of enthusiasm, and inflamed them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the power which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the public good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, in both which cities he was equally loved, respected, and feared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince, whose sole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour. Many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens, and terrible predictions which the priestess of Delphi was said to have uttered: but Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he said that the priestess *Philippized*, implying by this expression that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered those oracles and predictions as idle scarecrows, and consulted reason alone. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprised at the diligence of their confederates, joined them and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, not to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembled all his forces, and enters Bœotia. His army consisted of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse: that of his enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops may be said to have been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chiefs was not so. And indeed, what warrior could be compared at that time to Philip? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were no more. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him: but, not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him from the command, and had appointed as generals, Chares, who was universally despised, and Lyicles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and presumptuous audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronea, a city of Bœotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his son Alexander, who was then but sixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sun-rise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was obstinate and bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, even at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father reposed in him, under whose eye he fought, and made his first essay as a commander, discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, together with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the *sacred battalion* of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they soon resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. Lyicles,⁵ one of the two generals, having broken into some troops which formed the centre of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious; and hurried on by rash confidence, cried out, "Come on, my lads, let us pursue them into Macedonia." Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, instead of profiting by the advantage they had

¹ This Python was a native of Byzantium. The Athenians had presented him with the freedom of their city; after which he went over to Philip. *Demosth.* p. 193. 745.

² Demosth. in *Orat. pro Coron.* p. 569. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Theopomp. apud *Plut.* in *vit. Demosth.* p. 854.

⁵ Polyen. *Stratag. lib. iv.*

gained, to take his phalanx in flank, pursued his troops too vigorously, said coolly, "The Athenians do not know how to conquer." Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in disorder, were wholly intent upon pursuing those they had broken, he charged them with his phalanx; and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms, and fled with the rest. It is even said,¹ that in his flight his robe being caught by a bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, "Spare my life." More than 1000 Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above 2000 taken prisoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.

Philip, after having erected a trophy, and offered to the gods a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers, to each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shows, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy than to conquer one's self, and triumph over one's own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war, and sang thus, (himself beating time,) "Demosthenes the Peanian, son of Demosthenes, has said," "Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour, and sully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and a conqueror; but all kept silence. Demades the orator, whose soul was free, though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct. "Ah sir," said he, "since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites?" These words spoken with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes and brought him to himself. And, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed both in his disposition and behaviour: as if, says an historian,² the conversation of Demades, had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attic graces. He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them clothes; with the view of acquiring, by this favourable treatment, the good will of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens. In which, says Polybius,³ he gained a second triumph, more glorious for himself, and even more advantageous, than the first: for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Boeotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

We are told that Isocrates,⁴ the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the event of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound as it never recovered. But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow,⁵ which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, and the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind anger against the man whom they might consider in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the ditches, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, the orators who opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration which they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians (a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the persons of those whose projects were often redressed abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly) in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a public calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully or early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

But the people did not stop here.⁶ The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to pronounce the eulogium of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Divine Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

This earth entombs those victims to the state
Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.
Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains,
Died, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke.
This Jupiter decreed: no effort, mortals,
Can save you from the mighty will of fate.
To gods alone belong the attribute
Of being free from crimes, with never-ending joy.

Demosthenes opposed Æschines,⁷ who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer: "Censure me," says he, "for the counsels I gave, but do not calumniate me for the ill success of them. For it is the Supreme Being who conducts and terminates all things; whereas it is from the nature of the counsel itself, that we are to judge of the intention of him who offers it. If therefore the event has declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime; since it is God, and not myself, who disposed of the victory. But if you can prove that I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, and an activity indefatigable, and superior to my strengths; if with these I did not seek, I did not employ, every

¹ Plut. in vit. decem Orat. p. 845.

² Τὸ τοῦ Δημῶδου ἐκδομὴν ἀνίσταται Ἄττικος Χρόνης. Diad.

³ Polyb. l. v. p. 353. ⁴ Plut. in Isocr. p. 837.

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⁵ Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 514. Plut. in Demosth. p. 855.

⁶ Plut. in Demosth. p. 855. Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 519.

⁷ Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 505.

method which human prudence could suggest; and did not inspire the most necessary and noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of Athenians; show me this, and then give what scope you please to your accusations."

He afterwards uses that bold and sublime figure, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus.¹ Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner, the example of the great man who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Plataeæ. No, he makes a quite different use of them, says this rhetorician; and, or a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: "No, Athenians, you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought by land at Marathon and Plataeæ; by sea before Salamis and Artemisium; and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the solemn rites of burial; and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious." Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof into this grand and pathetic manner of affirming by oaths of so extraordinary a nature, he defies, in some measure, those ancient citizens, and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to swear?

I have already observed in another place, how naturally apt these orations (spoken in a most solemn manner,² to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm desire to signalize themselves in battle. Another ceremony observed with regard to those children whose fathers had died in the bed of honour,³ was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shows were exhibited to the whole people, a herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans drest in complete armour, proclaimed with a loud voice: "These young orphans whom an untimely death in the midst of dangers has deprived of their illustrious fathers, have found in the people a parent, who has taken care of them till no longer in a state of infancy. And now they send them back, armed cap-a-pie to follow under the most happy auspices, their own affairs; and invite them to emulate one another in deserving the chief employments of the state." By such methods martial bravery, the love of one's country, and the taste for virtue and solid glory, are perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæronæa, and two years before the death of Philip, that Æschines, jealous of the glory of his rival, impugned the decree which had granted him a crown of gold, and drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes. But the cause was not pleaded till seven or eight years after, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the history of the life and actions of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. People flocked to it from all parts (says Cicero:⁴) and they had great reason for so doing; for what sight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them ex-

cellent in his way: both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual dissensions and as implacable animosity against each other?

These two orations have always been considered as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of Demosthenes. Cicero had translated the whole of it,⁵ a strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which is sufficient to make us very much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidst the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, methinks there appears (if I may be allowed to censure the writings of such great men) a considerable defect that very much lessens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of solid and just eloquence; and that is, the gross, injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Antony. I have already declared, that this style, this assemblage of gross, opprobrious expressions, are the very reverse of solid eloquence; and indeed, every speech, which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from its reason and argument, and which at the same time is conducted with reserve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The times seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines: but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled. And it was then that he spoke these words, so highly worthy of praise in the mouth of an enemy and a rival: "But what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself."

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest. For at the time that Æschines was leaving Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money; an offer which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect it. On this occasion Æschines cried out: "How will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous, than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!"

SECTION VII.—PHILIP, IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE AMPHICTYONS IS DECLARED GENERAL OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE PERSIANS, AND PREPARES FOR THAT IMPORTANT EXPEDITION. DOMESTIC TROUBLES IN HIS HOUSEHOLD. HE FORCES OLYMPIAS, AND MARRIES ANOTHER WIFE. HE SOLEMNIZES THE MARRIAGE OF CLEOPATRA HIS DAUGHTER WITH ALEXANDER KING OF EPIRUS AND IS KILLED AT THE NUPTIALS.

THE battle of Chæronæa may be said to have enslaved Greece. Macedonia at that time, with no more than Ant. J. C. 337 30,000 soldiers, gained a point which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Plataeæ, at Salamis, and at Marathon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulsed divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ones, he had subjected, by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge the

¹ Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 508.

² Longin. de sublim. c. xiv.

³ Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptines, p. 502, observes, that the Athenians were the only people who caused funeral orations to be spoken in honour of such persons, as had lost their lives in defence of their country.

⁴ Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 452.

⁵ Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur et totâ Græciâ factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quàm summorum oratorum, in gravissimâ causâ, accuratè in inimicis incensa contentio? Cicero, de opt. gen. Orat. n. 22.

⁵ De opt. gen. Orat.

⁶ Some authors ascribe these words to Demosthenes when, three years after, he met with the same fate as Æschines, and was also banished from Athens.

injuries which Greece had received from the Barbarians, and meditates no less a design than the destruction of their empire. The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory,¹ (and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost sight of) was to get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the Persians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia Minor.

But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip,² he found the utmost uneasiness at home: division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric, and vindictive, raised dissensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life: not to mention that, as he himself was not a faithful husband, it is said that he experienced, on his wife's part, the infidelity he had so justly deserved. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or whether it was from fickleness and inconstancy, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty, however, was so exquisite that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's side, took it into his head to say that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor for their king. Upon this Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at such an insult, cried out, "Wretch, dost thou then take me for a bastard?" and at the same time flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment; upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who sat at another table, was very much offended to see the feast interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his sword, and ran directly at his son. Happily the father fell, so that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentments in this bitter sneer: "The Macedonians indeed, have a captain there, vastly able to cross from Europe into Asia; he who cannot step from one table to another, without running the hazard of breaking his neck!" After these words, he left the hall; and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been so highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himself went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was connected with Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and caresses were over, Philip asked him whether the Greeks were at peace among themselves? "It indeed becomes you, Sir," replied Demaratus, "to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own house with feuds and dispensions." The prince, sensibly affected with this reproach, came to himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander to persuade him to return home.

Philip did not lose sight of the A. M. 3668. conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty Ant. J. C. 336. project which he was revolving in his mind, he consults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The priestess replied, "The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed." Philip hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted an oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply himself

entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he despatches with all possible diligence his domestic affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn sacrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in *Ægea*, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them every mark of friendship and honour, to testify his gratitude for their having elected him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him golden crowns; and Athens distinguished herself above all the rest by her zeal. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purposely for that festival, a tragedy, entitled *Cinyras*,³ in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace being arrived, he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with a majestic air in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a considerable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of surveying him; and also to show that he considered the affection which the Grecians bore him as his safest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refusal to do an act of justice that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king to interpose his power. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after having divorced Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias's complaints. However, to console him in some measure, and express the high esteem and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury directs itself against his judge, and he forms the design of wiping out his shame by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony; when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the greatness of the injury which he had received, and for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the satisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The assassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the pursuers time to

³ Senonius, among the presages of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that Minster the Pantomime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered.

¹ Diod. l. xvi. p. 479.

² Plot. in Alex. p. 669.

overtake him. Pausanias was immediately cut to pieces upon the spot. Thus died Philip, A. M. 3668, at forty-seven years of age, after Ant. J. C. 336, having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, died also the same year.

Demosthenes had private notice sent him of Philip's death; and in order to prepare the Athenians to resume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and said, that the night before he had had a dream, which promised some great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes particularly had inspired them with these sentiments; for he himself appeared in public crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer sacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pausanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion we do not recognize either Demosthenes or the Athenians; and we can scarce conceive how it came to pass that, in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at least, did not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as reflected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which showed that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECTION VIII.—MEMORABLE ACTIONS AND SAYINGS OF PHILIP. GOOD AND BAD QUALITIES OF THAT PRINCE.

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than most shining actions; because in the latter they generally study their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise. M. de Tournell has collected with sufficient industry most of the memorable actions and sayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connection in the recital of these detached actions and sayings.

Though Philip loved flattery so far as to reward the adulation of Thrasideus with the title of king in Thessaly, he, however, at some intervals loved truth. He permitted Aristotle¹ to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his service to tell him every day, before he gave audience, "Philip, remember thou art mortal."²

He³ discovered great moderation,⁴ even when he was spoken to in offensive and injurious terms; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality, says Seneca, in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors, who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service thou couldst do us," said Demochares, "would be to hang thyself." Philip, without the least emotion, though he perceived all the persons present were highly offended at these words, made the following answer: "Go, tell your superiors, that those who dare to make use of such insolent language are more haughty, and less peaceably inclined, than they who can forgive them."⁵

Being present,⁶ in an indecent posture, at the sale

of some captives, one of them, going up to him, whispered in his ear, "Let down the lappet of your robe;" upon which Philip replied, "Set the man at liberty; I did not know till now that he was one of my friends."

The whole court soliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians,⁷ who had hissed him publicly in the Olympic games: "What won't they attempt," replied Philip, "should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after having received so many favours at my hand?"

His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spoke ill of him:⁸ "Yes, indeed," said he, "and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where." Another time, when they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who had reproached him: "Let us first take care," says he, "that we have not given him reason to do so." Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him: on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, which occasioned another fine saying of this prince's: "It is in the power of kings to make themselves beloved or hated."

Being urged to assist,⁹ with the influence and authority he had with the judges, a person whose reputation would be quite lost, by the sentence which was going to be pronounced against him: "I had rather," says he, "he should lose his reputation, than I mine."

Philip¹⁰ rising from an entertainment at which he had sitted several hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear several reasons she had to alledge, which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave sentence against her; upon which she replied very calmly, "I appeal." "How?" says Philip, "from your king? To whom then?" "To Philip when fasting," replied the woman. The manner in which he received this answer would do honour to the most sober prince. He gave the cause a second hearing; acknowledged the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself to make amends for it.

A poor woman used to appear often before him,¹¹ to sue for audience, and to beseech him to put an end to her law-suit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exasperated at these refusals, which had been so often repeated, she replied one day with emotion: "If you have not time to do me justice, be no longer king." Philip was strongly affected with this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and far from being offended at it, he satisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more punctual in giving audience. He was sensible, that in fact a king and a judge are the same thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the sovereign authority is a supreme power, and at the same time an indispensable obligation to do justice: that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them the time necessary for that purpose, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint persons to assist him in this function, but not to disburden himself absolutely from it; and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very sensible expression, "Be no longer king;"¹² and Philip comprehended all its force.

He understood raillery,¹³ was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importuning him daily with some new request: "Take what thou wilt," says he, "for thou hast me by the throat."

It is also related,¹⁴ that after hearing two villains who accused each other of various crimes, he banished the one and sentenced the other to follow him.

Meneceates,¹⁵ the physician who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip in these terms: "Meneceates Jupiter, to Philip greeting." Philip

¹ Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 440.

² Arist. Epist. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. viii. c. 15.

³ Seneca. de Irâ, l. iii. c. 23.

⁴ Si quis alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni.

⁵ Plac.

⁶ Plot. ⁷ Plut. in Apophth.

⁸ Ibid. ⁹ Plut.

¹⁰ Plut.

¹¹ Id. ¹² Καὶ μὴ διαίλειν

¹³ Ælian. lib. xii. cap. 51

answered, "Philip o Menecrates, health and reason."¹ But this king did not stop here; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table, where nothing was served up to him but incense and perfume, whilst all the other guests fed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister.² That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many nights to sleep; "I indeed sleep," says he, "but Antipater wakes."

Parmenio,³ hearing the ambassadors of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: "Do not wonder," says he, "if he sleeps whilst you wake; for he wakes whilst you slept." By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness in neglecting their interest whilst Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.

Every one of the ten tribes of Athens used to elect a new general every year.⁴ These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, "In my whole life I could never find but one general (Parmenio,) whereas the Athenians can find ten every year at the very instant they want them."

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the same time, the taste he himself had for the polite arts and sciences. The other letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Tourreil is the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine whether this prince were greater as a warrior or a statesman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful and formidable enemies, he employed sometimes artifice, and sometimes force, to defeat them. He uses his endeavours with success to divide his opponents. To strike the surer, he eludes and wards off the blows which were aimed at himself; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuse victory; equally ready to pursue or wait for it, he either hastens his pace or slackens it, as necessity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wisdom: in fine, he is ever immovable, ever fixed within the just bounds which divide boldness from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king nearly as much master of his allies as of his own subjects, and no less formidable in treaties than in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own superintendent, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an insatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it is sold at the highest price; making fatigue and danger his dearest delights; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reflection and action which military expeditions require; and with all these advantages turning the fury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, sold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary or undisciplined troops; obstinately deaf to good advice, and seemingly determined on their ruin.

He unites in himself two qualities which are com-

monly found incompatible, viz. a steadiness and calmness of soul that rendered him attentive to take advantage of every juncture, and to seize the favourable moment without being disconcerted by disappointments; this calmness, I say, was united with an activity, ardour, and vivacity, which were regardless of intervals for rest, of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight. Demosthenes, who cannot be suspected of flattering him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head: for which reason I will cite his own words. "I saw,"⁵ says this orator, "this very Philip, with whom we disputed for sovereignty and empire; I saw him, though covered with wounds, his eye struck out, his collar-bone broken, maimed both in his hands and feet, still resolutely rush into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune any other part of his body she might desire, provided he might live honourably and gloriously with the rest of it."

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the same valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact, regular discipline; and trained up men capable of seconding him in his great enterprises. He well knew how, without lessening his own authority, to familiarize himself with his soldiers; and commanded rather as a father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever it was consistent with discipline. And indeed from this affability, which merited so much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and paid him the most implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity of precautions, and the art of resources. A wise diffidence, which is of service, as it shows danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irrelative, but cautious and prudent. What reason soever he might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever accurate in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients: his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his designs: and his dexterity in not suffering his designs to be discovered no less admirable. Impenetrable as to his secrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians asleep, by a specious outside of peace; and to lay silently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous security and blind indolence.

But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most dissolute and abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented his palace. A set of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful; such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these vices for this might be suspected in so avowed an enemy but Theopompus, a famous historian,⁶ who had written the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. "Philip," says he,⁷ "despised modesty and regularity of life. He lavished his esteem and liberality on men abandoned to debauchery and the last ex-

¹ The Greek word *byzantios* signifies both these things.

² Plutarch.

³ Id.

⁴ Plutarch in Apoph. p. 177.

⁵ Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 483.

⁶ Diod. Sicul. l. xvi. p. 408.

⁷ Theopompus a. ud. Athen. l. vi. c. 200

cesses of licentiousness. He was pleased to see the companions of his pleasures excel no less in the abominable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the science of debauchery. What species of infamy, what sort of crimes, did they not commit!" &c.

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politics. He is considered in this respect as a prince of the greatest abilities that ever lived. And, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated; and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this? However, he did not once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in short, every thing terminated in that point. He was very lavish of his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally succeeded in causing the deliberations to take a turn in his own favour. By this means, he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest and most penetrating, of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets alone of which discovered the design.

Polyænus shows us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly,¹ which was of great advantage to the completing of his other designs. "He did not," says he, "carry on an open war against the Thessalians, but took advantage of the discord that divided the cities and the whole country into different factions. He succoured those who sued for his assistance; and whenever he had conquered, he did not entirely ruin the vanquished, he did not disarm them, nor raze their walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, and endeavoured to weaken and subject the strongest: in a word, he rather fomented than appeased their divisions, having in every place orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, those firebrands of commonwealths. And it was by these stratagems, not by his arms, that Philip subdued Thessaly."

All this is a masterpiece,² a miracle, in point of politics. But what engines does this art set to work, what methods does it employ to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falsehood, perfidy, and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, knavish, subtle genius; but we do not find him possessed of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his opinion just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm resolution to break it; and made promises which he would have been very sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory consist in deceiving all with whom he treated. He did not blush

to say,³ "That children were amused with play things, and men with oaths."

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity! What idea should we form to ourselves in our intercourse with the world, of a man who should value himself upon tricking others, and rank insincerity and fraud among virtues? Such a character in private life is detested as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men (because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill) to revere sincerity, justice, and above all, the sanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promise among private persons ought to be sacred and inviolable, if they have the least sense of honour; but how much more ought it to be so among princes? "We are bound," says a celebrated writer,⁴ "to speak truth to our neighbour; for the use and application of speech imply a tacit promise of truth, speech having been given us for no other purpose. It is not a compact between one private man with another; it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Now, whoever tells an untruth, violates this law and common compact." How greatly is this enormity increased, when the sanctity of an oath has intervened, and the name of God been called upon to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties! "Were sincerity and truth banished from every part of the earth,"⁵ said John I. king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, "they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings."

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation succeed. But though this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expense of probity, honour, and religion? "If your father-in-law" (Ferdinand the Catholic,⁶) said Lewis XII. to Philip archduke of Austria, "has acted perfidiously, I am determined not to imitate him; and I am much more pleased in having lost a kingdom (Naples) which I am able to recover, than I should have been had I lost my honour, which can never be recovered."

But those politicians who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of public affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once making use of artifice and deceit! An Aristides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and so many more, some of whom were so very scrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falsehood, even laughing and in sport. Cyrus, the most famous conqueror of the east, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. If therefore ought to be looked upon as a certain truth, that no success, how brilliant soever, can or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.

¹ Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19.

² Demosth. Olynth. ii. p. 22.

³ Ælian. l. vii. c. 12.

⁴ M. Nicole, on the epistle of the 10th Sunday after Whitsuntide.

⁵ Mezerai.

⁶ Ibid.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

BOOK XV

SECTION. I.—ALEXANDER'S BIRTH. THE TEMPLE OF EPHEBUS IS BURNED THE SAME DAY. THE HAPPY NATURAL INCLINATIONS OF THAT PRINCE. ARISTOTLE IS APPOINTED HIS PRECEPTOR, WHO INSPIRES HIM WITH A SURPRISING TASTE FOR LEARNING. HE BREAKS BUCEPHALUS.

A. M. 3648. first year of the 106th Olympiad.¹
Ant. J. C. 356. The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus was burned. It is well known that this temple was one of the seven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name and at the expense of all Asia Minor. A great number of years² were employed in building it. Its length was 425 feet, and its breadth 220. It was supported by 127 columns, threescore feet high, which as many kings³ had caused to be wrought at a great expense, and by the most excellent artists, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occasion. The rest of the temple corresponded in magnificence with these columns.

Hegesias⁴ of Magnesia,⁵ according to Plutarch, says, "That it was no wonder the temple was burned, because Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander:" a reflection, says our author, so very cold,⁶ that it might have extinguished the fire. Cicero,⁷ who ascribes this saying to Timeus, declares it a very smart one, at which I am very much surprised. Possibly the fondness he had for jokes, made him not very delicate in things of this kind.

One Erostratus⁸ had set fire to the temple on purpose. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confess his motive for committing so infamous an action, he owned that it was with the view of making himself known to posterity, and to immortalize his name, by destroying so noble a structure. The states general of Asia imagined they should prevent the success of his view, by publishing a decree, prohibiting the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curiosity; for scarce one of the historians of that age has omitted to mention so monstrous an extravagance, and at the same time to tell us the name of the criminal.

The ruling passion in Alexander,⁹ even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his style; and had the vanity to cause to be engraved upon his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariot-race. But it was not to this his son aspired. His friends asking him one day, whether he would not

be present at the games above mentioned, in order to dispute the prize, for he was very swift of foot; he answered, "That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists."

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, far from sharing in the general joy, used to say, in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him, "Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for us to do."

One day some ambassadors from the king of Persia being arrived at the court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so courteous and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all. But that which most surprised them was, the good sense and judgment which he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling, as might be expected from one of his age; such, for instance, as inquiring about the so-much-boasted gardens suspended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plane-tree; and that Golden vine,¹⁰ the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience to ambassadors: Alexander asked them questions of a quite different nature inquiring which was the road to Upper Asia; the distance of the several places: in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted: in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while: and perceiving even at that time what he might one day become, they pointed out, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and Artaxerxes,¹¹ by saying one to another, "This young prince is great and ours is rich."¹² That man must be very insignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him as to the excellence of his natural abilities. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him whatsoever was worthy the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a relation of the queen, and a person of the most severe morals. Alexander himself related afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journeys together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his bed and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might adulterate to delicacy and luxury. But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he intrusted with the whole care of his education. One of the reasons¹³ which prompted Philip to choose him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit was, as he himself said, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible, how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he

¹ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

² Pliny says 220 years, which is not probable.

³ Anciently almost every city was governed by its particular king.

⁴ He was an historian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy son of Lagus.

⁵ I do not know whether Plutarch's reflection be not still colder.

⁶ Concinné, ut multa, Timeus; qui, cdm in historiâ dixisset, quâ nocte natus Alexander esset, eâdem Dianæ Ephesiæ templum deflagravisse, adjunxit: minimè id esse mirandum, qudd Diana, cdm in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, abfuisset domo. *De nat. deor.* l. ii. n. 69.

⁷ Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

⁸ Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 664—668. Id. de Fortum. Alex. p. 342.

⁹ Athen. l. xii. p. 539.

¹¹ Artaxerxes Ochus.

¹⁰ Ὁ παῖς οὗτος, βασιλεὺς μίγας ὁ ἐξήμετρος, πλουσις

¹² Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of Stagira,¹ the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinstated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing; as also spacious avenues of trees, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring,

That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.² The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. He grew passionately fond of philosophy,³ and learned the several branches of it, but with the discrimination suitable to his birth. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgement by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning from what is merely specious; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and should constitute its whole value. He also exercised him in metaphysics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himself to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives spiritual things; how he is sensible of the impression of those that surround him, and many other questions of the like import. The reader will naturally suppose, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which are so well calculated to give the mind a just turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the study of which, besides a great many other advantages, shows how very incapable the mind of man is to discover the secret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye witness. But Alexander applied himself chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his serious and profound study; and considered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wise policy. How much must such an education contribute to enable a prince to conduct himself well with regard to his own interests and the government of his people!

The greatest master of rhetoric⁴ that antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a treatise on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education: and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquests, was often very urgent with Aristotle to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work entitled *Alexander's Rhetoric*; in the beginning of which, Aristotle proves to him the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greatest ascendancy over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, show that he possessed in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas; and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning; which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings.⁵

His esteem, or rather his passion, for Homer, shows not only with what figure and success he applied himself to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poetry; but his view in studying this admirable writer was, in order to bor-

row such sentiments from him as are worthy a great king and a conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence, the art of commanding well in war, and governing well in peace. And, indeed, the verse which pleased him most in Homer,⁶ was that where *Agamemnon* is represented as a good king and a brave warrior.

After this it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the spoils of Darius a gold casket (enriched with precious stones,) in which the exquisite perfumes used by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, destined this rich casket to hold Homer's poems, which he considered the most perfect and the most precious production of the human mind.⁷ He admired particularly the *Iliad*, which he called, *The best provision for a warrior*.⁸ He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the *Edition of the Casket* was given; and he laid it, with his sword, every night, under his pillow.

Fond,⁹ even to excess, of every kind of glory, he was displeased with Aristotle, his master, for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces which he himself desired to possess alone; and ever at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander says in it, that "he had much rather surpass the rest of men in the knowledge of sublime and excellent things, than in the greatness and extent of his power."¹⁰ He in like manner requested Aristotle,¹¹ not to show the treatise of rhetoric above mentioned to any person but himself. I will confess, that there is an excess in this strong desire of glory, which prompts him to suppress the merit of others, in order that his alone may appear; but then we at least must confess, that it discovers such a passion for study as is very laudable in a prince; and the very reverse of that indifference, not to say contempt and aversion, which most young persons of high birth express for all things that relate to learning and study.

Plutarch points out to us, in a few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taste, with which his master (than whom no man possessed greater talents for the education of youth) had inspired him from his most tender infancy. "He loved," says that author, "to converse with learned men, to improve himself in knowledge, and to study."¹² These sources of a monarch's happiness, which enable him to secure himself from numberless difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the assistance of others. The conversation of persons of fine sense instructs a prince while it amuses him, and teaches him a thousand curious and useful things without costing him the least trouble. The lessons which able masters give him, on the most exalted sciences, and particularly on politics, improve his mind wonderfully, and furnish him with rules to govern his subjects with wisdom. And lastly, study, especially that of history, crowns all the rest, and is to him a preceptor for all seasons and for all hours, who, without ever growing troublesome, acquaints him with truths which no one else would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himself; teaches him to know himself, as well as mankind, who are the same in all ages.

¹ Ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθός, κρατερός τ' ἀνικητός
Iliad, 2, v. 170.

² Pretiosissimum humani animi opus.
Plin. l. vii. c. 29.

³ Τὴν ποικιλίαν ἀρετῆς ἐκείνου. The word, which I have not been able to render better, signifies, that in the *Iliad* are found whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general: in a word, all things necessary to form a good commander.

⁴ Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 5.

⁵ Ἐργὸν δὲ θαυμάσιον ἐστὶν ταῖς περὶ τὰ βέλτετα ἱππικαῖναι ταύτης διὰ μακρὴν διαφείκειν.

⁶ Arist. p. 609.

⁷ Ἦν φιλέητο, καὶ φιλομαθῆς, καὶ φιλοπαιδαγωγούμενος

¹ A city of Macedonia, near the sea-shore.

² Ὡς δὲ περὶ τὴν μὴ ζῶν, δια τούτων δὲ καλῶς; ζῶν.

³ Retinuit ex sapientia modum. Tacit.

⁴ Aristot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609

⁵ Imperatoria brevitate. Tacit.

Alexander owed all these advantages to the excellent education which Aristotle gave him.

He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts,¹ out such as becomes a prince; that is, he knew the value and usefulness of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, flourished in his reign, because they found in him both a skilful judge and a generous protector,² who was able to distinguish and reward merit wherever displayed.

But he despised certain trifling feats of dexterity,³ that were of no use. Much admiration was lavished on a man, who employed himself very earnestly in throwing small peas through the eye of a needle,⁴ which he would do at a considerable distance, and without once missing. Alexander seeing him thus engaged, ordered him, as we are told, a present suitable to his employment, viz. a basket of peas.

Alexander was of a lively disposition; resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to compulsion, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It requires great judgment and delicacy to manage such a disposition. Philip accordingly, notwithstanding his double authority of king and father, believed it necessary to employ persuasion rather than constraint with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

An accidental occurrence made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse, a noble, fiery, generous beast, called Bucephalus.⁵ The owner offered to sell him for thirteen talents, about 1900*l.* sterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to make trial of this horse; but he appeared so very fierce, and reared so when any one came near him, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been sent him, ordered him back again. Alexander, who was present, cried out, "What a noble horse they are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him!" Philip, at first, considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men: but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of his bridle, and turns his head to the sun; having observed that what frightened him was his own shadow, he seeing it dance about, or sink down, in proportion as he moved. He, therefore, first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice; then seeing his fierceness abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackened the rein, without once striking or vexing him: and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broken a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses and congratulations; and, we are told, Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion, and embracing Alexander after he was delighted, and kissing his head, said to him, "My son seek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedonia is below thy merit."

We are told a great many surprising particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to

Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. When this creature was saddled and equipped for battle,⁶ he would suffer no one to back him but his master; and it would not have been safe for any other person to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his fore-feet. According to some historians, in the battle against Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidst a body of the enemy, his horse, though covered with wounds, did however exert himself in so vigorous a manner that he saved his master's life; and notwithstanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almost spent through the great effusion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpressible vigour to a place of security; where, perceiving⁷ the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in some measure to die after the service he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horse. Others say, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had lost in him a most faithful and affectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very spot where he was buried, near the river Hydaspes, and called it *Bucephalia*, in honour of him.

I have related elsewhere that Alexander, at sixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and invested with absolute authority during his father's absence, that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that afterwards he distinguished himself in a most signal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

SECTION II.—ALEXANDER, AFTER THE DEATH OF PHILIP, ASCENDS THE THRONE AT TWENTY YEARS OF AGE. HE SUBJECTS AND REDUCES THE NATIONS CONTIGUOUS TO MACEDON, WHO HAD REVOLTED. HE GOES INTO GREECE, TO DISSOLVE THE ALLIANCE FORMED AGAINST HIM. HE CAPTURES AND DESTROYS THEBES, AND PARDONS THE ATHENIANS. HE PROCURES HIMSELF TO BE NOMINATED, IN THE DIET OR ASSEMBLY AT CORINTH, GENERALISSIMO OF THE GREEKS AGAINST PERSIA. HE RETURNS TO MACEDON AND MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR CARRYING HIS ARMS INTO ASIA.

DARIUS and Alexander began to reign the same year:⁸ the latter was A. M. 3668. but twenty when he succeeded to the Ant. J. C. 336. crown. His first care was to solemnize the funeral obsequies of his father with the utmost pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his accession to the throne, he saw himself surrounded on every side with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations against whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made several conquests, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings; thought proper to take advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had ascended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting against the common usurper. Nor was he under less apprehensions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the several cities and commonwealths to continue to all outward appearance their ancient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himself absolute master of it. Though absent, he nevertheless predominated in all the assemblies; and not a single resolution was taken, but in subordination to his will. Though he had subdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the secret machinations of policy, he had not had time sufficient to subject and accustom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and disorder, the minds of the vanquished not being yet calmed nor moulded to subjection.

The Macedonians reflecting on this precarious situ-

¹ Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Rom. ii. p. 333.

² Μικροτερον ἱλαδον και δεξατην, τον δειστα κειναι το πα-
τερον αυτου, και μαλιστα ἀμείψασθαι δυνάμενον.

³ Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 21.

⁴ We may suppose it was some instrument in the shape of a needle.

⁵ Some think he was called so because his head was like that of an ox.

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⁶ Aul. Gel. i. v. c. 2.

⁷ Et domini jam superstitis securus, quasi cum sensis humani saluto, animam exspiravit. Aul. Gell.

⁸ Plut. in Alex. p. 670. 672. Diod. i. xvii. p. 436—480

Arrian. l. i. de Expedit. Alex. p. 2—23.

ation of things, advised Alexander to relinquish Greece, and not to persist in his resolution of subduing it by force; to recover by gentle methods the barbarians who had taken arms, and to soothe, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reserve, complacency and insinuations, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not listen to these timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity: firmly persuaded, that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he should be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and thus to confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all possible haste to check the arms of the barbarians, by marching his troops with the greatest expedition to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle: made the Getæ fly at his approach; subdued several barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithstanding the arrogant answer of their ambassadors,¹ he taught them to dread a danger still more near them than the falling of the sky and planets.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against that prince. A false report which prevailed of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel. Demosthenes,² on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a *child*,³ and a hair-brained boy, he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom; but would think himself vastly happy could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he wrote letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes's proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason; he, therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicious which he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecateus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

When Alexander had secured his A. M. 3669. kingdom from the barbarians, he Ant. J. C. 335. marched with the utmost expedition towards Greece, and passed Thermopylæ. He then said to those who accompanied him: "Demosthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man when I was in Thessaly; and I must now show him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man grown." He appeared so suddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes.⁴ When he came before their walls he was wil-

ling to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phenix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published by sound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, in the same manner, all who were solicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he should be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength, for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers: but after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, coming down from it and charging the Thebans in the rear, being thus surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city was taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on the occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady, and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards inquired whether she had not concealed gold and silver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying that she had hid some, took him with herself only into her garden, and showing him a well, told him, that the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most valuable things in her possession. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great stones which she threw upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mien, that she was a woman of quality and great spirit, for she followed those brutal wretches with a haughty air, and without discovering the least astonishment or fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, I am sister to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Cheronea, where he commanded. The prince admiring the generous answer of the lady, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phœaciæns and the people of Plateæ, Thespia, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who had destroyed their several cities; and reproached them with the zeal

first expedition of Alexander was an eminent instance of that promptitude and vigour which he ever after displayed, and which qualified him to be the greatest conqueror that ever appeared in the ancient world. That he should have marched in thirteen days to the most northern mouth of the Danube from Philippi, and across the lofty and rugged ridge of the Balkhan, and in three days from the summit of that range to the embouchure of the stream mentioned above, was an astonishing instance of that rapidity of military movements which subsequently distinguished the campaigns of a Cæsar and a Buonaparte. The distance from the Hæmus or Balkhan, to the most northern branch of the Danube, is 200 British miles—a distance so great to be traversed in that short space of time, is hardly credible, and would induce a suspicion of exaggeration in the historian or corruption in the text. It seems impossible that he should have marched nigh 70 miles a day. The Isle of Peuce lies off the most northern mouth at a small distance: and is, according to Dr. Clark, placed 15 minutes too far north in all the modern maps. The Illyrians, whom Alexander reduced on his return from the banks of the Danube, lay to the N. W. of Macedonia, and inhabited the tract now called Upper or Northern Albania.]

¹ Θεραπίων τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν.

² Alexander, imagining that his name only had struck these people with terror, asked their ambassadors what things they dreaded most? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the sky and stars.

³ Ἔσχιον, contra Ctesiph. p. 453.

⁴ It is *μυαγ-ιτης* in Greek, a word which has many significations in that language.

⁵ [The Triballi inhabited what is now called Bulgaria, or the tract between Mount Hæmus and the Danube, afterwards denominated Lower Moesia. Strabo indeed places them in Thrace; but the ancient geographers, as Ptolemy and others, extended it to the Ister or Danube; and Herodotus called it the largest country in the world except India. This

which they had always discovered in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath they had all taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He demonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, which they had too eagerly credited, had indeed broke into rebellion, not against the king, but against his successors; that what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city: that there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom nothing was to be feared; and who were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the cradle of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

These motives, which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests; all such as had right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much honour to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt: but all the rest, in number about 30,000, he sold, and upwards of 6000 had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly afflicted at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to solemnize the festival of the great mysteries, they suspended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greatest humanity all those who had fled from the battle and the sack of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

Alexander's so sudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished Demosthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them into the utmost consternation. They, therefore, had recourse to entreaties, and sent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demosthenes was among the deputies; but he was no sooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is supposed, "That the wolves one day told the sheep, that in case they desired to be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard." The application was easy and natural, especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this extreme difficulty in which the Athenians were involved, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed; or rather willing to remove the ~~gross~~ obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least ground or pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was paci-

fied by their sending Caridemus into banishment, who being a native of Orea,¹ had been presented by the Athenians with the freedom of their city, for the services he had done the republic. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, king of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates, and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the persecution of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned, at Corinth, the assembly of the several states and free cities of Greece,² to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important subject. It was the Western world deliberating upon the ruin of the East, and the methods for executing a revenge that had been suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time will give rise to events, the relation of which will appear astonishing and almost incredible; and to revolutions which will change the appearance of things nearly throughout the world.

To form such a design required a prince, bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of enlarged views, who had acquired a great name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers nor checked by obstacles; but above all, a monarch who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which singly was powerful enough to make so arduous an attempt; and which required, in order to their acting, in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should ever present itself for that purpose; a hatred which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the 10,000 Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians; the terror which Agesilaus, with a handful of men, had struck even as far as Susa; showed plainly what might be expected from an army, composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece and those of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to say all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore very short, and that prince was unanimously appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself, that Diogenes of Sinope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation to any dignity; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons have worthily fulfilled the duties

¹ A city of Eubœa.

² Plutarch places this diet or assembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux supposed that it was summoned twice.

attached to their station. Diogenes therefore did not stir out of his house: upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun; but seeing so great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, surprised to see so famous a philosopher reduced to such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, "Yes, that you would stand a little out of my sun-shine." This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, "Were I not Alexander," says he, "I would be Diogenes." A very profound sense lies hid in this expression, which shows perfectly the bent and disposition of the heart of man. Alexander is sensible that he is formed to possess all things; such is his destiny, in which he makes his happiness consist: but then, in case he should not be able to compass his ends, he is also sensible, that to be happy, he must endeavour to bring his mind to such a frame as to want nothing. In a word, *all or nothing* presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. How great and powerful soever that prince might think himself, he could not on this occasion deny himself to be inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take, nothing.¹

Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo, on the event of the war. He therefore went to Delphi; but happened to arrive there during those days which are called *unlucky*, a season in which people were forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priestess refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out, "My son, thou art irresistible."² This was all he desired: and catching at these words, which he considered as spoken by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

I shall here give, in one view, a short account of those countries through which Alexander passed, till his return from India.

Alexander sets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and crosses the Hellespont, or the Straits of the Dardanelles.

He crosses Asia Minor (Natalia,) where he fights two battles; the first at the passage of the river Granicus, and the second near the city of Issus.

After this second battle, he enters Syria and Palestine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Libya to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He crosses that river, then the Tigris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; possesses himself of Babylon,³ and Ectabana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he passes into Hyrcania, to the sea which goes by that name, otherwise called the Caspian Sea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamisus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxartes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther side of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whose country forms part of Great Tartary.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, crosses the river Indus; enters India which lies on this side the Ganges, and forms part of the Great Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he also intended to pass, had not his army refused to follow him. He therefore contents himself with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, very near to which river Alexander marched, is computed at least 1100 leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches, first, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Issus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libya; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of 300 leagues at least and as much space at least for the windings of his route in different places; we shall find that Alexander, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of 1700 leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

SECTION III.—ALEXANDER SETS OUT FROM MACEDON UPON HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PERSIANS. HE ARRIVES AT ILION, AND PAYS GREAT HONOUR TO THE TOMB OF ACHILLES. HE FIGHTS THE FIRST BATTLE AGAINST THE PERSIANS AT THE RIVER GRANICUS, AND OBTAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY.

ALEXANDER⁴ being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the A. M. 3670. chief officers of his army and the Ant. J. C. 334. grandees of his court, on the expedition which he meditated against Persia, and the measures to be taken in order to ensure success. The whole assembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprise which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a consort in order to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it, for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, scenical games, that had been instituted by one of his ancestors in honour of Jupiter and the Muses.⁵ This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold a hundred tables, on which, consequently, 900 covers might be laid. To this feast, the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals, and officers, were invited. He also treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous vision, in which he was exhorted to march speedily into Asia, of which mention will be made in the sequel.⁶

Before he set out on his expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with 12,000 foot, and nearly the same number of horse.

He also inquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. And as all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdicas said to him, "My lord, what is it you reserve for yourself?" Alexander replying, "Hope;" "The same hope," says Perdicas, "ought therefore to satisfy us;" and very generously refused to accept of what the king had assigned to him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of gaining it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was sensible that this art consists in making it the interest of every individual to promote his grandeur; and in governing his subjects in such a manner, that they should feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the interest of every person unites with that of the prince. They are one's own possessions, one's own happiness, which we love in his person; and we are so many times attached to him (and by as close ties) as there are

¹ Homo supra mensuram humane superbie tomens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam posset, nec eripere. Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6.

² Ἀνίκητος εἰ δὲ παῖς.

³ The capital of Babylonia.

⁴ Diod. l. xvii. p. 400—503. Arrian. l. i. p. 23—36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Justin. l. xi. c. 5, 6.

⁵ Theatrical representations were so called

⁶ Joseph. Antig. lib. xi.

things we love and receive from him. All the sequel of this history will show, that no person ever made a more happy use of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himself raised to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither satisfied nor exhausted by the noblest acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely settled affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable, to prevent any troubles from arising in it during his absence, set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than 30,000 foot and 4 or 5000 horse; but then they were all brave men; were well disciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made several campaigns under Philip; and were each of them, in case of necessity, capable of commanding.¹ Most of the officers were near threescore years of age; and when they were either assembled, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate.² Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his son, had 1,800 horse³ under him; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse, who were composed of natives of the several states of Greece, and amounted to 600, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Alexander began his route along the lake of Cercina, towards Amphipolis; crossed the river Strymon near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestos after twenty days' march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse, and part of the foot; which he accordingly did by the assistance of 160 galleys and several flat-bottomed vessels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleuntum to the port of the Achæians, himself steering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Hellespont, he sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereides, and made libations in the sea from a golden cup. It is also related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as if thereby to take possession of it, he landed the first in Asia! and leaping from the ship, completely armed, and in the highest transports of joy, he erected altars on the shore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with so propitious a descent. He had done the same at his leaving Europe. He depended so entirely on the happy success of his arms, and the rich spoils he should find in Asia, that he had made very little provision for so great an expedition; persuaded that war, when carried on successfully, would supply all things necessary for war. He had but seventy talents⁴ in money to pay his army, and only a month's provision. I before observed, that on leaving Macedon he had divided his patrimony among his generals and officers; and a circumstance of still greater importance is, that he had inspired his soldiers with so much courage and confidence, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

When he came within a short distance of the city of Lampsacus,⁵ which he had determined to destroy in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants, he saw Anaximenes, a native of that place, coming to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himself had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil. The king, suspecting the business he was come upon, to be beforehand with him, swore, in express terms, that he would never grant his request. "The favour I have to desire of you," says Anaximenes, "is, that you should destroy Lampsacus." By this witty evasion, the historian saved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the names of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He

admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found, during his lifetime, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and, after his death, a herald, worthy the greatness of his exploits, in Homer. And, indeed, had it not been for the *Iliad*,⁶ the name of Achilles would have perished in the same grave with his body.

At last Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus,⁷ a river of Phrygia. The satrap, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other side of it, firmly resolved to dispute the passage with him. Their army consisted of 100,000 foot, and upwards of 10,000 horse.⁸ Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the most able of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine what we ought to admire most in him; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign. The council he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous, had neither town, magazine, nor place of retreat: that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hope and resource lay in gaining a battle immediately. But Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make such havoc in the territories he governed. This bad advice prevailed over the judicious counsel of the foreigner (Memnon), whom the Persians, to their great prejudice, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means make himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry, drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: the baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio, advised him to encamp there in battle array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves, and not to pass the river till next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy: so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle array on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up: that besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprise, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt: that they ought to take advantage of the terror, which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness

* Cùm in Sigœ ad Achillis tumulum constitisset: O fortunato, inquit, adolescens, qui tue virtutis Hæmorum præconem inveneris! Et verè. Nam nisi Ilias illa extitisset, idem, tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruisset. Cic. *pro Arch.* n. 24.

† [The Granicus is a narrow, deep, and rapid stream, originating in the northern slope of the range of Ida, and running a N. E. course of 40 geographical miles to the Propontis. Its western banks are reported by travellers to be high, steep, and rugged. Its modern name is the Koutroula, and not Sousoughiri, as affirmed in the Ancient Universal History, vol. 5th. This latter appellation belongs to the Rhyndacus, a river that falls into the Propontis, 80 British miles east of the Granicus—the *Ægeus* running between. The Granicus lay 35 British miles to the east of Lampsacus in direct distance.]

‡ According to Justin, their army consisted of 600,000 foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more 20,000. Both these accounts are improbable, and there is doubtless some fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.

¹ Ut non tam milites, quàm magistros militum electos putares. Justin. l. xi. c. 6.

² Ut, si principia castrorum tenebres, senatum to alicujus præcepi resp. videre diceret, Id.

³ These were all Macedonians

⁴ Seventy thousand crowns.

⁵ Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3

of his attempt, had spread among the Persians: and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which was very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed an extended front, in order to oppose Alexander, wherever he should endeavour to pass: and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks in Darius's service, was posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing: and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and observing the disposition of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander, having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the trumpets sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. And now the horse engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was far inferior in number, besides the disadvantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, puts himself at their head, animates them by his presence, pushes the Persians, and routs them; upon which the whole army follow after, cross the river, and attack the enemy on all sides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that over-shadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were, of a great length, and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person: and though only horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side: every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobatas, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapped spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other, though but slightly. Spithrobatas falls furiously, sword in hand, upon Alexander, who being prepared for him, thrusts his pike into his side, and lays him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Rosaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gives him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-axe, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cut off Rosaces's hand with one stroke of his scimitar, and by that means saves his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now perform wonders. The Persians in the centre of the cavalry upon whom the light-armed troops,

who had been posted in the intervals of the horse poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, began to give ground and the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These, says the historian, at first stood their ground, which was owing to the surprise they were seized with, rather than bravery. But when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry and the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous resistance, and were soon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's service excepted. This body of foot, retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested: but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse (not Bucephalus,) who was killed with the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot around him, that most of the Macedonians who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, 2000 excepted, who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the chief Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Arsites fled into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands upon himself, through regret that he had been the cause that the battle was fought. It would have been more glorious for him had he died in the field. Twenty thousand foot, and 2500 horse were killed in this engagement, on the side of the barbarians; and on that of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all of which were set up in a city of Macedon called Diium, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed, and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He inquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by such a familiarity and condescension. He also granted the rites of sepulture to the grandees of Persia, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service; but all those whom he took prisoners, he laid in chains, and sent them to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the barbarian standards against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent particularly to the Athenians 300 shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy, and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils: *Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks, (the Lacedæmonians excepted,) gained these spoils from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia.* A conduct of this kind evinces a very uncommon and amiable greatness of soul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to share in his glory. The greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other articles of Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

SECTION IV.—ALEXANDER CONQUERS THE GREATEST PART OF ASIA MINOR. HE IS SENZED WITH A DANGEROUS DISEASE, OCCASIONED BY BATHING IN THE RIVER CYDNUS. PHILIP THE PHYSICIAN CURES HIM IN A FEW DAYS. ALEXANDER PASSES THE DEFILES OF CLICIA. DARIUS ADVANCES AT THE SAME TIME. THE BOLD AND FREE ANSWER OF CARIDEMUS TO THE

FRINCE, WHICH COST HIM HIS LIFE. DESCRIPTION OF DARIUS'S MARCH.

THE success of the battle of the An. J. C. 334 Granicus,¹ had all the happy consequences: hat could naturally be expected from it. Sardis,² which was in a manner the bulwark of the barbarian empire on the side next the sea, surrendered to Alexander, who gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. He offered a great number of sacrifices to that goddess, solemnized her mysteries with the utmost pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle array. The Ephesians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burned the very night of Alexander's birth, as was before observed, and the work was now very far advanced. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who superintended the building of the temple, was afterwards employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Ephesians, all the expenses they had already been at, and to furnish the remainder, provided they would inscribe the temple with his name alone; for he was fond, or rather insatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Ephesus, not being willing to consent to it, and nevertheless afraid to refuse him that honour openly, had recourse to an artful flattery, to enable them to evade this request. They told him that it was inconsistent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Tralles and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus,³ which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him, and, indeed, the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a show as if it would succour that city: but after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to sail away. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers who had escaped the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planting scaling-ladders on all sides, the scalado was carried on with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve one another without the least intermission; and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were every where repulsed, and that the city was provided with every requisite for a long siege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new scalado was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by storm. Alexander treated all the Melisians with the utmost humanity, and sold all the foreigners who were found in it. The historians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reasonably suppose that he marched out with the garrison.

Alexander, seeing that the enemy's fleet had sailed away, resolved to destroy his own, the expense of it being, too great, not to mention that he wanted

money for things of greater importance. Some historians are even of opinion, that he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was resolved to deprive his soldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other resource than that of victory. He therefore retained such vessels only of his fleet, as were absolutely necessary for transporting the military engines, and a small number of other galleys.

After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus.⁴ The city was of most difficult access from its happy situation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides, Memnon, the ablest as well as the most valiant of all Darius's commanders, had thrown himself into it with a body of choice soldiers, with design to signalize his courage and fidelity to his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion. After the besiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, they had the grief to see their works demolished in an instant, and their engines set on fire, by the frequent vigorous sallies of the besieged. After beating down part of the wall with their batteringrams, they were astonished to see a new one beheld it; which was so suddenly built up, that it seemed to rise out of the ground. The attack of these walls, which were built in a semi-circular form, destroyed a prodigious number of men, because the besieged, from the top of the towers that were raised on the several sides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently seen at this siege, that the strongest fortifications of a city are the valour and courage of its defenders. The siege was long, and attended with such surprising difficulties as would have discouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet the view of danger served only to animate his troops, and their patience was at last successful. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He thought it sufficient to encompass it with strong walls, and left some good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemisia, queen of Caria, Idricus her brother reigned in her stead. The sceptre, according to the custom of the country, devolved upon Ada, sister and wife of Idricus; but she was dethroned by Pexodorus, whose successor, by Darius's command, was Orontobates, his son-in-law. Ada, however, was still possessed of a fortress called Alindæ, the keys of which she had carried to Alexander, the instant she heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her son. The king was so far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet possession of her own city; and after having taken Halicarnassus, as he by that means was master

¹ Diod. l. xvii. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. i. p. 36.—59, et l. ii. p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. p. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1—3. Justin. l. xi. c. 7, 8. Strab. l. xiv. p. 640. Solin. c. xl.

² [Sardis lay about 120 geographical, or 138 British miles, in direct distance. S. E. of the Granicus; and from that place Alexander marched directly after his victory. From this again he marched S. W. to Ephesus, about 63 Roman miles in direct distance.]

³ [Miletus lay 28 R. miles S. E. of Ephesus, in direct distance, on the Læmian Gulf, now supposed to be the Lake of Ufia Bashier; the low grounds between that lake and the sea, being considered as alluvial matter, formed by the inundations of the Mæander. At any rate, the Læmian Gulf is no longer in being; and the ruins of Miletus have not yet been so clearly recognised, as to fix with precision the exact site of that once celebrated city.]

⁴ [Halicarnassus lay 40 British miles south-east of Miletus, in direct distance; nothing but a mass of ruins attests its former grandeur and ancient site. It lay between the Ceramic and Jasion bays, and was famous for the stately mausoleum, or tomb, erected in honour of her husband, Mausolus, by Artemisia his widowed queen. Mausolus reigned over Caria, of which this city was the capital. It was, however, still more honoured in being the birth place of Herodotus, the father of history, and Diogenes the Greek historian of Rome; but of whose work the greater part has been unfortunately lost. The poets Heracitus and Callimachus were also natives of this city. The peninsula between the two bays formed the ancient Doris and maritime Caria, and is about 40 British miles in length from west to east, and about 15 from north to south.]

of the whole country, he restored the government to Ada.

This lady,¹ as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner; delicious pastry of all sorts; and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, "That all this train was of no service to him, for that he was possessed of much better cooks, whom Leonidas² his governor had given him; one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and that was, walking a great deal in the morning very early; and the other prepared him an excellent supper, and that was, dining very moderately.

Several kings of Asia Minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates, king of Pontus, was one of these, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. He is computed to be the sixth king from Artabazus,³ who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hystaspes, his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.

Alexander, before he went into winter quarters, permitted all such of his soldiers as had married that year to return into Macedonia, there to spend their winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the spring. He appointed three officers to lead them thither and to bring them back. This agrees exactly with the law of Moses;⁴ and, as we do not find that this law or custom was used by any other nation, it is very probable that Aristotle had learned it from some Jew, with whom he became acquainted in Asia; and that approving it as a very wise and just custom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occasion.

The next year Alexander began A. M. 3671. the campaign very early. He had Ant. J. C. 333. debated, whether he should march directly against Darius, or should first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter plan appeared the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. His progress was a little interrupted at first.⁵ Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lydia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the sea-shore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were, therefore, obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waist. Some historians, purely to embellish this incident, relate that the sea, by the Divine command, had submitted spontaneously to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; among these writers is Quintus Curtius. It is surprising that Josephus, the historian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews passing through the Red Sea on dry land, should have cited this circumstance by way of example, the falsity of which Alexander himself had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he merely wrote in one of his letters, "That when he left the city of Phaselis he marched on foot through the pass of the mountain called Climax;" and it is very well known that this prince, who was vastly fond of the marvellous, never let slip any opportunity of persuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very singular manner.

While he was in the neighbourhood of Phaselis, he discovered a conspiracy which was carrying on by Alexander, son of Eropus, whom he had a little

before appointed general of the Thessalian cavalry in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had sent him, promised him a reward of 1000 talents,⁶ of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in case he could murder Alexander; thinking that he could not pay too dear for a crime which would rid him of so formidable an enemy. The messenger who carried the king's answer being seized, made a full confession, by which means the traitor was brought to condign punishment.

Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cilicia, and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celæne, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marsyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to surrender; but these believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, that they would first die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates, in case they were not succoured; and accordingly, no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordium, the ancient and famous residence of king Midas, situated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot, to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much art, and the strings were twisted in so intricate a manner, that it was impossible to discover where it began or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, should possess the empire of Asia. As Alexander was firmly persuaded that this promise related to himself, after many fruitless trials, he cried, "It is no matter which way it be untied,"⁷ and thereupon cut it with the sword, and by that means, says the historian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.⁸

In the mean time Darius was setting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous defence. Menon the Rhodian advised him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counsel seemed the most proper to extricate him from the present danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and several other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander must have been forced to leave Asia, and return suddenly over the sea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counsel, and having determined to follow it, committed the execution of it to the

¹ About 1,500,000. sterling.

² Sortem oraculi vel clausit, vel implevit. Quint. Curt.

³ Gordium, according to Rennel's map, M. 2. lay 105 geographical, or upwards of 120 British miles north, a little east of Celæne. In his march thither, Alexander had to cross the lofty chain, now called the Moragh Dagh, the south boundary of Phrygia Parioris, or the great inland tract of Asia Minor. It is difficult precisely to fix the site of Gordium, the ancient capital of Phrygia. That it stood on the Sangarius all agree. Kinnier, though his route lay near the supposed site of that city, was unable to gain any information respecting it, but places it in his map near the modern Beyhazar, considerably to the east of Sever Hisar. All we know is, that it stood somewhere on the Sangaria, not far from its source. Rennel identifies it in his map, with the modern Sever Hisar, built on the side of a range of craggy rocks, opening towards the south on the great plain of Phrygia Salutaris, whereas Kinnier makes it to be the ancient Abroetola. The whole of this part of Phrygia, once covered with towns and villages, is now a treeless desolate plain. Gordium, though founded by Gordius, did not long retain its honour, but was soon reduced to a poor, mean village, as Strabo informs us. It however recovered its importance in the time of the Triumvirate when it was again made a city, and called Julionopolis, in honour of Augustus Cæsar, by one Cleo, a noted robber, and native of that place.

This story of the Gordian knot is taken from Curtius, but his authority is not to be compared to that of Aristobolus, who was an eye-witness of the fact, and who expressly declares that Alexander did not cut it, to which Plutarch agrees. Aristobolus assures us that he wrested a wooden pin out of the beam of the waggon, which being driven in across the beam, held it up, and so took the yoke from it.]

⁴ Plut. in Alex. p. 677.

⁵ Βαριςτος γὰρ ἀπονομιεῖ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπονομιεῖς αὐτῶν περὶ μὴν τὸ ἕρποντες αὐτοπονομεῖται, μέλι δὲ τὸ δεινὸν ὀκνησιγενῆς.

⁶ Florus. l. iii. c. 5.

⁷ Dcut. xxiv. 5.

⁸ Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.

original proposer. Accordingly Memnon was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces designed for that expedition.

Darius could not possibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ablest general in his service, had fought a great many years under the Persian standards with the utmost fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his master's interests after that misfortune, but had assembled the scattered remains of the army, and immediately withdrew first to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly into the island of Cos, where he was when he received his new commission. This place was the rendezvous for the fleet: and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his design into execution. He made himself master of the island of Chios, and all Lesbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Euboea, and to make Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war, but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could possibly have happened to Persia. We see on this occasion the inestimable worth of a man of merit, whose death is sometimes the ruin of a state. The loss of Memnon frustrated the execution of the plan he had formed: for Darius not having one general in his army who was able to supply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterprise which could have saved his empire. His sole resource, therefore, now lay in the armies of the East. Darius, dissatisfied with all his generals, resolved to command in person, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army: where, upon being mustered, they were found to be about 4, 5, or 600,000 men, for historians differ very much with respect to the number.

Alexander, having left Gordium, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced by hasty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called Cyrus's camp.¹ From thence there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow defile, through which persons are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few soldiers in it, and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confessed that he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones; for, not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men completely armed could scarcely walk abreast in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only narrow, but broken up in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the very instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his deriving any benefit from the plunder of so opulent a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved; the Barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are clear and limpid; but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are overshadowed. It was now about the end of summer, which is excessively sultry in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with sweat and dust, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe

in that river, invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the standers-by fancied he was dying. Upon this he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this sad disaster threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. They all burst into tears, and breathed their plaints in the following words: "The greatest prince that ever lived is torn from us in the midst of his prosperity and conquests; not in a battle, or at the storming of a city, but dies by his bathing in a river. Darius, who is coming up with us, will conquer before he has seen his enemy. We shall be forced to retire, like so many fugitives, through those very countries which we entered with triumph; and as the places through which we must pass are either desert or depopulated, hunger alone, should we meet no other enemy, will itself destroy us. But who shall guide us in our flight, or dare to set himself up in Alexander's stead? And should we be so happy as to arrive at the Hellespont, how shall we furnish ourselves with vessels to cross it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themselves, they cried aloud. "Alas, how sad is it that he was our king, and the companion of our toils; a king in the flower of his youth, and in the course of his greatest prosperity, should be taken off, and in a manner torn from our arms!"

At last the king recovered his senses by degrees, and began to know the persons who stood round him; though the only symptom he gave of his recovery was, his being sensible of his illness. But he was more indisposed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might soon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus exposed naked and defenceless to his enemy, and robbed of so noble a victory, since he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obscurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promised himself. Having ordered his confidential friends and physicians to come into his tent, "You see," said he, "my friends, the sad extremity to which fortune reduces me. Methinks I already hear the sound of the enemy's arms, and see Darius advancing. He undoubtedly held intelligence with my evil genius,² when he wrote letters to his lieutenants in so lofty and contemptuous a strain; however, he shall not obtain his desire, provided my physicians will attempt to cure me in the manner I desire. The present condition of my affairs will not admit either of slow remedies or fearful physicians. A speedy death is more eligible to me than a slow cure. In case the physicians think it is in their power to do me any good, they are to know that I do not so much wish to live as to fight."

This sudden impatience of the king spread a universal alarm. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; especially as Darius had published, that he would reward with 1000 talents³ the man who should kill Alexander. However, Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign, but his child: raising himself (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dose, which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and desired three days to prepare it. At this proposal every one trembled, but he alone whom it most concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

While these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cap-

¹ Quintus Curtius supposes it to be so called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the younger Cyrus, which opinion appears the most probable.

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² Darius, who imagined himself sure of overcoming Alexander, had written to his lieutenants, that they should chase this young madman; and after clothing him in purple, out of derision, they should send him, bound hand and foot to the court. *Freinsheim in Quint. Curt.*

³ About 145,000*l.* sterling.

padocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of 1000 talents and his sister in marriage. This letter gave him great uneasiness,¹ for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a physician, whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. He folded up the letter, and put it under his bolster, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander, taking the letter from under the bolster, gives it Philip to read. At the same time he takes the cup, and fixing his eyes on the physician, swallows the draught without the least hesitation, or without discovering the slightest suspicion or uneasiness. Philip, as he perused the letter, had showed greater signs of indignation than of fear or surprise; and throwing himself upon the king's bed—"Royal Sir," says he, with a resolute tone of voice, your recovery will soon clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be easy in your own mind; and suffer the draught to operate, and not regard the intelligence you have received from servants, who indeed have shown their zeal for your welfare; a zeal, however, very indiscreet and unseasonable." These words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; so, taking Philip by the hand, "Be you yourself easy," says he to him, "for I believe you are disquieted upon a double account; first, for my recovery, and secondly, for your own justification."

In the mean time, the physic worked so violently, that the accidents which attended it strengthened Parmenio's accusation; for the king lost his speech, and was seized with such strong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulse left, or the least symptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of physic to recover him, and in every lucid interval diverted him with agreeable subjects; conversing with him at one time about his mother and sisters, and another about the mighty victory which was advancing, with hasty steps, to crown his past triumphs. At last the physician's art having gained the ascendant, and diffused through every vein a salutary and vivific virtue; his mind first began to resume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much sooner than had been expected. Three days after, he showed himself to the army, who were never satisfied with gazing upon him, and could scarce believe their eyes; so much had the greatness of the danger terrified and dejected them. No caresses were enough for the physician; every one embracing him with the utmost tenderness, and returning him thanks as to a god, who had saved the life of their sovereign.

Besides the respect which these people had naturally for their kings, words can never express how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the strong affection they bore him.

They were persuaded, that he did not undertake any thing without the immediate assistance of the gods; and as success always attended his designs, even his rashness conducted to his glory, and seemed to have something divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of such mighty enterprises, and which, however, overcame all difficulties, gave a fresh merit and a brighter lustre to his actions.² Besides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the soldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander; such as his taking delight in bodily exercises; his discovering a skill and excellency in them; his going clothed like the common soldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himself with inferiors, without lessening his dignity: his sharing in

toils and dangers with the most laborious and intrepid; qualities which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflection, made him equally beloved and respected by his soldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of vain confidence in the immense number of his troops, and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their disparity in that point. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of availing himself of the advantage which numbers gave him. But, led astray by his arrogance, he entangles himself in narrow passes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, would only encumber one another; and advances towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited, and runs visibly to his own destruction. Nevertheless, the grandees of his court, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would soon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked him, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclination of a prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: "Possibly, Sir, you may not be pleased with my telling you the truth; but, in case I do not do it now, it will be too late hereafter. This splendid parade of war, this prodigious number of men which has drained all the East, might indeed be formidable to your neighbours. Gold and purple glitter in every part of your army, which is so prodigiously splendid, that those who have not seen it, could never form an idea of its magnificence. But the soldiers who compose the Macedonian army, terrible to behold, and bristling in every part with arms, do not amuse themselves with such idle show. Their only care is to draw up in a regular manner their battalions, and to cover themselves close with their bucklers and pikes. Their phalanx is a body of infantry, which engages without flinching; and keeps so close in their ranks, that the soldiers and their arms form a kind of impenetrable work. In a word, every single man among them, the officers as well as soldiers, are so well trained, so attentive to the command of their leaders, that, whether they are to assemble under their standards to turn to the right or left, to double their ranks, and face about to the enemy on all sides, at the least signal they make every motion and evolution of the art of war. But that you may be persuaded, these Macedonians are not invited hither from the hopes of gaining gold and silver;³ know, that this excellent discipline has subsisted hitherto by the sole aids and precepts of poverty. Are they hungry? they satisfy their appetite with any kind of food. Are they weary? they repose themselves on the bare ground, and in the day-time are always upon their feet. Do you fancy that the Thessalian cavalry, and that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who are all armed cap-a-pié, are to be repulsed by stones hurled from slings, and with sticks burnt at the end? Troops like themselves will be necessary to check their career; and succours must be procured from their country to oppose them. Send therefore thither all the useless gold and silver which I see here, and purchase with it formidable soldiers." Darius⁴ was naturally of a mild, tractable disposition; but good fortune will corrupt the most happy temper. Few monarchs are resolute and courageous enough to withstand their own power, to repulse the flattery of the many people who are perpetually inflaming their passions, and to esteem a man who loves them so well, as to contradict and displease them, by

¹ Ingen. e. animo sollicitudinem literæ incusserant; et quicquid in utramque partem aut metus aut spes subjecerat, secretâ estimatione pensabat. Q. Curt.

² Quo leviora haberi solent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgè sunt. Q. Curt.

³ Et ne auri argentique studio teneri iutes, adhuc illa disciplina, pauperumque magistra stetit. Q. Curt.

⁴ Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam suorum naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Q. Curt.

telling them the genuine truth. Darius, not having strength of mind sufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection, was at that time his guest; and gave him at that time the best counsel that could have been proposed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not silence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his usual freedom: "My avenger is at hand, in the person of that very man in opposition to whom I gave you counsel, and he will soon punish you for despising it. As for you, Darius, in whom sovereign power has wrought so sudden a change, you will teach posterity, that when once men abandon themselves to the delusion of fortune, she erases from their minds all the seeds of goodness implanted in them by nature." Darius soon repented his having put to death so valuable a person; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a custom long used by the Persians, never to set out upon a march till after sunrise, at which time the trumpet was sounded for that purpose from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the sun set in crystal. The order they observed in their march was this.

First, were carried silver altars, on which lay the fire, called by them sacred and eternal; and these were followed by the Magi, singing hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by 365 youths (agreeable to the number of days in a year) clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a car consecrated to Jupiter,² drawn by white horses, and followed by a courier of prodigious size, to which they gave the name of the sun's horse; and the equeuries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called *The Immortals*, amounting to 10,000, who surpassed the rest of the Barbarians in the sumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tissue, with surtouts (having sleeves to them) adorned with precious stones.

Thirty paces from them, followed those called the king's cousins or relations,³ to the number of 15,000, in habits very much resembling those of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress than the glitter of their arms.

Those called the Doryphori⁴ came after: they carried the king's cloak and walked before his chariot, in which he appeared seated as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues a cubit in height, the one representing War, the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious stones, on which were represented two falcons rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a golden girdle,⁵ after the manner of women, whence his scabbard hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each side of him walked 200 of his nearest re-

lations, followed by 10,000 pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with silver and tipped with gold; and lastly, 30,000 infantry, who composed the rear guard. These were followed by the king's horses, (400 in number,) all which were led.

About 100, or 120 paces from thence, came Sysigambis, Darius's mother, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another, with the several female attendants of both queens riding on horse-back. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem with those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of 360, in the equipage of queens, followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the sutlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the description of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the least reason would have been so stupid, as to incorporate with their forces so cumbersome a train of women, princesses, concubines, eunuchs, and domestics of both sexes? But the custom of the country was reason sufficient. Darius, at the head of 600,000 men, and surrounded with this mighty pomp, prepared for himself alone, fancied he was great, and formed still higher notions of himself. Yet should we reduce him to his just proportion and his personal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the same judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

SECTION V.—ALEXANDER GAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY OVER DARIUS, NEAR THE CITY OF ISSUS. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT VICTORY.

FOR the clearer understanding of Alexander's march, and that of Darius, A. M. 3671. us, and the better fixing the situation Ant. J. C. 333. of the spot where the second battle was fought, we must distinguish three defiles or passes. The first of these is immediately at the descent from mount Taurus,⁶ in the way to the city of Tarsus, through which, as has been already seen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The second is the pass of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the pass of Amanus, so called from that mountain. This pass, which leads into Cilicia from Assyria, is much higher than the pass of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, in order to secure a free passage for his army. As for himself, after marching from Tarsus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is said to have built. His tomb was still to be seen in that city with this inscription, "*Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarsus in one day: GO, PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING.*" From hence he came to Soli, where he offered sacrifices to Esculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himself headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there solemnized games; after which he returned to Tarsus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the Aleian plains, towards the river Pyramus, he himself went with the infantry and his life-guards to Magarsus, whence he arrived at Mallos, and afterwards at Castabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochos in Assyria, two days' journey from Cilicia. Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to lead them

¹ *Tu quidem licentiâ regni subitò mutatus, documentum eris posteris, homines, cum se permiserint fortune, etiam naturam desicere.* Q. Curt.

² Jupiter was a god unknown to the Persians. Quintus Curtius, therefore, in all probability, calls the first and greatest of their gods by that name.

³ This was a title of dignity. Possibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body.

⁴ These were guards who carried a half-pike

⁵ Cidarlis

⁶ Diod. l. xvii. p. 512—518. Arrian. i. li. p. 66—82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4—12. Justin. l. xi. c. 9. & 19.

against the enemy, he set out the next day to meet the Persians. Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. The king left the sick in Issus, marched his whole army through the pass, and encamped near the city of Myriandros, where the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Assyria, which were of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his service, and formed the chief strength of his army, advised him to wait there the coming up of the enemy. For, besides that this spot was open on all sides, and very advantageous for his horse, it was spacious enough to contain his numerous host, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he should not approve of their counsel, they then advised him to separate this multitude, and select such only as were the flower of his troops; and consequently not venture his whole army upon a single battle, which perhaps might be decisive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian observes, for ever abound, called these Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counselling the king to divide his troops was, that, after they should once be separated from the rest, they might have an easier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy's hands whatever might be in their power; but that the safest way would be, to surround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as a memorable example of the punishment due to traitors. This proposal was shocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane disposition. He therefore answered, "That he was far from ever designing to commit so horrible a crime; that should he be guilty of it, no nation would afterwards give the least credit to his promises; that it was never known that a person had been put to death for giving imprudent counsel; that no man would ever venture to give his opinion, if it were attended with such danger, a circumstance that would be of the most fatal consequence to princes." He then thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good will, and condescended to lay before them the reasons which prompted him not to follow their advice.

The courtiers had persuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Persian army had filled him (for they had not heard a word of his indisposition;) that fortune, merely for their sake, had led Alexander into defiles and narrow passes, whence it would be impossible for him to get out, in case they should fall upon him immediately; that they ought to seize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy should fly, by which means Alexander would escape them. Upon this, it was resolved in council, that the army should march in search of him; the gods, says an historian,¹ blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might rush down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the destruction of the Persian monarchy.

Darius, having sent his treasure with his most precious effects to Damascus, a city of Syria, under a small convoy, marched the main body of the army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the pass of Amanus, which lies far above the passes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princesses his daughters, and the little prince his son, followed the army, according to the custom of the Persians, but remained in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia (from east westward) he turned short towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been assured that this prince fled before him, and was retiring in great disorder into Syria; and therefore Darius was now considering how he might best pursue him. He barbarously put to death all the

sick who were in the city of Issus, a few soldiers excepted, whom he dismissed after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be spectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. These soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he desired more earnestly. But he himself was soon an eye-witness to the truth of it, upon which he began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the Barbarians were so numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and palisades, discovering an incredible joy to see his desire fulfilled, which was to engage in those passes, whither the gods seemed to have led Darius expressly to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this spot of ground, which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in some measure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless, Alexander, as frequently happens even to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw, that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing, that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went to the top of a mountain,² and there, by torch-light, sacrificed after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater speed, arrived by day break at the several posts assigned them; but now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peasants in the greatest terror came also and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed that Alexander fled before him, and was endeavouring to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion, who in that surprise ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Issus, and was bounded by mountains on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain, that was situated between them both, must have been of considerable extent, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before observed, that Darius's was vastly numerous. The river Pinarus ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulf, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountain, the *Argyraspides*,³ commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then

¹ The ancients used to offer up their sacrifices upon eminences.

² This was a body of infantry, distinguished by their shield, but more so by their great bravery.

³ Meminem stolidum consilium capite: lucte debere defuturos enim qui suaderent, et suasisse periculum esset. Q. Curt.

² Arrian.

that of Ptolemy, and lastly, that of Melenger. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct corps or brigades. Each of those brigades was headed by able generals; but Alexander was always commander-in-chief, and directed all the movements. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians with the Thessalians, on the right, and those of Peloponnesus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot of the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the Barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, in order to be out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse of his right wing with the light horse of Protonachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the Agrians¹ (commanded by Attalus,) who were greatly esteemed, and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those which Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle array, he commanded 30,000 horse and 20,000 bowmen to cross the river Pinarus, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the centre he posted the 30,000 Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with 30,000 Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. These were all heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It were to be wished that Arrian had told us the depth of those two lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the amazing multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted 20,000 men, who were so ranged (in consequence of the several windings of the mountain) that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having set his army in battle array, made his horse cross the river again, and despatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage: the rest of his cavalry he sent to the left towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the centre of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

Alexander, observing that most of the enemy's horse was to oppose his left wing, which consisted only of those of Peloponnesus, and of some other allies, detached immediately to it the Thessalian cavalry, which he caused to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being seen by the Barbarians. On the same side (the left) he posted before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitalces (a king of Thrace,) who were covered by the horse. The foreigners in his service were behind all the rest.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend so far as the left of the Persians, which might surround and attack it in flank, he drew from the centre of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being seen by the enemy. He also reinforced that wing with the forces which he had opposed to the Barbarians on the mountains; for, seeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and some other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the summit of it; so that he left only 300 horse to keep them in check, and sent the rest, as I ob-

served, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means extended farther than that of the Persians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath; so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late: for Darius still continued with his army on the other side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation of his post; and even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy to be secured with palisades, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in sight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their several names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. To the Macedonians he represented, "the victories they had formerly gained in Europe; the still recent glory of the battle of the Granicus; the great number of cities and provinces they had left behind them, all which they had subdued."

He added, that "one single victory would make them masters of the Persian empire; and that the spoils of the East would be the reward of their bravery and toils." The Greeks he animated, "by the remembrance of the many calamities the Persians (those irreconcilable enemies to Greece) had brought upon them; and set before them the famous battles of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamis, of Plateæ, and the many others by which they had acquired immortal glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who used to subsist by plunder and rapine, "view the enemy's army, every part of which shone with gold and purple, and was not loaded so much with arms as with booty: that they therefore should push forward (they who were men,) and strip all those women of their ornaments; and exchange their mountains, covered perpetually with ice and snow, for the smiling plains and rich fields of Persia." The moment he had ended, the whole army set up a shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals: but when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that they might surprise the barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all of which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and being now forced to fight close, they charged on both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and of a commander, wishing nothing so ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before; so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above all the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about; and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who, afraid of falling alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The rest, observing this, fled as fast as possible, and throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill consequences.

Whilst part of the Macedonian infantry (posted to the right) were pursuing the advantage they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them

¹ Agria was a city between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope.

who engaged the Greeks met with greater resistance. These observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalized themselves with the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between these two nations (the Greeks and Macedonians) which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very vigorous. On Alexander's side, Ptolemy the son of Seleucus lost his life, with 120 other considerable officers, who all had behaved with the utmost gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, charged them vigorously; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Persian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had crossed the river, and rushed upon the Thessalian horse, several of whose squadrons were broken by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuosity of the first charge, and induce the Persians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as if terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Persians seeing this, were filled with boldness and confidence, and thereupon the greatest part of them advancing without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this, the Thessalians seeing them in such confusion, faced about on a sudden, and renewed the fight with fresh ardour. The Persians made a brave defence, till they saw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Persian cavalry completed the defeat of the army. The Persian horse suffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in disorder, and crowded in great numbers through the defiles, they bruised and unhorsed one another, and were more annoyed by their own soldiers than by the enemy. Besides the Thessalian cavalry pursued them with so much fury, that they were as much shattered as the infantry and lost as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before observed, the instant he saw his left wing broke, he was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Persian horse put to flight; and this allowed the fugitive monarch to gain the start of his pursuers considerably.

About 8000 of the Greeks that were in Darius's service (with their officers at their head, who were very brave,) retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where, finding the transports which had brought them from Lesbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as suited their purpose, and burnt the rest, to prevent their being pursued.

As for the Barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner; and being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways. Some struck into the high road which led directly to Persia, others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Syagambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's

queen, who was also his sister, had remained in it with two of the king's daughters, a son of his (a child) and some Persian ladies. For the rest of the women had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than 3000 talents¹ were found in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damascus.

Alexander, weary of pursuing Darius, seeing night draw on, and that it would be impossible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign.

The Persians,² either in the engagement or the rout, lost a great number of their forces, both horse and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's side.

That very evening he invited the grantees of his court, and his chief officers, to a feast, at which he himself was present, notwithstanding the wound he had received, it having only grazed the skin. But they were no sooner set down at table, than they heard from a neighbouring tent, a great noise, intermixed with groans, which frightened all the company; inasmuch that the soldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an insurrection. But it was found, that the persons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the rest of the captive ladies, who, supposing that prince dead, bewailed his loss, according to the custom of the Barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. A eunuch, who had seen Darius's cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards stript him of that garment, had carried them that false account.

It is said that Alexander, upon being told the reason of this false alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he considered the sad calamity of Darius, and the tender disposition of those princesses, who seemed to have forgotten their own misfortunes, and to be sensible of his alone. He thereupon sent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to assure them, that the man whose death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus taking some soldiers with him, came to the tent of the princesses, and sent word, that he was come to pay them a visit in the king's name. The persons who were at the entrance of the tent, seeing a band of armed men, imagined that their mistresses were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their last hour was come, and that soldiers were despatched to murder them; so that these princesses being seized with the utmost distraction, did not make the least answer, but waited in deep silence for the orders of the conqueror. At last, Leonatus having staid a long time, and seeing no one appear, left his soldiers at the door, and came into the tent; but their terror increased when they saw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themselves at his feet, and entreated, that "before he put them to death, they might be allowed to bury Darius after the manner of their country; and that when they had paid this last duty to their king, they should die contented." Leonatus answered, that "Darius was living; and that, so far from giving them any offence, they should be treated as queens, and live in their former splendour." Syagambis hearing this, began to recover her spirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raise her from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in presence of the whole army, drawn up in order of battle, in their richest accoutrements. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever persons

¹ About 440,000*l.* sterling.

² According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Persians lost 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. And the former historian relates, that no more than 150 horse and 300 foot were lost on Alexander's side, which does not seem very probable.

she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practised in her country. However, this prudent princess used that permission in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with such a modesty and reserve as she thought suited her present condition. The king testified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, especially to the chief officers, whose actions he applauded in the strongest terms, as well those of which he himself had been an eye-witness, as those which had been only related to him; and he made presents to all, according to their merit and rank.

After Alexander had performed these several duties, truly worthy of a great monarch, he sent a message to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a visit; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæstion. He was his favourite; and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed all his secrets to him; and nobody else dared to speak so freely to him; but even Hephæstion made so cautious and discreet a use of that liberty, that he seemed to take it, not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king, who would have it so. They were of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him at first for the king, and paid him their respects as such: but some captive eunuchs showing them Alexander, Sysigambis fell prostrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as she had never seen him, she hoped that consideration would plead her apology. The king, raising her from the ground, replied, "Dear mother, you are not mistaken, for he also is Alexander;" a fine expression,¹ which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have justly merited the title of Great; but fortune had not yet corrupted his mind.² He bore her at first with moderation and wisdom; but at last she overpowered him, and he became unable to resist her.

Sysigambis, strongly affected with these marks of goodness and humanity, could not forbear testifying her gratitude upon that account.—"Great prince," said she to him, "what words shall I find to express my thanks, in such a manner as may answer your generosity! You call me your mother, and honour me still with the title of queen, whereas I confess myself your captive. I know what I have been, and what I now am.³ I know the whole extent of my past grandeur, and find I can support all the weight of my present ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you now have an absolute power over us, to make us feel it by your clemency only, and not by ill treatment."

The king, after comforting the princesses, took Darius's son in his arms. The little child, without discovering the least terror, embraced Alexander, who being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephæstion, said to him: "O that Darius had had some portion of his tender disposition!"

It is certain that Alexander, in this beginning of his career, behaved in such a manner, that he surpassed, in clemency and goodness, all the kings his predecessors; and proved himself superior to a passion which conquers and enslaves the strongest. Darius's consort was the most lovely princess in the world, as Darius himself was the most beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and most majestic shape; and the princesses their daughters resembled them. They were, says Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a sacred temple, and a sanctuary assigned for the asylum of chastity and modesty, in which all the princesses lived so

retired, that they were not seen by any person, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the first visit above mentioned, which was a respectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid exposing himself to the dangers of human frailty, took a solemn resolution never to visit Darius's queen any more. He himself informs us of this memorable circumstance,⁴ in a letter written by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians who had forced the wives of some foreign soldiers. In this letter, the following words occur: "For, as to myself, it will be found that I neither even saw, nor would see, the wife of Darius; and did not suffer any person to speak of her beauty before me." We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious, and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been observed of the first Scipio on a like occasion.⁵ *El juvenis, et caelebs, et victor.*

To conclude, he treated these princesses with such humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them sensible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they possessed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexander, but that trust and confidence, which no one can repose in an enemy, how kindly soever he behaves.

SECTION VI.—ALEXANDER MARCHES VICTORIOUS INTO SYRIA. THE TREASURES DEPOSITED IN DAMASCUS ARE DELIVERED TO HIM. DARIUS WRITES A LETTER TO ALEXANDER IN THE MOST HAUGHTY TERMS, WHICH HE ANSWERS IN THE SAME STYLE. THE GATES OF THE CITY OF SIDON ARE OPENED TO HIM. ABDOLONYMUS IS PLACED UPON THE THRONE AGAINST HIS WILL. ALEXANDER LAYS SIEGE TO TYRE, WHICH, AFTER HAVING MADE A VIGOROUS DEFENCE OF SEVEN MONTHS, IS TAKEN BY STORM. THE FULFILLING OF DIFFERENT PROPHECIES RELATING TO TYRE.

ALEXANDER set out towards Syria,⁶ after having consecrated three altars. A. M. 3672 on the river Pinarus, the first to Jupiter. Ant. J. C. 332 ter, the second to Hercules, and the third to Minerva, as so many monuments of his victory. He had sent Parmenio to Damascus, in which Darius's treasure was deposited.⁷ The governor of the city, betraying his sovereign, from whom he had now no farther expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treasure and other rich stores of Darius. But being desirous of covering his treason with a specious pretext, he pretended that he was not secure in the city, so caused, by day-break, all the money and the richest things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, seemingly with intention to secure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addressed to the king. At the first sight of the forces which this general headed, those who carried the burdens being frightened, threw them down, and fled away, as did the soldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himself, who appeared more terrified than the rest. On this occasion immense riches were seen scattered up and down the fields; all the gold and silver designed to pay so great an army: the splendid equipages of so many great lords and ladies; the golden vases and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers; in a word, whatever the long prosperity and frugality of so many kings had amassed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the most moving part of this sad scene was to see the wives of the satraps and grandees of Persia, most of whom dragged their little children after them; so much the greater objects of compassion, as they were less sensible of their misfortune. Among

¹ Libertatis quoque in eo admonendo non alius jus habebat: quod tamen ita usurpabat, ut magis à rege permissum quam vindictam ab eo videretur. *Quint. Curt.*

² O donum inclytæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti speciosum! *Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.*

³ Sed nondum fortuna se animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem cum moderatè et prudenter tulit: ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. *Quint. Curt.*

⁴ Et præteritæ fortunæ fastidium capio, et præsentia jugum pati possum. *Quint. Curt.*

⁵ Plut. in Alex. * Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

⁶ Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. *Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.*

⁷ [The march of Parmenio to Damascus must have been very rapid, as he accomplished it in four days, the direct distance from Issus being at least 230 British miles.]

these were three young princesses, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greatest lord of the court, and his son Ilioneus. There were also taken prisoners the wife and son of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coasts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and son of Memnon, that illustrious general; indeed, there was scarcely one noble family in all Persia but shared in this calamity.

There also were found in Damascus the ambassadors of the Grecian cities, particularly those of Lacedæmon and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a safe asylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Besides money and plate, which was afterwards coined and amounted to immense sums, 30,000 men and 7000 beasts laden with baggage were taken. Parmenio,¹ in his letter to Alexander, informs him that he found in Damascus 329 of Darius's concubines, all admirably well skilled in music; and also a multitude of officers, whose business was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; such as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and essences, to dress viands, to make the pastry, to preside over the wine cellars, to give out the wine, and similar offices. There were 492 of these officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to meet his ruin!

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of so mighty and splendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a desert of vast solitude. This ill-fated prince rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants: for all had not taken the same road, and most of those who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horses. At last he arrived at Sochos,² where he assembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to 4000 men, including Persians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all possible haste to Thapsacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damascus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewise of the captives. Most of the cities of Syria surrendered at the first approach of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathos, he received a letter from Darius, in which he styled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. He commanded rather than entreated him, "to ask any sum of money he should think proper, by way of ransom for his mother, his wife, and children: that with regard to their dispute for the empire, he might, if he thought proper, decide it in one general battle, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops; but that in case he were still capable of complying with good advice, he would recommend to him to rest contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another; that they might henceforward live as good friends and faithful allies; that he himself was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and to receive Alexander's oath."

This letter, which breathed so unseasonable a pride and haughtiness, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following answer: "Alexander the king to Darius, the ancient Darius, whose name you assume, in former times entirely ruined the Greeks, who inhabit the coasts of the Hellespont, and the Ionians, our ancient colonies. He next crossed the sea at the head of a powerful army, and carried the war into the very heart of Macedonia and Greece. After him, Xerxes made another descent with a dreadful number of Barbarians, in order to fight us; and having been overcome in a naval engagement, he left, at his retreating, Mardonius in Greece, who plundered our cities, and laid waste our plains. But who has not heard that Philip, my father, was assassinated by wretches suborned thereto by your partisans, in hopes

of a great reward? For it is customary with the Persians to undertake impious wars, and when armed in the field, to set a price upon the heads of their enemies. And even you yourself, very lately, though at the head of a vast army, promised nevertheless 1000 talents to any person who should kill me. I therefore only defend myself, and am not the aggressor. And consequently the gods, who always declare for the just cause, have favoured my arms; and, aided by their protection, I have subjected a great part of Asia, and defeated you, Darius, in a pitched battle. However, though I ought not to grant any request you make, since you have not acted fairly in this war nevertheless, in case you will appear before me in a supplicating posture, I will give you my word, that I will restore to you, without any ransom, your mother, your wife, and children. I will let you see that I know how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered.³ If you are afraid of surrendering yourself to me, I now assure you, upon my honour, that you may do it without the least danger. But remember, when you next write to me, that you write not only to a king, but to your king." Thersippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced, but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After he was returned into Persia, those of the citizens, who, upon account of their traffic, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned hither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained such an abhorrence of the Persians, on account of this barbarous act, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke: and consequently they were the first in that country who sent to make their submission to the conqueror, in opposition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two young men who were brothers, and of the most considerable family in that city; to these he offered the crown; but they refused it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne unless he were of the blood royal. Hephæstion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contend what others strive to obtain by fire and sword: "Continue," says he to them, "in this way of thinking; you, who are the first that ever were sensible that it is much more glorious to refuse a diadem than to accept it. However, name me some person of the royal family, who may remember, when he is king, that it was you who set the crown on his head." The brothers observing that several through excessive ambition aspired to this high station, and to obtain it paid a servile court to Alexander's favourites, declared that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though remotely, from the royal line; but who at the same time was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day labour in a garden without the city. His honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to such extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour he did not hear the clashing of the arms which had shaken all Asia.

Immediately the two brothers went in search of Abdolonymus, with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then saluted him king, and one of them addressed him thus: "You must now change your tatters for a dress I have brought you. Put off the mean and contemptible habit in which you have grown old;⁴ assume the sentiments of a

¹ Et vincere et consiliorum victis scio. Q. Curt.

² Cape Regis animum, et in eam fortunam quâ dignus es, istam continentiam profer. Et, cum in regali solio resideris, vite necisque omnium civium dominas, cave obliviscaris hujus status in quo accipis regnum, in d. hercule, propter quem. Quint. Curt.

¹ Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.

² This city was two or three days' journey from the place where the battle was fought.

prince; but when you are seated on the throne, continue to preserve the virtue which made you worthy of it. And when you shall have ascended it, and by that means become the supreme dispenser of life and death over all your citizens, be sure never to forget the condition in which, or rather for which, you were elected." Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and, unable to guess the meaning of it, asked if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations; they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but some murmured, especially the rich, who, despising Abdolonymus's former abject state, could not forbear showing their resentment upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new elected prince to be sent for, and after surveying him attentively a long time, spoke thus: "Thy¹ air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty?" "Would to the gods," replied he, "that I may bear this crown with equal fortitude. These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander a high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, but with part of the Persian plunder, and likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted.² This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted of being the first that invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the convenience and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master; so that when he discovered a desire of entering their city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, its tutelary god, they refused him admission. But this conqueror, after gaining so many victories, had too haughtily a spirit to put up with such an affront, and thereupon was resolved to force them to it by siege, which they, on the other side, were determined to sustain with the utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a league³ from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall 150 feet high, which the waves of the sea washed: and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre,) a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city, offering to Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this that made them so haughty. Firmly determined not to

surrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build workshops for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city: so that every part resounded with the noise of warlike preparations. They likewise made iron grapples to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as also cramp-irons, and such like instruments, invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined that there were essential reasons why he should possess himself of Tyre. He was sensible that he could not invade Egypt easily, so long as the Persians should be masters of the sea, nor pursue Darius with safety, in case he should leave behind him so large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or suspected to be so. He likewise was afraid, lest some insurrection should break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken in his absence the maritime cities of Asia Minor, and increased their fleet, might make his country the seat of war while he was employed in pursuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. These apprehensions were the more justly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly against him, and the Athenians sided with him more out of fear than affection. But, in case he should conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then subject to him, he would be able to dispossess the Persians of half their naval army, which consisted of the fleet of that province; and would soon make himself master of the island of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not resist him the instant he was become master at sea.

On the other side, it should seem, that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Issus, ought to have pursued Darius vigorously, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him nor allowed him time to raise a new army; the success of the enterprise, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and superior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in case Alexander should fail in his attempt to take this city (which was not very unlikely,) he would discredit his own arms, would lose the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chastise the pride of Tyre, as will be seen hereafter, did not once permit those thoughts to enter mind; but determined him to lay siege to the place, in spite of all the difficulties which opposed so hazardous a design, and the many reasons which should have prompted him to pursue quite different measures.

It was impossible to come near this city in order to storm it, without making a causeway which would reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep away all his works. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling-ladders, nor erecting batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines, which might have been put on board the galleys, could not do much execution the waves were so very tumultuous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquishing the resolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few vessels he possessed lay at a great distance from him, and the siege of so strong a place might possibly last a long time, and so retard his other enterprises, he thought proper first to attempt an accommodation. Accordingly, he sent heralds, who proposed a peace between Alexander and their city; but these the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. Alexander, exasperated at so cruel an outrage, formed a resolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raising a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which stood on the continent, and was called Pto-

¹ *Corporis, inquit, habitus famæ generis non repugnat. Sed libet seire, incipiam quâ patientiâ tuleris. Tum ille: Unanim. inquit, eodem animo regnum pati possum! Hæ manus sufficere desiderio meo. Nihil habent, nihil deficit. Quint. Curt.*

² *Diod. l. xvii. p. 519—525. Arrian l. ii. p. 87—100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678 et 679. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin, l. xi. c. 10.*

³ Four furlongs.

⁴ The thought is beautiful and just. He considers the royal power as a burden, more difficult to be borne than poverty: *regnum pauperis*.

Tyrus, materials to make piers, and he took all the stones and rubbish from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far distant from it, so famous in Scripture for its cedars, furnished him with wood for piles and other timber work.

The soldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being animated by the presence of their sovereign, who himself gave out all the orders; and who, knowing perfectly how to insinuate himself into the good will,¹ and to gain the affections of his troops, excited some by praises, and others by slight reprimands, intermixed with kind expressions, and softened by promises. At first they advanced with pretty great speed, the piles being easily driven into the slime, which served as mortar for the stones; and as the place where these works were carrying on was at some distance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the shore, the greater difficulties they met with: because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy who were masters of the sea, coming forward in boats, and raking the dike on each side, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding insults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's soldiers, "That it was a noble sight to see those conquerors, whose names were so renowned all the world over, carrying burdens on their backs like so many beasts." And they would afterwards ask them in a contemptuous tone of voice, "Whether Alexander were greater than Neptune; and whether he pretended to prevail over that god?"

But these taunts did but inflame the courage of the soldiers. At last the causeway appeared above water, began to show a level of considerable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the besieged perceiving with terror the vastness of the work, which the sea had till then kept from their sight, came in barks in order to view the bank, which was not yet firm. These barks were full of slingers, bowmen, and others, who hurled javelins, and even fire; and being spread to the right and left about the bank, they shot on all sides upon the workmen, several of whom were wounded; it not being possible for them to ward off the blows, because of the great ease and swiftness with which the boats moved backwards and forwards; so that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themselves. It was therefore resolved, that skins and sails should be spread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other side, the Tyrians made a descent on the shore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed some soldiers, who cut to pieces those that carried the stones; and on mount Libanus there also were some Arabian peasants, who meeting the Macedonians straggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took prisoners very near the same number. These small losses obliged Alexander to separate his troops into different bodies.

The besieged, in the mean time employed every invention, every stratagem that could be devised, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a transport-vessel, and filling it with vine-branches and other dry materials, made a large enclosure near the prow, wherein they threw all these things, with sulphur and pitch, and other combustible matters. In the middle of this enclosure they set up two masts, to each of which they fixed two sail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and such like unctuous substances. They afterwards loaded the hinder part of the vessel with stones and sand, in order to raise the prow; and taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to sea by the assistance of their galleys. As soon as they were come near the towers, they set fire to the vessel, and drew it towards the extremity of the causeway. In the mean time, the sailors, who were in it, leaped into the sea and swam away. Immedi-

ately the fire caught, with great violence, the towers, and the rest of the works which were at the head of the causeway; and the sail-yards being driven backward and forward, threw oil upon the fire, and increased the flame. And, to prevent the Macedonians from extinguishing it, the Tyrians, who were in their galleys, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, insomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians lost their lives in a miserable manner on the causeway: being either shot through with arrows, or burned to death; whilst others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the sea. But as they were swimming away the Tyrians, choosing to take them alive, rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and stones; and after disabling them, carried them off. At the same time, the besieged, coming out of the city in little boats, beat down the edges of the causeway, tore up its stakes, and burned the rest of the engines.

Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected with his loss and disappointment. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the causeway; and made and plated new machines with such incredible celerity, as quite astonished the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities caused them to advance still more than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the bank that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water rushing through the stones, broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole sunk at once, as into an abyss.

Any other than Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprise; and indeed he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders, without being conscious of it, this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege, and dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments. For now the soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

Alexander was sensible that it would not be possible for him either to complete the causeway, or take the city, as long as the Tyrians should continue masters at sea. He therefore resolved to assemble before Sidon his few remaining galleys. At the same time, the kings of Aradus and Byblos,² hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Persian fleet, and joined him with their vessels, and those of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty sail. There arrived also, much about the same time, ten galleys from Rhodes, three from Soli and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Persian army had been defeated near the city of Issus, and that Alexander had possessed himself of Phœnicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of 120 galleys.

The king, whilst his soldiers were preparing the ships and engines, took some troops of horse, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus.³ The ten-

¹ Cities of Phœnicia.

² Antilibanus is not a mountain of Arabia, though now inhabited by many Arab tribes, but the ridge that separates Palestine from Syria. Opposite Tyre, the river Eleutherus, the modern Teitane, discharges itself into the sea. This stream, which rises a little to the north of Balbec, and the ancient Helipolis, divides the two chains of Libanus and Antilibanus, during its whole course of 70 geographical miles from north-east to south-west; the former being the chain that runs along the whole coast of Phœnicia, from south to north; and the latter running a parallel course with the former, terminating near the shore, a little to the

³ *Haudquaquam radis tractandi militares animos. Q. Curt.*

der regard he had for his old tutor, who was absolutely resolved to follow his pupil, exposed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lysimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his scholar, and called himself Phoenix.¹ When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horse, and began to walk. His troops got a considerable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and scarce able to walk, was by that means separated from his little army, accompanied only by a very few soldiers; and in this manner spent the whole night very near the enemy, who were so numerous, that they might easily have overpowered him. However, his usual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; so that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the strong places, either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, son of Ptolemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of 4000 Greeks from Peloponnesus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took some soldiers from among his guards, and these he embarked with him, in order to employ them in close fight with the enemy; and then set sail towards Tyre in order of battle. He himself was on the extremity of the right wing, which extended itself towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at first determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of these forces, and saw the army advance, which made a grand appearance (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming up of his left wing,) they kept all their galleys in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king saw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impossible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, because of the extreme narrowness of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of galleys, all whose prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only sunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the mole, along the shore, where his ships rode in safety.

Whilst all these things were doing, the new mole was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with a kind of unctuous earth, which served instead of mortar. Afterwards heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole thus joined together formed one entire body. This causeway was made wider than the former, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The besieged, on the other side, exerted themselves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to stop the progress of the work. But nothing was of so much service to them as their divers, who swimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew such branches to them as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great strength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one expedient by which the work was retarded; however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in its utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the causeway, in order to shake the walls with battering-rams, and hurl on the besieged arrows, stones, and burning torches.

south of Tyre. The space between these parallel ranges forms the valley of Syria, called by the Greek writers *Cœlo-Syria*, or the *Hollow Syria*. To the north-east of Balben and the source of the Eleutherus, rises the Orontes, the greatest river of Syria, which watered the once famous city of Antioch. It was the range on the opposite side of Eleuthera which Alexander visited.]

¹ It is well known that Phoenix was governor to Achilles.

At the same time, Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its station before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia before the harbour on the other side of the causeway facing Egypt; towards that part where his own tent was pitched, and made preparations for attacking the city on every side. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that side which lay towards the causeway, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportional breadth, the whole built with great stones cemented together with mortar. The access to any other part was very near as difficult, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great stones, to keep the enemy from approaching it. The business then was, first to draw these away, which could not be done but with the utmost difficulty, because the soldiers could not keep very firm on their legs in the ships. Besides, the Tyrians advanced with covered galleys, and cut the cables which held the ships at anchor: so that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, several vessels of thirty rowers each, and to station these across, to secure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian galleys. But still the divers came and cut them unperceived, so that they were at last forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew these stones with cable-ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the sea, where it was not possible for them to do any farther mischief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the vessels had very easy access to it. In this manner the Tyrians were invested on all sides, and attacked at the same time both by sea and land.

The Macedonians had joined (two and two) galleys of four banks of oars in such a manner, that the prows were fastened, and the sterns so far distant one from the other, as was necessary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one stern to the other sail-yards, which were fastened together by planks laid across, in order for the soldiers to stand fast on that space. The galleys being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and shot (under covert) against those who defended the walls, the prows serving them as so many parapets. The king caused them to advance about midnight, in order to surround the walls, and make a general assault. The Tyrians now gave themselves up for lost, when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before dated through the gloom. The sea rises by insensible degrees; and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, raise a dreadful storm. The vessels dash one against the other with so much violence, that the cables, which before fastened them together, are either loosened or break to pieces; the planks split, and, making a horrible crash, carry off the soldiers with them; for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer galleys thus fastened together. The soldier was a hindrance to the sailor, and the sailor to the soldier; and, as happens on such occasions, those took the command whose business it was to obey; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confusion. But now the rowers exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they got the better of the sea, and seemed to rescue by main force the ships from the waves. At last they brought them near the shore, but the greatest part in a shattered condition.

At the same time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambassadors from Carthage, who did not bring the least succours, though they had promised such mighty things. Instead of this, they only made excuses, declaring that it was with the greatest grief the Carthaginians found themselves absolutely unable to assist the Tyrians in any manner; for that they themselves were engaged in a war, not as before for empire, but to save their country. And indeed the Syracusans were laying waste all Africa at that time with powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though

² See the history of Carthage.

the great hopes they had conceived were thus frustrated, were no ways dejected. They only took the wise precaution of sending most of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themselves might be in a condition to defend themselves to the last extremity, and bear more courageously the greatest calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a secure asylum, what they most valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen statue of Apollo, of an enormous size. This colossus had formerly stood in the city of Gela in Sicily. The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Christ,¹ had given it, by way of present, to the city of Tyre, which they always considered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had set it up in their city, and worship was paid to it. During the siege, in consequence of a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they fastened with a gold chain his statue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the deity from leaving them. For these people were silly enough to believe, that after his statue was thus fastened down, it would not be possible for him to make his escape; and that he would be prevented from doing so by Hercules, the tutelary god of the city. What a strange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians proposed the restoring of a sacrifice which had been discontinued for many ages; and this was, to sacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this sacrilegious custom from their founders, preserved it till the destruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were invested with the greatest authority in Tyre, opposed the design, this cruelly superstitious custom would have prevailed over every sentiment of humanity.

The Tyrians, finding their city exposed every moment to be taken by storm, resolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor on the side towards Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the seamen of Alexander's fleet were dispersed up and down; and when he himself was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the sea-shore. Accordingly they came out, about noon, with thirteen galleys, all manned with choice soldiers who were used to sea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's vessels. Part of them they found empty, and the rest had been manned in great haste. Some of these they sunk, and drove several of them against the shores, where they were dashed to pieces. The loss would have been still greater, had not Alexander, the instant he heard of this sally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable despatch against the Tyrians. However, these did not wait his coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having also lost some of their ships.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged, taught and animated by the imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy. They ward off all the darts discharged from the ballistas against them by the assistance of turning-wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by setting up a kind of sails and curtains made of a soft substance, which easily gave way. To annoy the ships which advanced against their walls, they fixed cranes, grappling-irons, and scythes, to joists or beams; then straining their catapultas (an enormous kind of cross-bows,) they laid those great pieces of timber upon them instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy. These crushed some to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or pensile scythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships. They also had brazen shields, which they

drew red-hot out of the fire; and filing *these* with burning sand, hurled them in an instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention; for the moment this burning sand got to the flesh through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close, that there was no pulling it off; so that the soldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the enemy.

It was then that Alexander, discouraged at so vigorous a defence, debated seriously, whether it would not be proper for him to raise the siege, and go into Egypt: for after having overrun Asia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progress unhappily retarded; and lost, before a single city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other side, he considered that it would be a great blemish to his reputation, which had done him greater service than his arms, should he leave Tyre behind him, as a proof to the world that he was not invincible. He therefore resolved to make a last effort with a greater number of ships which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the walls: however, he either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

Alexander, after letting his forces repose themselves two days, brought forward his fleet and his engines in order to attempt a general assault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the *Argyraspides* mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a partisan,² as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest danger his courage had ever made him hazard: for, being immediately known by his *insignia* and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, several of those who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced some with his sword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea; the tower where he fought almost touching the wall. He soon went over it, by the assistance of floating bridges, and, followed by the nobility, possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches; the fleet had forced the harbour; and some of the Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy master of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called the square of Agenor, and there stood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of bodyguards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, the city being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down in every quarter, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades, who had been taken in their return from Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the sight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, seeing themselves overpowered on all sides, some fly to the temples, to implore the assistance of the gods; others, shutting themselves in their

houses, escape the sword of the conqueror by a voluntary death; others rush upon the enemy, firmly resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Most of the citizens were got on the house-tops, whence they threw stones, and whatever came first to hand, upon such as advanced forward into the city. The king gave orders to kill all the inhabitants (those excepted who had sheltered themselves in the temples,) and to set fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was published by sound of trumpet, yet not one person who carried arms fled to the asylums. The temples were filled with such young women and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houses, in expectation every instant of being sacrificed to the rage of the soldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian soldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, saved great numbers of them. For having entered the city indiscriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians (Agenor having founded both Tyre and Sidon,) they carried off great numbers privately on board their ships, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit 15,000 were saved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatness of the slaughter, from the number of the soldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to 6000. However the king's anger not being fully appeased, he exhibited a scene, which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for, 2000 men remaining after the soldiers had been glutted with slaughter, Alexander caused them to be fixed upon crosses along the seashore. He pardoned the ambassadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis to offer up a sacrifice to Hercules according to annual custom. The number of prisoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to 30,000, who were all sold. As for the Macedonians, their loss was very inconsiderable.

Alexander offered a sacrifice to A. M. 3672. Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land forces under Ant. J. C. 332. arms, in concert with the fleet. He also solemnized gymnastic exercises in honour of the same god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the statue of Apollo, above-mentioned, he took off the chains from it, restored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god should thenceforward be adored under the name of *Philalexander*, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, to Greeks began to pay him this solemn worship, for having occasioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this statue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having sustained a seven months' siege.

Thus were fully accomplished the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets against the city of Tyre. Nabuchodonosor had begun to execute those threats,¹ by besieging and taking it; and they were completed by the sad catastrophe we have here described. As this double event forms one of the most considerable passages in history, and as the Scriptures have given us several very remarkable circumstances of it, I shall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtiness, and irreligion; the different punishments with which God chastised its pride and other vices; and at length its last re-establishment, but in a manner entirely different from the former. Methinks I revive on a sudden, when, through the multitude of profane historians which heathen antiquity furnishes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to say more, of the Almighty, the sacred Scriptures exhibit themselves, and unfold to me the secret designs of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of those things which appear the most worthy of esteem, the most august in the eyes of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I shall here present the reader with a little abstract

of the history of that famous city, by which he will be the better enabled to understand the prophecies.

Tyre² was built by the Sidonians,³ A. M. 2752. 240 years before the building of the temple of Jerusalem: for this reason Ant. J. C. 1262. it is called by Isaiah, *The daughter of Sidon*. It soon surpassed its mother-city in extent, power, and riches.

It was besieged by Shalmanezar,⁴ and alone resisted the united fleets of the Assyrians and Phœnicians; a circumstance which greatly heightened its pride. A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719.

Nabuchodonosor laid siege to Tyre,⁵ at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city; but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired with most of their effects, into a neighbouring island where they built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundation, and has since been no more than a village, known by the name of *Palæ-Tyrus* or Ancient Tyre: but the new one rose to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flourishing condition, when Alexander besieged and took it. And here begin the seventy years' obscurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Isaiah. It was indeed soon repaired, because the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, saved 15,000 of their citizens (as was before observed,) who after their return, applied themselves to commerce, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; besides which, the women and children, who had been sent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of safety, returned to it at the same time. But Tyre was confined to the island in which it stood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had lost the empire of the sea. And when eighteen years after Antigonus besieged it with a strong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppose him. This second siege, which reduced it a second time to captivity, plunged it again into the state of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itself; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Isaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit; and, at the same time, resumed its former vices; till at last, converted by the preaching of the Gospel, it became a holy and religious city.

* Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.

† [There were four different places in Phœnicia which bore the name of Tyre, as we are informed by Seyer; but the Tyre so famous in ancient history, stood 200 furlongs south of Sidon, and was denominated the daughter of Sidon. Tyre must be distinguished into three cities, in order of time; namely, continental, or old Tyre; insular Tyre; and peninsular Tyre. The origin of the name Tyre, is from the Phœnician word *Tor*, signifying a rock, according to Bochart. Canaan, lib. xi. cap. 17. p. 861. And the island on which the second Tyre was built, is encircled with rocks. The Syrians pronounced this *Tor*, *Tor*, Tyre; hence the Greeks, adding their termination, formed *Tyros*, and hence the Latin, *Tyros*. The peninsular Tyre was built after the island was joined with the main land. The island itself on which the city taken by Alexander was built, is of an irregular form, and not exceeding half a mile wide broad; so that its whole circumference could not exceed a mile and a half. The ports are still pretty large, and in part defended from the sea, each by a long ridge resembling a mole, stretching out directly on both sides from the head of the island. Its modern name is *Tar*. It afterwards stood a five months' siege, in A. D. 1124, when the Crusaders reduced it by starvation to a surrender. It was retaken from them in the year 1291, by the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. After this, it fell to decay, and became, as it were, buried in its own ruins; an exact completion of Ezekiel's prophecies respecting it. The island is now desert and rocky, dotted even with shrubs and grass. The wretched fishermen who frequent the spot, and dry their nets on its now solitary shore, are quite unconscious of the classic ground on which they tread; of that spot, where were collected, as into one common storehouse, the amber of Prussia, and the tin of Britain; the linen of Egypt, and the spices of Arabia; the slaves of Caucasus, and the horses of Scythia.]

* Ibid. l. ix. c. 14.

1 Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our version.

2 Ibid. l. x. c. 11.

The sacred writings acquaint us with part of these revolutions, and this is what we are now to show.

Tyre,¹ before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was considered as one of the most ancient and flourishing cities in the world. Its industry and very advantageous situation had raised it to the sovereignty of the sea, and made it the centre of the trade of the whole universe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Persia, and India, to the most remote western coasts; from Scythia and the northern regions, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the southern countries; all nations contributed to the increase of its riches, splendour, and power. Not only the several things useful and necessary to society, which those various regions produced; but whatever they had that was rare, curious, magnificent, or precious, and best adapted to the support of luxury and pride; all these were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other side, as from a common source, dispersed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inspiring them with a love for ease, vanity, luxury, and voluptuousness.

A long, uninterrupted series of prosperity had swelled the pride of Tyre.² She delighted to consider herself as the queen of cities; a queen whose head is adorned with a diadem; whose correspondents are illustrious princes; whose rich traders dispute for superiority with kings; who sees every maritime power, either her allies or dependants; and who has made herself necessary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the measure of her iniquity, by her impiety against God, and her barbarity exercised against his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jerusalem, exclaiming in an insulting tone: "Behold then the gates of this so populous city are broken down.³ Her inhabitants shall come to me, and I will enrich myself with her spoils, now she is laid waste." She was not satisfied with having reduced the Jews to a state of captivity,⁴ notwithstanding the alliance between them; with selling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their most cruel enemies: she likewise had seized upon the inheritance of the Lord,⁵ and carried away from his temple the most precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre.⁶ God is resolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own strength, her wisdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore will bring against her Nebuchodonosor, that king of kings, to overwhelm her with his mighty hosts, as with waters that overspread their banks, to demolish her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandise and treasures to the soldiers, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having set fire to it, and either extirpated or dispersed all its inhabitants.

By this so unexpected a fall,⁷ the Almighty will teach the astonished nations, that he more evidently displays his providence by the most incredible revolutions of states; and that his will alone directs the enterprises of men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses and repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it.

She still was puffed up with the glory of possessing the empire of the sea;⁸ of being the seat of universal commerce; of giving birth to the most famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whose credit, riches, and splendour, rendered them equal to the princes and great men of the earth; of being governed by a monarch,⁹ who might justly be

entitled god of the sea; of tracing back her origin to the most remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long series of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promise herself another such eternity in times to come.

But since this city,¹⁰ corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, has not profited by the first lesson which God has given her by the hands of the king of Babylon; and since, after being oppressed by all the forces of the East, she has not yet learned not to confide any longer in the false and imaginary support of her own greatness: God foretells her another chastisement,¹¹ which he will send upon her from the West, near 400 years after the first. Her destruction will come from Chittim,¹² that is Macedonia; from a kingdom so weak and obscure, that it had been despised a few years before; a kingdom whence she could never have expected such a blow. "Tyre possessed with an opinion of her own wisdom, and proud of her fleets, of her immense riches, which she heaped up as mire in the streets,"¹³ and also protected by the whole power of the Persian empire, does not imagine she has any thing to fear from those new enemies, who, being situated at a great distance from her, without either money, strength, or reputation, having neither harbours nor ships, and being quite unskilled in navigation; cannot therefore, as she imagines, annoy her with their land forces. Tyre looks upon herself as impregnable,¹⁴ because she is defended by lofty fortifications, and surrounded on all sides by the sea as with a moat and a girdle: nevertheless Alexander, by filling up the arm of the sea which separates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demolish those ramparts which served her as a second enclosure.

Tyre, thus dispossessed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boasting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced, during seventy years, to the mean condition of a slave. "The Lord hath purposed it,¹⁵ to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth." Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general;¹⁶ and she will prove to all maritime cities a subject of sorrow and lamentation, by making them lose the present means and the future hopes of enriching themselves.

To prove,¹⁷ in a sensible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin is not incredible and that all the strength and wisdom of man can no ways ward off or suspend the punishment which God has prepared for the pride and the abuse of riches, Isaiah sets before her the example of Babylon, whose destruction ought to have been a lesson to her. This city,¹⁸ in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the most ancient, the most populous, and embellished with more edifices, both public and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the first empire that ever existed, and was founded in order to command over the whole earth, which seemed to be inhabited only by families which she had brought forth and sent out as so many colonies, whose common parent she was. Nevertheless, says the prophet, she is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the besieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raised pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; but all these fortifications were but as so many dens, in the eyes of Providence, for wild beasts to dwell in; and these edifices were doomed to fall to dust, or else to sink to humble cottages.

After so signal an example, continues the prophet, shall Tyre, which is so much inferior to Babylon in many respects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by Heaven against her, viz. to deprive her

¹ Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii. throughout. Ezek. xxvii. 4-25.

² Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4, 25-33.

³ Ibid. xxvi. 9. ⁴ Joel iii. 2-8, Amos i. 9, 10.

⁵ Joel iii. 2, 5. Amos i. 9, 13.

⁶ Jerem. xlvii. 2-7. Ezek. xxvi. 3-12, 19-21. xxvii. 27, 34.

⁷ Ezek. xxvi. 15-18. xxvii. 33-36. Isa. xliii. 8, 9.

⁸ Isa. xliii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12. ⁹ Ezek. xxvii. 2.

¹⁰ Isa. xxiii. 17.

¹¹ Maceab. i. 1. Zech. ix. 2, 5.

¹² Isa. xxiii. 10, 11, 13.

¹³ Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14.

¹⁴ Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14.

¹⁵ Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14.

¹⁶ Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14.

¹⁷ Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14.

¹⁸ Ibid. ver. 1, 11, 14.

¹⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

²⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

²¹ Ibid. 11, 12.

²² Ibid. 11, 12.

²³ Ibid. 11, 12.

²⁴ Ibid. 11, 12.

²⁵ Ibid. 11, 12.

²⁶ Ibid. 11, 12.

²⁷ Ibid. 11, 12.

²⁸ Ibid. 11, 12.

²⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

³⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

³¹ Ibid. 11, 12.

³² Ibid. 11, 12.

³³ Ibid. 11, 12.

³⁴ Ibid. 11, 12.

³⁵ Ibid. 11, 12.

³⁶ Ibid. 11, 12.

³⁷ Ibid. 11, 12.

³⁸ Ibid. 11, 12.

³⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴¹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴² Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴³ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵¹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵² Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵³ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶¹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶² Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶³ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷¹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷² Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷³ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸¹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸² Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸³ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹¹ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹² Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹³ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 11, 12.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 11, 12.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 11, 12.

of the empire of the sea, and destroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled?

To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her prosperity,¹ God will reduce her to a state of humiliation and oblivion during three-score and ten-years. But after this season of obscurity,² she will again endeavour to appear with the air of a harlot, full of charms and artifices, whose sole endeavours are to corrupt youth, and sooth their passions. To promote her commerce, she will use fraud, deceit, and the most insidious arts. She will visit every part of the world, to collect the most rare and most delicious products of every country; to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendour, and fill them with an aversion for the simplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And she will set every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correspondents; and to compensate, by a speedy abundance, the sterility of seventy years.

Thus,³ in proportion as the Almighty shall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, she will return to her former shameful traffic, which God had ruined, by stripping her of the great possessions which she had applied to such pernicious uses.

But at last,⁴ Tyre, converted by the Gospel, shall no more be a scandal and a stumbling-block to nations. She shall no longer sacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worship of the Lord, and the comfort of those that serve him. She shall no longer render her riches barren and useless by detaining them, but shall scatter them, like fruitful seed, from the hands of believers and ministers of the Gospel.

One of God's designs, in the prophecies just now cited, is to give us a just idea of a traffic, whose only motive is avarice, and whose fruits are pleasures, vanity, and the corruption of morals. Mankind look upon cities enriched by a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the same with private persons,) as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit, (from their industry, labour, and the success of their application and conduct) to be proposed as patterns for the rest to copy after; but God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the shameful image of a woman lost to all sense of virtue; whose only view is to seduce and corrupt youth; who only soothes the passions and flatters the senses; who abhors modesty and every sentiment of honour; and who, banishing from her countenance every indication of shame, glories in her ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffic is sinful in itself; but we should separate from the essential foundation of trade, which is just and lawful when rightly used, the passions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Christianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffic, and the uses to which they ought to apply their profits.

SECTION VII.—DARIUS WRITES A SECOND LETTER TO ALEXANDER. JOURNEY OF THE LATTER TO JERUSALEM. THE HONOUR WHICH HE PAYS TO JADDUS THE HIGH-PRIEST. HE IS SHOWN THOSE PROPHECIES OF DAINEL WHICH RELATE TO HIMSELF. THE KING GRANTS GREAT PRIVILEGES TO THE JEWS, BUT REFUSES THEM TO THE SAMARITANS. HE BESIEGES AND TAKES GAZA, ENTERS EGYPT, AND SUBDUES THAT COUNTRY. HE THERE LAYS THE FOUNDATIONS OF ALEXANDRIA. THEN GOES INTO LYBIA, WHERE HE VISITS THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER AMMON, AND CAUSES HIMSELF TO BE DECLARED THE SON OF THAT GOD. HIS RETURN INTO EGYPT.

WHILST Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre,⁵ he had received a second letter from Darius, who at last gave him the title of king. "He offered

him 10,000 talents (about 1,500,000*l.*; as a ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates. Darius hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune; and described, in the most pompous terms, the numberless troops who were still under his command. Could he (Alexander) think that it was so very easy to cross the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Hydaspes, which were as so many bulwarks to the Persian empire? That he should not be always shut up between rocks and defiles: that they ought both to appear in an open plain, and that then Alexander would be ashamed to come before him with only a handful of men." The king thereupon summoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of these offers, declaring he himself would agree to them, were he Alexander. "And so would I," replied Alexander, "were I Parmenio." He therefore returned the following answer: "That he did not want the money Darius offered him: that it did not become Darius to offer a thing he no longer possessed, or to pretend to share what he had entirely lost: that in case he was the only person who did not know which of them was superior, a battle would soon determine it: that he should not think to intimidate with rivers, a man who had crossed so many seas: that to whatsoever place he might find it proper to retire, Alexander would not fail to find him out." Darius, upon receiving this answer, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and prepared again for war.

From Tyre,⁶ Alexander marched to Jerusalem firmly resolved to show it no more favour than he had the former city: and for this reason. The Tyrians were so much employed in trade, that they quite neglected husbandry, and brought most of their corn and other provisions from the countries in the neighbourhood. Galilee,⁷ Samaria, and Judea, furnished them with the greatest quantities. At the time that Alexander laid siege to their city, he himself was obliged to send for provisions from those countries: he therefore sent commissaries to summon the inhabitants to submit, and furnish his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, desired to be excused, alledging, that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and persisted in answering that they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he was living; a rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they submitted with cheerfulness to Alexander, and even sent him 8000 men to serve at the siege of Tyre, and in other places. For the better understanding of what follows, it may be necessary for us to present the reader, in few words, with the state of the Samaritans at that time, and the cause of the strong antipathy which existed between them and the Jews.

I observed, elsewhere,⁸ that the Samaritans did not descend from the Israelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other side of the Euphrates, whom Esarhaddon, king of the Assyrians, had sent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. These people, who were called *Cuthæi*, blended the worship of the God of Israel with that of their idols; and on all occasions discovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much stronger after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, before and after the restoration of the temple.

Notwithstanding the reformation which the holy man, Nehemiah, had wrought in Jerusalem, with regard to the marrying of strange or foreign women, the evil had spread so far, that the high-priest's house, which ought to have been pure more than any other from these criminal mixtures, was itself polluted with them. One of the sons of Jehoiada the high-priest,⁹ whom Josephus calls Manasseh, had married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God, which was so shamefully violated,

¹ Isa. xxiii. 15.

² Ibid. ver. 18.

³ Ibid. ver. 17.

⁴ Ibid. xxiii. 18.

⁵ Plot. in Alex. p. 681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian

⁶ p. 101.

⁷ Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.

⁸ Acts xii. 20.

⁹ Vol. II. Hist. of the Assyrians.

⁹ Neh. xiii. 22.

commanded, without exception, all who had married strange women, either to put them away immediately, or to depart the country. Manasseh chose to go into banishment rather than to separate himself from his wife,¹ and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whither he was followed by great numbers as obstinate in rebellion as himself; he there settled them under the protection of Sanballat, his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus (whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Persia had brought into Phœnicia,) leave to build on mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jerusalem, and to appoint Manasseh, his son-in-law, priest thereof. From that time, Samaria became the asylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this which raised the hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans to its greatest height, when they saw that the latter, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law, which fixed the solemn worship of the God of Israel in the city of Jerusalem, had nevertheless raised altar against altar, and temple against temple, and afforded a refuge to all who fled from Jerusalem, to screen themselves from the punishment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the state of Judea, when Alexander laid siege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before observed, sent him a considerable body of troops, whereas the Jews thought they could not submit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, should be alive.

Alexander, being little used to such an answer, particularly after he had obtained so many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, resolved, the instant he had conquered Tyre, to march against the Jews, and punish their disobedience as rigorously as he had punished that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-priest, who governed under the Persians, seeing himself exposed with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourse to the protection of the Almighty, gave orders that public prayers should be made to implore his assistance, and offered sacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him, "To cause flowers to be scattered up and down the city; to set open all the gates, and go, clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests, dressed also in their vestments, and all the rest clothed in white, to meet Alexander, and not to fear any evil from that king, inasmuch as He would protect them." This demand was punctually obeyed; and accordingly this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called *Sepha*,² whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jerusalem. Here the whole procession waited the arrival of Alexander.

The Syrians of Phœnicia, who were in his army, were persuaded that the wrath of this prince was so great, that he would certainly punish the high-priest in an exemplary manner, and destroy that city in the same manner as he had done Tyre; and flushed with joy on that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As soon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they set out to meet him with all the pomp before described. Alexander was struck at the sight of the high-priest, in whose mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-priest, he advanced towards him with an air of the most profound respect; bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews, surrounding Alexander, raised their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity. All the spectators were seized with inexpressible surprise; they could scarce believe their eyes, and did not know how to account for a sight

so contrary to their expectation, and so very improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his astonishment, asked the king how it came to pass that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews. "I do not," replied Alexander, "adore the high-priest, but the God whose minister he is; for whilst I was at Dium in Macedonia (my mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Persian war,) as I was revolving by what means I should conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a dream; exhorted me to banish every fear, bid me cross the Hellespont boldly; and assured me that his God would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory over that of the Persians." Alexander added, that the instant he saw this priest, he knew him by his habit, his stature, his air, and his face, to be the same person whom he had seen at Dium; that he was firmly persuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of Heaven that he had undertaken this war; that he was sure he should overcome Darius hereafter, and destroy the empire of the Persians; and that this was the reason why he adored this God in the person of his priest. Alexander, after having thus answered Parmenio, embraced the high-priest, and all his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner prescribed to him by the high-priest.

The high-priest, afterwards, showed him those passages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are spoken of that monarch. I shall here give an abstract of them, which will plainly show how the most distant events are present to the Almighty.

God declares by the prophet Daniel,³ that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he bestows them on whomsoever he pleases, and withdraws them in like manner, to punish the abuse of them; that his wisdom and power solely determine the course of events in all ages; that he changes, according to his will, the whole face of human affairs;⁴ that he sets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones, and effaces even the very footsteps of them, with the same ease as the wind carries off the smallest chaff from the threshing-floor.

God's design, in subjecting states to such astonishing revolutions,⁵ is to teach men, that they are in his presence as nothing; that he alone is the Most High, the eternal King, the sovereign arbiter, who doth whatsoever he will with supreme power, both in heaven and earth. For the putting this design in execution,⁶ the prophet sees an august council, in which the angels, who are appointed as inspectors and guardians of governments and kings, inquire into the use which they make of the authority that Heaven intrusted them with, as his ministers; and when they abuse it, these spirits,⁷ zealous for the glory of their sovereign, beseech God to punish their injustice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride, by casting them from the throne, and causing the most abject among mankind to ascend it in their stead.

God,⁸ to make these important truths still more sensible, shows Daniel four dreadful beasts who rise from a vast sea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and under these symbols, he represents to the prophet the origin, the characteristics, and fall, of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world successively. A dreadful, but too real image! For empires rise out of tumult and confusion; they subsist by blood and slaughter; they exercise their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and desolation into all places; but yet in spite of their utmost efforts, they are subject to continual vicissitudes and unforeseen reverses of fortune.

The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of these empires.¹⁰ After having

¹ Joseph. Antiquit.

² The Hebrew word *Sepha* signifies to discover from far as from a tower or sentry-box.

³ Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37.

⁴ Ibid. iv. 32, 34—36.

⁵ It was at the desire of these angels, that Nebuchadnezzar was driven from the society of men to herd with wild beasts.

⁶ Dan. vii. 2, 3.

⁷ Ibid. ii. 35.

⁸ Ibid. ver. 17.

¹⁰ Dan. vii. 4—8.

represented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioness, and that of the Medes and Persians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by presenting us with some of its most striking features. Under the image of a spotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he depicts Alexander, in whom good and bad qualities are intermixed; rash and impetuous in his resolutions, rapid in his conquests; flying with the swiftness of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army laden with the whole equipage of war; supported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having assisted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themselves.

To this picture the prophet adds elsewhere new touches.¹ He enumerates the order of the succession of the kings of Persia; he declares, in precise terms, that after the first three kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, a fourth monarch will arise, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predecessors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed up with the idea of his own grandeur, which shall have risen to its highest pitch, will assemble all the people in his boundless dominions, and lead them to the conquest of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what success they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to understand, that Xerxes, an effeminate, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the least success in any of his vast projects.

On the contrary, from among these very Greeks,² attacked unsuccessfully by the Persians, there will arise a king very different from Xerxes: and this is Alexander the Great. He shall be a bold, valiant monarch; he shall succeed in all his enterprises; he shall extend his dominion far and wide, and shall establish an irresistible power on the ruins of the vanquished nations; but at a time when he shall imagine himself to be most firmly seated on the throne, he shall lose his life, with the regn. dignity, and not leave any posterity to succeed him in it. This new monarchy, losing on a sudden the splendour and power for which it was so renowned under Alexander, shall divide itself towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there shall arise not only the four great kingdoms of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Macedon, but also several other foreigners, or barbarians, shall usurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of these.

At length,³ in the eighth chapter, the prophet completes the description in still stronger colours, of the character, the battles, the series of successes, the rise and fall of these two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the first of these empires shall be composed of Persians and Medes; that its strength shall consist in the union of these two nations; that the Persians shall nevertheless exceed the Medes in authority; that they shall have a series of conquests, without meeting with any opposition; that they shall first extend them towards the west, by subduing the Lydians, the provinces of Asia Minor and Thrace; that they shall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to subdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caspian sea; that at length they shall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the south, by subjecting Egypt and Arabia, but that they shall not invade the nations of the east.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the symbol of a he-goat of a prodigious size: he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the west, in order to invade the empire of the Persians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will make immense marches, in quest of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it will advance towards the enemy with such rapidity, as to seem not to touch the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely subvert it by repeated victo-

ries, and destroy the double power of the Persians and Medes; during which not one monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, shall give it the least succour.

But as soon as this monarchy shall have risen to its greatest height, Alexander who formed its greatest strength, shall be snatched from it, and then there will arise, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vastly inferior to that of Alexander, will however, be very considerable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a series of prophecies, all of them so clear, so exact, and so circumstantial; prophecies which go so far as to point out, that a prince shall die without leaving a single successor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we must peruse these prophecies in the Scriptures themselves. The Vulgate agrees pretty nearly with the Hebrew, except in a few places, which I shall translate agreeable to the original text.⁴

"In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar,⁵ a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first. And I saw in a vision (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam,) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold there stood before the river a ram, which had two horns; and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beast might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great. And as I was considering, behold an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great; and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven."

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated; but these I shall leave to the reader's understanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which, however, I shall not expatiate so much as the subject might deserve.

The Almighty presides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with absolute sway the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. In all that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the capture of cities; battles won or lost, empires established or overthrown; there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God seems to have no concern in these things, and we should be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their passions; if we perhaps, except the Jewish nation, whom he considered as his own peculiar people, and as his own heritage.

To prevent our falling into a temptation so repugnant to religion and even reason itself God occasionally breaks silence, disperses the clouds which hide him, and condescends to discover to us the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretell, long before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the succession, and the dis-

¹ We have not followed M. Rollin's translation here, believing it more proper to make use of our own version of the Bible.

² Dan. viii. 1-8

ferent characteristics of the four great empires to which he has determined to subject to all the nations of the universe, viz, that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks, and lastly, that of the Romans.

It is with the same view that he dwells very forcibly on the two most famous conquerors that ever existed: I mean Cyrus and Alexander, the one the founder, the other the destroyer, of the powerful empire of Persia. He causes the former to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth; foretells, by the mouth of Isaiah, his victories; and particularizes the several circumstances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been seen before. On this occasion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and ascribes such qualities and characteristics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had called him by his name.

These passages of Scripture, in which God explains himself clearly, should be considered as very precious, and serve as so many keys to open to our understanding the secret methods by which he governs the world. These bright rays of light should enable a rational and religious man to see every thing else clearly; and make him conclude, from what is said of the four great empires, of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the several events of profane history, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all states, whose destiny depends entirely on his wisdom, his power, and his pleasure.

We may easily figure to ourselves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing such clear, such circumstantial, and advantageous promises. Before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bade them ask any favour whatsoever. They answered, that their request was, to be allowed to live according to the law of their fathers, and to be exempt, every seventh year, from their usual tribute; and for this reason, because they were forbidden, by their laws, in that year, to sow their fields, and consequently could have no harvest. Alexander granted their request: and, upon the high-priest's beseeching him to suffer the Jews, who were resident in Babylonia and Media, to live likewise agreeable to their own laws, he also indulged them in this particular with the utmost humanity; and said farther, that in case any of them were willing to serve under his standards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worship, and to observe their peculiar customs; upon which offer great numbers enlisted themselves.

He had scarce left Jerusalem, when the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them also the honour to visit their temple. As they had submitted voluntarily to Alexander, and sent him succours, they imagined that they deserved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themselves that they should obtain the same, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made this pompous procession, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the 8000 men they had sent to serve under him, joined in the request made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteously, but said, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to lose; however, that he would visit their city at his return, in case he had opportunity. They then besought him to exempt them from paying tribute every seventh year; upon which Alexander asked them, whether they were Jews? They made an ambiguous answer, which the king not having time to examine, suspended this matter also till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

Upon his arrival before that city, he found it provided with a strong garrison, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his sovereign, defended it with great vigour against Alexander. As this

was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was absolutely necessary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to besiege it. But although every art of war was employed, notwithstanding his soldiers fought with the utmost intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exasperated at its holding out so long, and his receiving two wounds, he was resolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants, and soldiers, with a barbarity absolutely inexcusable; for he cut 10,000 men to pieces, and sold all the rest, with their wives and children, for slaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him covered with honourable wounds, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly merited, this young monarch, who at other times esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on this occasion with an insolent joy, spoke thus to him: "Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou desiredst. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which vengeance can invent." Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but a haughty air, did not make the least reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged by this disdainful silence—"Observe," said he, "I beseech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? Has he spoke so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else." At last Alexander's anger rose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune; he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when, a rope being put through them, and tied to a chariot, he caused Betis to be dragged round the city till he died. He boasted his having imitated on this occasion, Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the same manner round the walls of Troy;³ as if a man ought ever to pride himself on having imitated a bad example. Both were very barbarous; but Alexander was much more so in causing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had intrusted him; a fidelity, that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner.

He sent the greatest part of the plunder he found in Gaza to his mother Olympias, to Cleopatra his sister, and to his friends. He also presented Leonidas, his preceptor, with 500 quintals⁴ of frankincense, and 100 quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which seemed, even at that time, to presage the conquests this monarch had lately achieved. For Leonidas, observing Alexander taking up whole handfuls of incense at a sacrifice, and throw it into the fire, said to him: "Alexander, when you shall have conquered the country which produces these spices, you then may be as profuse of incense as you please; but till that day comes, be sparing of what you have." The monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: "I send you a large quantity of incense and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be so reserved and sparing in your sacrifices to the gods."

As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza,⁵ he left a garrison A. M. 3673 there, and turned the whole power of Ant. J. C. 331 his arms towards Egypt. In seven days' march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable diligence, to recognize him for their sovereign, and make their submission.

The hatred these people bore to the Persians was so great, that it was of little consequence to them who should be their king, provided they could but meet with an avenger who would rescue them from the in-

³ *Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tam peregrinus ritus novæ absonitæ fortunæ.* Quint. Curt.

⁴ *Decem exemplar vitæ imitabile.* Herod.

⁵ A quintal is 100 lb. weight.

⁶ *Diod. l. xvii. p. 526—528. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104—116. Plut. in Alex. p. 679—681. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 7 et Justin. l. ix. c. 11.*

¹ *Diod. l. xvii. p. 526. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101—103. Plut. in Alex. p. 679. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 6.*

solence and indignity with which themselves and their religion were treated. For, how false soever a religion may be (and it is scarce possible to imagine one more absurd than that of the Egyptians,) so long as it continues to be the established religion, the people will not suffer it to be insulted; nothing affecting their minds so strongly, nor inflaming them to a greater degree. Ochus had caused their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly offensive to themselves and their religion; and the Persians, to whom he had left the government, continued in like manner to ridicule that deity. Thus several circumstances had rendered the Persians so odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join and assist him in expelling the Persians.

This Amyntas had deserted from Alexander, and entered into the service of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Issus; and having escaped into Syria, by the way of Tripoli, with 4000 men, he had there seized upon as many vessels as he wanted, burned the rest, and immediately set sail towards the island of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Pelusium, which he took by surprise, upon feigning that he had a commission from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Issus. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important city, he threw off the mask, and made public pretensions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Persians. Upon this a multitude of Egyptians, who wished for nothing so earnestly as to free themselves from these insupportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Persians, and shut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers together, they straggled up and down in search of plunder; which the enemy seeing, sallied out upon such as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, so far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; so that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a secure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this consideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so great a force, and that Darius, his sovereign was not in a condition to succour him, set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up 800 talents, about 120,000*l.* and all the king's furniture. Thus, Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple¹ was situated in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya, and twelve days' journey from Memphis. Ham, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and when idolatry began to gain ground in the world some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries, in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midst of these deserts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues broad,² which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand. It is he whom the Greeks called Ζεύς, *Jupiter*,³ and the Egyptians *Ammon*. In process of time these two names were joined, and he was called *Jupiter-Ammon*.

The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were

represented as sons of some deity; and, as he himself was desirous of passing for a hero, he was determined to have some god for his father. Accordingly he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for this purpose, and began by bribing the priests, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpose, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a design which was great in no other circumstance than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already begun to assume, as Plutarch observes, that character of tenaciousness and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot suffer advice, and much less bear opposition; which knows neither obstacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to consist in impossibility; in a word, which fancies itself able to overcome, not only enemies, but time, place, and the whole order of nature; the usual effect of a long series of prosperity, which subdues the strongest, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We ourselves have seen a famous conqueror,⁴ who prided himself upon treading in the steps of Alexander, carrying farther than he had ever done this kind of savage heroism; and lay it down as a maxim to himself, never to recede from his resolution.

Alexander therefore sets out; and going down the river from Memphis A. M. 3673. till he came to the sea, he coasts along Ant. J. C. 331. it; and, after having passed Canopus, he observes, opposite to the island of Pharos, a spot which seemed to him very well situated for the building of a city. He himself drew the plan of it, and marked out the several places where the temples and public squares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Ephesus, the temple of Diana, which Herostratus had burnt. This city he called after his own name Alexandria, and it afterwards rose to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one side, and the Nile and the Red Sea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffic of the east and west; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the most flourishing cities in the universe.

Alexander had a journey to go of 1600 stadia, or fourscore French leagues to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon;⁵ and most of the way was through sandy deserts. The soldiers were patient enough for the first two days' march, before they arrived in the extensive dreadful solitudes; but as soon as they found themselves in vast plains, covered with sand of a prodigious depth, they were seized with terror. Surrounded, as with a sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree, nor the least footsteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their calamity, the water, that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They therefore were reduced to the sad condition of dying almost with thirst; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of sand, that are sometimes raised by the winds, and which had formerly destroyed 50,000 of Cambyse's troops. Every thing was by this time scorched to so violent a degree, and the air became so hot, that the men could scarcely breathe; when, on a sudden, whether by chance, say the historians, or the immediate indulgence of Heaven, the sky was so completely overspread with thick clouds, that they hid the sun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were still in want of water. But the storm having discharged itself in a violent rain, every soldier got as much as he wanted; and some were so parched with thirst, that they stood with their mouths open, and caught the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of these

¹ Plin. lib. v. c. 2.

² Forty furlongs.

³ For this reason the city of Egypt, which the Scriptures call *No-Ammon*, (the city of Ham or of Ammon) is called by the Greeks Διογενεα, or the city of Jupiter.

⁴ *scilicet*, Alex. lib. 25. Esak. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

⁵ Charles XII. king of Sweden.

⁶ [See a previous note on the geographical situation of this temple.]

marvellous incidents, with which historians have thought proper to embellish this relation.

They were several days in crossing these deserts; and upon their arriving near the place where the oracle stood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the most advanced standard. These ravens, sometimes, flew to the ground when the army marched slowly; and, at other times, advanced forward, as if it were to serve them as guides, till they, at last, came to the temple of the god. A very surprising circumstance is, that although this oracle be situated in the midst of an almost boundless solitude, it nevertheless is surrounded with a grove, so very shady, that the sun-beams can scarcely pierce it; not to mention that this grove is watered with several springs of fresh water, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midst of which is a fountain, called the *water, or fountain of the sun*. At day-break it is lukewarm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer, by degrees, and at midnight is boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreases in heat, and continues this vicissitude for ever.

The god, who is worshipped in this temple, is not represented under the form which painters and sculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the navel resembles a ram.¹ The king being come into the temple, the senior priest declared him to be the son of Jupiter; and assured him, that the god himself bestowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards asked the priest, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the priest, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vain-glorious, answered, that he should be monarch of the universe. At last he inquired, whether all his father's murderers had been punished; but the priest replied, that he blasphemed; that his father was immortal; but that with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he should be invincible, and afterwards take his seat among the deities. Having ended his sacrifice, he offered magnificent presents to the god, and did not forget the priests, who had served his purpose so well.

Decorated with the splendid title of the son of Jupiter, and fancying himself raised above the human species, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders, and decrees, he always assumed this title: ALEXANDER KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON;² in answer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonstrance in few words, by desiring him not to engage her in any quarrels with Juno.

Whilst Alexander was indulging himself in these chimeras, and tasting the great pleasure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one derided him in secret; and some, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the sequel will show. Not satisfied with endeavouring to pass for the son of a god, and of being himself persuaded, if indeed this were possible, that he really was such, he would also pass for a god himself; till at last, Providence having brought to pass through him the events of which he was chosen to be the instrument, brought him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the rest of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the *Palus Marcotis*, which was not far from the island of Pharos, made a visit to his new city, the building of which was already far advanced. He took the best methods possible to people it, inviting thither persons from all quarters, to whom he offered the most advantageous conditions. He drew to it,³ among others a considerable number of Jews, by allowing them very

great privileges; for he not only left them the free exercise of their religion and laws, but put them on the same foot in every respect with the Macedonians whom he settled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he spent the winter.

Varro observes, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the use of *papyrus* (for writing) was found in Egypt.

During Alexander's stay in Memphis,⁴ he settled the affairs of Egypt, suffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself only; not thinking it safe to intrust the general command of all the troops to one single person, in so large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he invested one Dolospeus, an Egyptian, with the whole power of it; for being desirous that Egypt should still be governed by its ancient laws and customs, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they must be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatsoever.

To hasten the building of his new city, he appointed Cleomenes inspector of it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abused his authority, and oppressed the people with the utmost barbarity.

SECTION VIII.—ALEXANDER, AFTER HIS RETURN FROM EGYPT, RESOLVES TO GO IN PURSUIT OF DARIUS. AT HIS SETTING OUT HE HEARS OF THE DEATH OF THAT MONARCH'S QUEEN. HE CAUSES TO BE PAID HER THE HONOURS WHICH WERE DUE TO HER RANK. HE PASSES THE EUFRATES AND TIGRIS, AND COMES UP WITH DARIUS. THE FAMOUS BATTLE OF ARBELA.

ALEXANDER having settled the affairs of Egypt,⁵ set out from thence in the spring, to march into the East against Darius. In his way through Palestine, he heard news which gave him great uneasiness. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andronachus, whom he highly esteemed, governor of Syria and Palestine. Andronachus coming to Samaria to settle some affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied; and setting fire to the house in which he was, burned him alive. It is very probable, that this was occasioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the same privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exasperated against them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all those who had any hand in it, banished the rest from the city of Samaria, supplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the rest of their lands among the Jews.

He made some stay in Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, in his progress towards new conquests.

He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought word, that Darius's A. M. 3673. consort was just dead. Hearing this, Ant. J. C. 331. he returned back, and went into the tent of Sysigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princesses, who also were weeping; and near them the son of Darius, a child, who was the more worthy of compassion,⁶ as he was less sensible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander consoled them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly showed that he himself was deeply and sincerely affected. He caused her funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost splendour and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who superintended the chamber and who had been taken with the princesses, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his

¹ Arrian. l. iii. p. 108—110. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8.

² Diod. l. xvii. p. 530—536. Arrian. l. iii. p. 111—127. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 681—685. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 9—16. Justin. l. xi. c. 12—14.

³ Ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem, maximâ ex parte ad ipsum redundantem. Q. Curt.

⁴ This passage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variously explained by interpreters.

⁵ Varro apud A. Gell. l. xiii. c. 4.

⁶ Joseph. contra Appian.

consort's death. The Persian monarch was seized with the most violent affliction upon hearing this news, particularly, as he supposed she would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occasion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always shown her in her lifetime. Darius, upon hearing these words, was fired with suspicions of so horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aside, he spoke to him as follows: "If thou dost still acknowledge Darius for thy lord and sovereign, tell me, by the respect and veneration thou owest to that great splendour of Mithras¹ which enlightens us, and to this hand which the king stretcheth out to thee: tell me, I say, whether, in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do not bewail the least of her evils; and whether, as she fell into the hands of a young monarch, she did not first lose her honour, and afterwards her life." The eunuch, throwing himself at Darius's feet, besought him not to think so injuriously of Alexander's virtue; nor dishonour his wife and sister after her death; and not to deprive himself of the greatest consolation he could possibly have in his misfortunes, viz. to be firmly persuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was superior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Persian ladies much stronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Persians themselves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before said, by the most dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what public fame had related, concerning the wisdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were assembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who preside over the birth of men, and who dispose of kings and empires, grant that, after having raised the fortune of Persia from its dejected state, I may transmit it to my descendants with the same lustre in which I received it; in order that, after having triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge the favours which Alexander has shown in my calamity to persons who, of all others, are most dear to me: or, in case the time ordained by the fates is at last come, when it must necessarily happen, from the anger of the gods, or the ordinary vicissitudes of human affairs, that the empire of Persia must end; grant, great gods, that none but Alexander may ascend the throne of Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having set out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapsacus, where he passed a bridge that lay across the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tigris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice; but finding at last that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himself again for battle. For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that which he had at Issus, and marched it towards Nineveh; his forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of 1000 chosen horse; and likewise gave 6000 to Mazæus, governor of the province; to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass: but he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the East, this is the most rapid; and it not only receives a great number of rivulets in its waves, but drags along with it great stones; so that it is named Tigris, on account of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being so called in the Persian tongue. Alexander sounded those parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the en-

trance, came up to the horses' bellies, and in the middle to their breasts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half moon, and posted his cavalry on the wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king waded on foot among the infantry, and was the first who appeared on the opposite shore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the soldiers; it not being possible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greatest difficulty they kept their footing; because of the slipperiness of the stones, and the impetuosity of the stream. Such soldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes also, were much more embarrassed; for being unable to support themselves, they were carried into whirlpools, unless they threw away their burdens. At the same time, the heaps of clothes, floating up and down, beat down several; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpose that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to save nothing but their arms; and assured them, that he himself would compensate their other losses; for not one of them could hear his admonitions or orders, so great was the noise and tumult. At last, they all passed over that part of the ford where the water was shallowest, and the stream less impetuous, and their chief loss was only that of a small part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might easily have been cut to pieces, had they been opposed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, to make ever so little opposition to their passage. But Mazæus, who might easily have defeated them had he come up when they were crossing the river in disorder and confusion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he passed the Granicus in sight of so prodigious a multitude of horse and foot, who waited his coming on the shore; and also in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the passes and straits quite open and defenceless, where a small number of troops might have checked his progress. This circumstance may lessen our surprise at that excess of boldness,² which was his peculiar characteristic, and which perpetually prompted him to encounter blindly the greatest dangers: since, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to suspect himself guilty of rashness.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his soldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine or ten in the evening, when the sky was calm and clear, the moon first lost its light, and appeared afterwards quite sullied, and as it were tinged with blood. Now as this happened just before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful success of which had already filled the army with sufficient disquietude, they were first struck with a religious awe, and afterwards seized with fear. They cried out, "That heaven displayed the marks of its anger; and that they were dragged, against the will of the gods, to the extremities of the earth: that rivers opposed their passage; that the stars refused to lend their usual light; and that they could now see nothing but deserts and solitudes: that merely to satisfy the ambition of one man, so many thousands shed their blood; and that for a man who contemned his own country, disowned his father, and pretended to pass for a god."

These murmurs were rising to an open insurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, summoned the officers of his army into his tent, and commanded such of the Egyptian soothsayers who were best skilled in the knowledge of the stars, to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These knew very well the natural causes of eclipses of the moon; but, without entering into physical arguments, they contented themselves with saying, that the sun was on the side of the Greeks, and the moon

¹ The Persians worshipped the sun under the name of *Mithras*, and the moon under that of *Mithra*.

² Audaciam quoque, quâ maximè viguit, ratio minui potest: quia nunquam in discrimen venit, an temere fecisset. Q. Curt.

on that of the Persians, and that, whenever it suffered an eclipse, it always threatened the latter with some grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned several examples, all which they adduced as true and indisputable. Superstition has a surprising influence over the minds of the vulgar. How headstrong and inconsistent soever they may be, yet if they are once struck with a vain image of religion, they will sooner obey soothsayers than their leaders. The answer made by the Egyptians being dispersed among the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purposely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called *Cordyzi*. At day-break the scouts, whom he had sent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which he immediately drew up his forces in battle array, and set himself at their head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a detachment of 1000 horse that were sent out to reconnoitre, and which soon retired to the main army. Nevertheless, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but 150 stadia,¹ from the place where they then were.

Not long before this some letters had been intercepted in which Darius solicited the Grecian soldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect so great an odium on the memory of this prince as an attempt of that kind; an attempt so cowardly and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himself, whether it would be proper for him to read these letters in a full assembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio dissuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake such thoughts in the minds of soldiers; that one only was sufficient to strike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counsel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice sued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to trust to but his arms; nevertheless, being overcome by the advantageous reports which had been made to him of Alexander's tenderness and humanity towards his family, he despatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him fresh conditions of peace, more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former proposals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the several territories situated between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already possessed. Alexander made the following answer: "Tell your sovereign, that thanks, between persons that make war against each other, are superfluous; and that in case I have behaved with clemency towards his family, it was for my own sake, and not for his; to gratify my own inclination, and not to please him. To insult the unhappy is a thing to me unknown. I do not attack either prisoners or women, and turn my rage against such only as are armed for the fight. If Darius were sincere in his demand for peace, I then would debate on what was to be done; but since he still continues by letters and by money, to spirit up my soldiers to betray me, and my friends to murder me, I therefore am determined to pursue him with the utmost vigour; and that not as an enemy, but a poisoner and an assassin. It indeed becomes him to offer to yield up to me what I am already possessed of! Would he be satisfied with ranking second to me, without pretending to be my equal, I might possibly then hear him. Tell him that the world will not permit two suns, nor two sovereigns. Let him therefore choose, either to surrender to day, or fight me to-morrow, and not flatter himself with the hopes of better success than he has hitherto had." Darius's proposals are certainly not reasonable; but then, is Alexander's answer much more so? In the former we behold a prince, who is not yet sensible of his own weakness, or at

least who cannot prevail with himself to own it; and in the latter, we see a monarch quite intoxicated with his good fortune, and carrying his pride to such an excess of folly, as is not to be paralleled: "The world will not permit two suns, nor two sovereigns." If this be greatness, and not bombast, I do not know what can ever deserve the latter name. The ambassadors having leave to depart, returned back, and told Darius that he must now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bumellus, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the spot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to act; recollecting, that his engaging in the straits of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there. At the same time, he had prepared caltrops,² to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this news, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it had marched; during which, Alexander, at the head of his light infantry, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he assembled his general officers a second time, and told them, that there was no occasion for his making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory; that he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occasion, for Phenicia or Egypt, but for all Asia; which would be possessed by him who should conquer; and that, after having gone through so many provinces, and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a complete victory. After this speech, he ordered them to take some repose.

It is said that Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night time alleging that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprise, and in the dark; but the king answered, so loud, that all present might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. This was a haughty but, at the same time, a prudent answer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon so numerous an army in the night time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he should be attacked at unawares, because he had not intrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the crisis of affairs used always to consult the soothsayers, observing very exactly whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himself upon the point of fighting a battle, the success of which was to give empire to the conqueror, sent for Aristander, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He then shut himself up with the soothsayer, to make some secret sacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to Fear,³ which he

¹ A caltrop is an instrument composed of spikes. Several of these are laid in the fields through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horses' feet.

² We must read in Plutarch $\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ instead of $\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.

³ Seven or eight leagues.

doubtless did to prevent his troops from being seized with dread, at the sight of the formidable army of Darius. The soothsayer, dressed in his vestments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, first repeated the prayers which the king was to address to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repose himself during the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle which was upon the point of being fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he slept soundly the whole night, contrary to his usual custom; so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprised to find he was not awake; upon which they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio, having at last awakened him, and seeming surprised to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at stake: "How is it possible," said Alexander, "for us not to be calm since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into our hands?" Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to maintain, and, if possible, to surpass, their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of battle, imagine they see the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared so calm, so gay, nor so resolute. The serenity and security which they observed in him, were in a manner so many assurances of the victory.

There was a great difference between the two armies with respect to numbers, but much more so with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at least of 600,000 foot, and 40,000 horse;¹ and the other of no more than 40,000 foot, and 7 or 8,000 horse: but the latter was all fire and strength; whereas, on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; an empty phantom rather than a real army.²

Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them, and commanded in general by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with 200 chariots armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the centre of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person; believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them, at one and the same time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded against this, by giving orders to the commanders of the second line, that in case they should be charged in their rear, to face about to that side; or else to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover their wings, in case the enemy should charge them in flank. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bowmen, slingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that these might make head against the chariots armed with scythes; and frighten the horses, by discharging at them a shower of arrows, javelins, and stones. Those who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as possible; but in such a manner as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in sight, Alexander,

who had been shown the several places where the caltrops were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Persians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, where his armed chariots could not act, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their line farther. Then Alexander despatched against them the body of horse in his service commanded by Menidas; but as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæonians, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry. The Barbarians gave way at first, but soon returned to the charge. Besides the advantage of numbers, they had that also of their coats of mail, which secured themselves and their horses much more. Alexander's cavalry was much annoyed; however, they sustained the charge with great bravery, and at last put them to flight.

Upon this the Persians drove the chariots armed with scythes against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers who formed that body made, by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the troops, as he had been instructed by the king; and, crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a sure omen of victory,) he showed with his finger the pretended bird to the soldiers; who, relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulness and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas, after having charged the cavalry, and put them into disorder, upon their advancing to surround his right wing, had begun to break the foremost ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army; marched to support him with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without pursuing the forces which he had thrown into disorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had posted himself. The presence of the two kings inspired both sides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavour was to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal lamentations, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot; but those who were at his right, took him into the centre of their body. Historians relate, that this prince, having drawn his scimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself rather than fly in an ignominious manner; but, perceiving from his chariot that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and, as he was wavering between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could

¹ According to several historians it amounted to upwards of 1,000,000 men.

² Nomina veries quàm auxilia. Q. Curt.

no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the rest; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him.

Whilst all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Persian, Indian, and Parthian horse, which were the best in all the Persian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives saw them arrive in the camp, they armed themselves with every thing that came first to hand, and joining the cavalry, rushed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the same time, told Sysigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed;) that the whole baggage was plundered, and that she was now going to recover her liberty. But this princess, who was a woman of great wisdom, though this news affected her in the strongest manner, could not easily give credit to it; and being unwilling to exasperate, by too hasty a joy, a conqueror who had treated her with so much humanity, did not discover the least emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a single word; but in her usual posture, calmly waited till the event should denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the first report of this attack, had despatched a messenger to Alexander to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was exposed, and to receive his orders. "Above all things," said the prince, "let him not weaken his main body; let him not mind the baggage, but apply himself wholly to the engagement; for victory will not only restore us our own possessions, but also give those of the enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the centre of the second line, seeing the enemy, were going to make themselves masters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the order which had been given, and fell upon the Persians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the rest obliged to retire; but as these were horse, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himself was exposed to much greater peril. Mazeus, having rushed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to surround them. Immediately Parmenio sent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in case he were not immediately succoured, it would be impossible for him to keep his soldiers together. The prince was actually in pursuit of Darius, and fancying he was almost come up with him, rode with the utmost speed. He flattered himself, that he should absolutely put an end to the war, in case he could but seize his person. But, upon this news, he turned about in order to succour his left wing, shuddering with rage to see his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and complaining against fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himself in the pursuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horse who had plundered the baggage, returning in good order, and retiring, not as soldiers who had been defeated, but almost as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obstinate than before; for the Barbarians marching close in columns, not in order of battle but of march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuse themselves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about according to their usual custom; but man engaging against man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorse his enemy. Alexander lost threescore of his guards in this attack. Hephæstion, Conus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however he triumphed on this occasion, and all the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except such as forced their way through his squadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus, that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill success of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his side, he ceased to charge the enemy, who were now in dis-

order, so briskly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to pass, that the battle, which before was carried on so warmly, should slacken on a sudden; however, like an able commander, who seizes every advantage, solely intent upon inspiring his soldiers with fresh vigour, he observed to them, that the terror which spread throughout the enemy's ranks, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the last hand to the victory. Upon this exhortation, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; and transformed on a sudden, as it were into other men, they gave the horses the rein, and charged the enemy with so much fury, as threw them into the greatest disorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up at that instant, and overjoyed to find the scale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the pursuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela where he fancied he should come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only just passed by it, and left his treasure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and shield.

Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost 300,000 men, besides those who were taken prisoners; which, at least, is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander was very inconsiderable, he not losing, according to the last mentioned author, 1200 men, most of whom were horse.

This engagement was fought in the month of October,¹ about the same. A. M. 3674. time that, two years before, the battle of Issus was fought. As Ganzamela, in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that being the nearest city to the field of battle.

SECTION IX.—ALEXANDER POSSESSES HIMSELF OF ARBELA, BABYLON, SUSA, PERSEPOLIS, AND FINDS IMMENSE RICHES IN THOSE CITIES. AT A BANQUET HE SETS FIRE TO THE PALACE OF PERSEPOLIS.

ALEXANDER's first care,² after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving. He afterwards rewarded such as had signalized themselves remarkably in the battle; bestowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houses, employments, and governments. But, being desirous of expressing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generalissimo, against the Persians, he gave orders for abolishing the several tyrannical institutions that had started up in Greece; that the cities should be restored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Plataeans, declaring, that it was his desire their city should be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their ancestors had distinguished themselves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. He also sent part of the spoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, after the lapse of so many years, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the wrestler, a native of their country,³ who (whilst war was carrying on by the Medes, and when all the rest of the Greeks that were settled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone) fitted out a galley at his own expense, and sailed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time exposed. So great a friend and encourager, says Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; considering himself obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions, to give them the immortality they

¹ The month, called by the Greeks *Boedromion*, answers partly to our month of October.

² Diod. l. xvii. p. 538—540. Arrian. l. iii. p. 127—133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 1—7. Justin l. xi. c. 14.

³ Herodotus relates this history in very few words, l. viii. c. 47.

merited, and propose them to posterity as so many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, with very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After crossing it, several advised him to break down the bridge, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous answer: "That life was not so dear to him, as to make him desire to preserve it by the destruction of so many thousands of his subjects and faithful allies, who, by that means, would be delivered up to the mercy of the enemy; that they had as much right to pass over this bridge as their sovereign, and consequently that it ought to be as open to them as to himself." After riding a great number of leagues full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by his nobility and a few of his guards. The reason of his going that way was, his supposing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Susa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory: besides, a numerous army could not pursue him by this road; whereas, in the other, horses and chariots might advance with great ease; not to mention that the country was very fruitful.

A few days after, Arbela surrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich clothes, and other precious articles, with 4000 talents, (about 775,000*l.*) and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his setting out against Alexander, as was before observed. But he was soon obliged to leave that place, because of the diseases that spread in his camp, occasioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days' march, arrived at Memmi, where, in a cave, is seen the celebrated fountain which throws out bitumen, in such quantities, that, we are told, it was used as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired most, was a great gulf, which streamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhaustible spring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulf. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, viz. its catching fire so very suddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that surrounds the flame, and sets the air between both on fire. The Barbarians being desirous of showing the king the strength and subtle nature of this combustible substance, scattered several drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that street which went up to the house he had chosen for his residence. After this, going to the other end of the street, they brought torches near the places where those drops were fallen (for it was night,) and the drops which were highest the torches taking fire on a sudden, the flame ran in an instant to the other end; by which means the whole street seemed in one general conflagration.²

When Alexander drew near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered himself, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleased with his arrival; for he would have met with great difficulties in besieging a city of such importance, and so well provided with every thing. Besides his being a person of quality, and very brave, he had also acquired great honour in the last battle; and others might be prompted, from the example he set them, to imitate him. Alexander

entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out to meet him, from the impatient desire they had to see their new sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars, which smoked not only with frankincense, but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the presents which were to be made to the king, viz. herds of cattle, and a great number of horses as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these the magi walked, singing hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonish soothsayers and musicians: it was customary for the latter to sing the praises of their kings to their instruments; and the Chaldeans to observe the motion of the planets, and the vicissitude of the seasons. The rear was brought up by the Babylonish cavalry, of which both men and horses were so sumptuous, that imagination can scarce conceive their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after his infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and seated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the moneys which he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompense, to each Macedonian horseman six *mina* (about 15*l.*;) to each foreign horseman two *mina* (about 5*l.*;) to every Macedonian foot soldier, two *mina*; and to every one of the rest, two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders pursuant to the advice of the magi, with whom he had several conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demolished; and, among others, that of Belus, who was held in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midst of the hurry and tumult of war, still preserved a love for the sciences. He used often to converse with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themselves to the study of astronomy from the earliest times, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it.³ They presented him with astronomical observations, taken by their predecessors during the space of 1903 years, which consequently went as far backward as the age of Nimrod. These were sent by Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aristotle.

The king resided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the discipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themselves to pleasures, to voluptuousness, and the most infamous excesses; nor did ladies, though of the highest quality, observe any decorum, or show the least reserve in their licentiousness, but gloried therein, so far from endeavouring to conceal it, or blushing at their enormity. It must be confessed, that this army of soldiers, which had triumphed over Asia, after having thus enervated themselves, and rioted, as it were, in the sloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would have been scarce able to complete their exploits, had they been opposed by an enemy. But, as they were reinforced from time to time, these irregularities were not so visible; for Amyntas brought 6000 foot and 500 Macedonian horse, which were sent by Antipater; and 600 Thracian horse, with 3500 foot of the same nation; besides 4000 mercenaries from Peloponnesus, with near 400 horses.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had also brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, sons to noblemen of the highest quality in the country, to serve as his guards. These youths waited upon him at table, brought him his horses when in the field, attended

¹ *Nen ita se saluti sum velle consultum, ut tot millia sociorum hosti obijcent: debere et aliis fugam viam patere quem patere sibi.* Justin.

² [This place is called Memmius by others. It is placed by Bunnell on the Little Zab, and 38 geographical miles S. in direct distance from Irbil, and S. N. of the modern Kirkook. Its modern appellation is Korkor Baba, and answers to the Coreura of Ptolemy, if Kirkook be not it. In Kinnier's maps Kirkook is placed 60 British miles S. of Irbil, and 15 miles S. W. of Memmi. A number of naphtha pits still exist at Memmi or Korkor Baba. The bitumen used for cement in the erection of the walls might be got here or at Haditha on the Euphrates, N. W. of Babylon.]

³ Porphyr. apud Simplic. In lib. ii. de Caelo.

upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns; and these were the first steps to the highest employments both in the army and the state.

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the soil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But lest indolence should enervate the courage of his soldiers, he proposed prizes for such of them as should exert the greatest bravery; and appointed as judges of the actions of those who should dispute this honour, persons, who themselves had been eye-witnesses of the proofs of bravery which each soldier had given in the former battles, for on these only the prizes were to be bestowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced most valiant, he gave a regiment, consisting of 1000 men: whence those officers were called *Chiliarchi*. This was the first time that regiments were composed of so great a number of soldiers, as they consisted before but of 500, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The soldiers ran in crowds to view this illustrious sight, not only as eye-witnesses of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themselves; because they might perceive very easily whether rewards were bestowed on merit, or merely by favour; a circumstance in which soldiers can never be imposed upon. The prizes seem to have been distributed with the utmost equity and justice.

He likewise made several very advantageous changes in military discipline, as established by his predecessors; for he formed one single body of his whole cavalry, without showing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed such officers to command them, as they themselves thought fit to nominate; whereas before, the horse of every nation used to fight under its own particular standard, and was commanded by a colonel of its country. The trumpet's sound used to be the signal for the march; but as it very frequently could not be well heard, because of the great noise that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a standard should be set up over his tent, which might be seen by his whole army. He also appointed fire to be the signal in the night-time, and smoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Susa, where he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, sent his son to meet him, with a promise to surrender the city into his hands; whether he was prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuse Alexander with the hopes of plunder, the king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who conducted him to the river Choaspes, the waters of which are so famous, upon account of their exquisite taste.¹ The kings of Persia never drank of any other, and whithersoever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in silver vases. It was here that Abutites came to wait upon him, bringing presents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants which Darius had sent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immense sums out of the treasury, with 50,000 talents of silver;² in ore and ingots, besides moveables, and a thousand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions imposed for several centuries upon the common people, from whose sweat and poverty immense revenues were raised. The Persian monarchs fancied they had amassed them for their children and posterity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right use of them; for Alexander seemed to be merely the guardian or trustee of the immense riches which he found hoarded up in Persia; and applied them to no other use than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there were found 5000 quintals³

of Hermione⁴ purple, the finest in the world, which had been treasured up there during the space of 190 years; notwithstanding which, its beauty and lustre were nowise diminished.

Here likewise was found a part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander sent afterwards to Athens, where they were standing in Arrian's time.⁵

The king being resolved to march into Persia appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Susa, with a garrison of 3000 men; Mezarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with 1000 Macedonian soldiers, who could not follow him by reason of their great age. He gave the government of Susiana to Abutites.

He left Darius's mother and children in Susa; and having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple stuffs and rich habits, made after the fashion of the country, he presented them to Sysgambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he had paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if she had been his mother. He likewise commanded the messengers to tell her, that in case she was pleased with those stuffs, she might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them, by way of amusement; and to give them as presents to whosoever they should think proper. At these words, the tears which fell from her eyes showed but too evidently how greatly she was displeased with these gifts, and how insulting she considered the message; the working in wool being considered by the Persian women as the highest ignominy. Those who carried these presents, having told the king that Sysgambis was very much dissatisfied, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and administer some consolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a visit, when he spoke thus: "Mother, the stuff in which you see me clothed, was not only a present from my sisters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg you to believe, that the custom of my country misled me; and do not consider that as in fault, which was owing entirely to ignorance. I believe I have not as yet done any thing which I knew interfered with your manners and customs. I was told, that among the Persians it is a sort of crime for a son to sent himself in his mother's presence, without first obtaining her leave. You are sensible how cautious I have always been in this particular; and that I never sat down, till you had first laid your commands upon me to do so. And every time that you were going to fall prostrate before me, I only ask you whether I would suffer it? As the highest testimony of the veneration I have for you, I have always called you by the tender name of mother, though this belongs properly to Olympias alone, to whom I owe my birth."⁶

What I have just now related, may suggest two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the same time of the utmost importance.

First, we see to how great a height the Persians (so vain and haughty in other respects) carried the veneration they showed their parents. The reader, doubtless remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midst of his conquests, and at the most brilliant era of his good fortune, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had first advised with his father and mother, and obtained their consent. History informs us,⁷ here, that among the Persians, a son, how great and powerful soever he might be, never dared to seat himself before his mother, till he had first obtained her leave; and that to do otherwise was considered as a crime. Alas! how widely different are our manners.

Secondly, I discover in the same relation, several

⁴ Hermione was a city of Argolis, where the best purple was dyed.

⁵ What Arrian ascribes here to Alexander, in regard to the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, is attributed by other historians to other princes.

⁶ Scio apud vos, filium in conspectu matris nefas esse considere, nisi cum illa permittit. *Quint. Curt.*

¹ Herod. lib. i. c. 188.

² About seven millions five hundred thousand pounds.

³ The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was sold at the rate of a hundred crowns a pound. The quintal is a hundred weight of Paris.

valuable footsteps of that happy simplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the custom for ladies, though of the greatest distinction, to employ themselves in useful and sometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in Scripture to this purpose concerning Rebekah, Rachel, and several others. We read in Homer, of princesses themselves drawing water from springs, and washing, with their own hands, the linen of their respective families. Here the sisters of Alexander,¹ that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia used to spin in the midst of her female attendants. Augustus, who was sovereign of the world, wore, for several years together, no other clothes but what his wife and sister made him. It was a custom in the northern parts of the world, not many years since, for the princes, who then sat upon the throne, to prepare several of the dishes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domestic affairs, a serious and retired life, is the proper function of women, and for this they were designed by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to these customs, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanness and contempt: but then, what has it substituted in the room of the hardy and vigorous exercises which a proper education enabled the sex to undertake, in the room of that laborious and useful life which was spent at home? A languid indolence, a stupid idleness, frivolous conversation, vain amusements, a strong passion for public shows, and a frantic love for gaming. Let us compare these two characters, and then pronounce which of them may justly boast its being founded on good sense, solid judgment, and a taste for truth and nature. It must, nevertheless, be confessed, in honour of the fair sex and of our nation, that several ladies among us, and those of the highest quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to employ themselves in works, not of a trifling, but of the most useful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I also might add, that great numbers of these adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the same time, serious and useful studies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Sysigambis, who now was extremely well satisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants of the country Pasi-Tigris.² Having crossed it with 9000 foot and 3000 horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of 3000 Thracians, he entered the country of the *Uzii*. This region lies near Susa and extends to the frontiers of Persia; a narrow pass only lying between it and Susiana. Madetes commanded this province. This man was not a time server,³ not a follower of fortune; but faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and for this purpose had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter; which they obtained, at last, by the intercession of Sysigambis. The king not only pardoned Madetes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges; would not suffer the city to be plundered, and permitted them to plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Sysigambis have possibly obtained more from her own son on this occasion, had he been the victor?

The *Uzii* being subdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain: whilst himself, at the head of his light-armed troops, crossed the mountains, which

extend as far as Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the pass of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with 4000 foot and 700 horse, had taken possession of those rocks which are craggy on all sides, and posted the Barbarians at the summit, out of the reach of arrows. He also had built a wall in those passes, and encamped his forces under it. As soon as Alexander advanced in order to attack him, the Barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, stones of a prodigious size, which falling from rock to rock, rushed forward with the greater violence, and at once crushed to pieces whole bands of soldiers. The king being very much terrified at this sight; commanded a retreat to be sounded; and it was with the utmost grief he saw himself not only stopped at this pass, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilst he was revolving these gloomy thoughts, a Grecian prisoner presented himself to Alexander, and promised to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, and leaving the superintendence of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cause a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the Barbarians might thereby be more strongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in person. After this, taking some chosen troops with him, he set out, going through all the by-ways as his guide directed. But, besides that these paths were very craggy, and the rocks so slippery that their feet would scarce stand upon them; the soldiers were also very much distressed by the snows which the winds had brought together, and which were so deep, that the men fell into them, as into so many ditches; and when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themselves would likewise sink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increased by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide whose fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through many difficulties and dangers, they at last got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they discovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them sword in hand, at a time when they least expected it. Such as made the least defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means the cries of the dying on one side, and on the other the fright of those who were retiring to their main body, spread so great a terror, that they fled, without striking a blow. At this noise Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded when he left him, and seized the pass, which, till then, had resisted his attacks; and at the same time Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Cennus, and Polysperchon, and broke quite through the Barbarians, who now were attacked on every side. The greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and those who fled, fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, escaped through mountains.

Alexander, in consequence of the good fortune which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. On the road he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he was intrusted, and therefore that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the Araxes⁴ to cross, after which the road was smooth and easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harassed by the length and swiftness of this march; and passed the Araxes on a bridge, which by his order, had been built some days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the extremest misery. These were about 800 Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments

¹ Mater, hanc vestem, quâ indutus sum, sororum non alium domum, sed etiam opus vides. *Quint. Curt.*

² This is a different river from the Tigris.

³ [This river is the modern Jorahi. See a former note on Susa and the river Gyndes.]

⁴ Haud sanè temporum homo: quippe ultima pro fide exercitii decreverat. *Quint. Curt.*

⁴ This is not the same river with that in Armenia.

which the Persian tyranny could inflict. They had cut off the hands of some, the feet of others; the noses and ears of others; after which, having impressed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as so many laughing-stocks, with which they galled their eyes and their cruelty. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and as they unanimously besought him to commiserate their condition, he bid them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond, and assured them that they should again see their wives and country. This proposal, which one might suppose should naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions arising on the occasion. "How will it be possible," said one of them, "for us to appear publicly before all Greece, in the dreadful condition to which we are reduced; a condition still more shameful than dissatisfactory? The best way to bear misery is to conceal it; and no country is so sweet to the wretched as solitude, and an oblivion of their past happiness. Besides, how will it be possible for us to undertake so long a journey? Driven to a great distance from Europe, banished to the most remote parts of the east, worn out with age, and most of our limbs maimed, can we pretend to undergo fatigues, which have wearied even a triumphant army? The only thing that now remains for us, is to hide our misery, and to end our days among those who are already so accustomed to our misfortunes." Others, in whom the love of their country extinguished all other sentiments, represented, "that the gods offered them what they should not even have dared to ask, viz. their country, their wives, their children, and all those things for whose sake men are fond of life, and despise death; that they had long enough borne the sad yoke of slavery; and that nothing happier could present itself than their being indulged the bliss of going at last to breathe the air of liberty, to resume their ancient manners, laws, and sacrifices, and to die in the presence of their wives and children."

However the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they besought the king to permit them to continue in a country where they had spent so many years. He granted their request, and presented each of them 3000 drachmas; five men's suits of clothes, and the same number for women; two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to sow them. He commanded the governor of the province not to suffer them to be molested in any manner, and ordered that they should be free from taxes and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impossible for Alexander to restore them the limbs, of which the Persians had so cruelly deprived them; but he restored them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance. Thrice happy those princes, who are affected with the pleasure which arises from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate!

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, represented to them, "That no city in the world had ever been more fatal to the Greeks than Persepolis, the ancient residence of the Persian monarchs, and the capital of their empire: that it was from thence all those mighty armies poured, which had overflowed Greece; and whence Darius first, and afterwards Xerxes, had carried the fire-brand of the most accursed war, which had laid waste all Europe; and therefore that it was incumbent on them to revenge the names of their ancestors." It was already abandoned by the Persians, who all fled as fear directed them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious soldiers soon met with riches sufficient to satiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all those who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and published an order, by which his soldiers were forbid to violate the chastity of the women. Alexander had before possessed himself, either by

force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities; but all this was a trifle compared with the treasures he found here. The Barbarians had laid up at Persepolis, as in a storehouse, all the wealth of Persia. Gold and silver were never seen here but in heaps, not to mention the clothes and furniture of inestimable value; for this was the seat of luxury. There were found in the treasury 120,000 talents,^a which were designed to defray the expense of the war. To this prodigious sum he added 6000 talents,^b taken from Pasargada. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Persia used to be crowned.

During Alexander's stay in Persepolis, a little before he set out upon his march against Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the guests drank to excess. Among the women, who were admitted to it, was Thais the courtesan, a native of Attica, and at that time mistress to Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feast, during which she had studiously endeavoured to praise the king in the most artful and delicate manner (a stratagem too often practised by women of that character,) she said, with a gay tone of voice, "That it would be matter of inexpressible joy to her, were she permitted (in order to end this festival nobly) to burn the magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burned Athens; and to set it on fire with her own hand, in presence of the king, in order that it might be said in all parts of the world, that the women who had followed Alexander in his expedition to Asia, had taken much better vengeance of the Persians, for the many calamities they had brought upon the Grecians, than all the generals who had fought for them both by sea and land." All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king rose from the table (his head being crowned with flowers,) and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into loud acclamations, and afterwards, singing and dancing, they surround the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with lighted torches, and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was sorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire, but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great successes increased this beneficent disposition; and he accompanied the presents he made with such testimonies of humanity and kindness, and so obliging a demeanour, as very much enhanced their value. He acted thus in a particular manner towards fifty Macedonian young noblemen, who served under him as guards. Olympias his mother, thinking him too profuse, wrote to him as follows: "I do not blame you," said she, "for being beneficent towards your friends, for that is acting like a king; but then a medium ought to be observed in your magnificence. You equal them all with kings, and by heaping riches on them, you give them an opportunity of making a great number of friends, of all whom you deprive yourself." As she often wrote the same advice to him, he always kept her letters very secret, and did not show them to any person; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephestion drew near to him, and read it over his shoulder, which the king observing, did not offer to hinder him; but only taking the ring from his finger, he put the seal of it upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He used to send magnificent presents to his mother; but then he never would let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She used frequently to make very severe complaints upon that account; but he always submitted to her ill humour with great mildness and patience. Antipater having one day written a long letter against her, the king, after reading it, replied, "Antipater does not know that one single tear shed by a mother, will obliterate 10,000 such letters as this." A behaviour like this, and such an answer show, at one and the same time, that Alex-

^a About 75L

^b About 18,000,000 sterling.

^c About 900,000L

ander was both a kind son and an able politician; and that he was perfectly sensible how dangerous it would have been, had he invested a woman of Olympias's character with the supreme authority.

SECTION X.—DARIUS LEAVES ECBATANA. HE IS BETRAYED AND PUT IN CHAINS BY BESSUS, GOVERNOR OF BACTRIANA. THE LATTER, UPON ALEXANDER'S ADVANCING TOWARD HIM, FLIES, AFTER HAVING COVERED DARIUS WITH WOUNDS, WHO EXPIRES A FEW MOMENTS BEFORE ALEXANDER'S ARRIVAL. HE SENDS HIS CORPSE TO SYSIGAMBEIS.

ALEXANDER, after he had taken A. M. 3674. Persepolis and Pasargada, resolved to pursue Darius, who was arrived Ant. J. C. 330. by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 Greeks, who were faithful to him to the last. Besides these he had 4000 slingers, and upwards of 3000 cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, governor of Bactriana. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before; then assembling his principal officers, he spoke to them as follows: "Dear companions, among so many thousand men who composed my army, you alone have not abandoned me during the whole course of my ill fortune; and in a little time, nothing but your fidelity and constancy will be able to make me fancy myself a king. Deserters and traitors now govern in my cities; not that they are thought worthy of the honour bestowed upon them, but that the rewards which are given them may tempt you to follow their example, and stagger your perseverance. You have, however, still chosen to follow my fortune rather than that of the conqueror, for which you certainly have merited a recompense from the gods; and do not doubt but they will prove beneficent towards you, in case that power is denied me. With such soldiers and officers I would brave, without the least dread, the enemy, how formidable soever he may be. What! would any one have me surrender myself up to the mercy of the conqueror, and expect from him, as a reward of my baseness and meanness of spirit, the government of some province which he may condescend to leave me? No!—It never shall be in the power of any man, either to take away, or fix upon my head, the diadem I wear; the same hour shall put a period to my reign and life. If you have all the same courage and resolution, which I can no ways doubt, I will engage that you shall retain your liberty, and not be exposed to the pride and insults of the Macedonians. You have in your hands the means either to revenge or terminate all your evils." Having ended his speech, the whole body of soldiers replied with shouts, that they were ready to follow him whithersoever he should go, and would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence.

Such was the resolution of the soldiery; but Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains; which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire which was just ready to fall; at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. Though these intrigues were carried on very secretly, they came however to the ear of

Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, intreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person to men, on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himself to put so great an affront upon the Persians, and therefore made answer: "That it would be a less affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn them: that he would suffer the worst of evils amidst those of his own nation, rather than seek for security among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them: and that he could not but die too late, in case the Persian soldiers thought him unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this information; for the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana.

Alexander, being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard which he left there. According to Strabo,² these treasures amounted to 180,000 talents (about 27,000,000*l.* sterling); and, according to Justin,³ 10,000 talents (about 1,500,000*l.*) more. He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the Cadusians, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the rest of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He sent orders to Clitus, who staid behind in Susa, where he lay sick, that as soon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he should take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at Rhages⁴ which is a long day's journey from the Caspian straits: but Darius had already passed through them. Alexander now despairing to overtake him, what despatch soever he might make, stayed there five days to rest his forces. He then marched against the Parthians, and the first day pitched his camp near the Caspian straits, and passed them the next. News was soon brought him, that Darius had been seized by the traitors; that Bessus had caused him to be drawn in a chariot, and had sent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the surer of his person; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who, not having a soul base enough to consent to so abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a fresh motive for him to hasten his march. The Barbarians at his arrival were seized with dread; though the match would not have been equal, had Bessus been as resolute for fighting as for putting in execution the detestable act above-mentioned: for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and strength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander (a motive all powerful in war) filled them with such terror, that they all fled. Bessus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, requested him to mount his horse, and fly from the enemy; but he replied that the gods were ready to avenge the evils he had suffered; and beseeching Alexander to do him justice, he refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into such a fury, that throwing their darts at him, they left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime, they separated, in order to leave different footsteps of their flight, and thereby elude the pursuits of the enemy, in case he should follow them; or at least oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Bessus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horsemen; and as the Barbarians were by this means destitute of leaders, they disper-

¹ Diol. l. xvii. p. 540—546. Arrian. l. iii. p. 133—137. Plut. in Alex. p. 68*l.* Q. Curt. l. v. c. 8—14. Justin. l. xi. c. 15.

² Strab. l. xv. p. 741.

³ Justin l. xli. c. 1.

⁴ This is the city mentioned in Tobit, iv. 1.

sed themselves up and down, as fear or hope directed their steps.

After searching about in different places, Darius was at last found, in a retired spot, his body run through with spears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough before he died, to call for drink, which a Macedonian, named Polystratus, brought him. He had with him a Persian prisoner, whom he employed as interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian and said, "That in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he however should have the comfort to speak to one who could understand him, and that his last words would not be lost. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander, that he died in his debt, without having had the power of returning his obligations: that he gave him infinite thanks for the great kindness he had shown towards his mother, his wife, and his children, not only sparing their lives, but permitting them to continue in their former splendour: that he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch of the universe; that he thought he need not entreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his person, as this was the common cause of kings."

After this, taking Polystratus by the hand, "Give him," said he, "thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and affection." Saying these words, he breathed his last, Alexander coming up a moment after, and seeing Darius's body, wept bitterly; and, by the strongest testimonies of grief that could be shown, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he sent it to Sysigambis, in order that it might be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and be entombed with his ancestors.

Thus died Darius, the third year

A. M. 3674. of the 112th Olympiad, at about Ant. J. C. 330. fifty years of age, six of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and

pacific prince; his reign, with the exception of the death of Caridenus, having been unsullied with injustice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwise from the perpetual war in which he had been engaged against Alexander ever since his accession to the throne. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed 206 years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great (the founder of it) under thirteen kings: viz. Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis the Magian, Darius the son of Hystaspes, Xerxes I., Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II., Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomanus.

SECTION XI.—VICES WHICH FIRST CAUSED THE DECLINE, AND AT LAST THE RUIN OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

The death of Darius Codomanus, may very justly be considered as the era, but not as the sole cause, of the destruction of the Persian monarchy. When we take a general view of the history of the kings above-mentioned, and consider with some attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we easily perceive that this decline was prepared at a great distance, and carried on to its end by visible steps which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at first sight, that the declension of the Persian empire and its fall, are owing to its very origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pomp, luxury, softness and voluptuousness. The example of fru-

gality and simplicity which Cyrus had set them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time; but when all was subdued and in subjection to them, the fondness which the Medes had naturally for pleasures and magnificence, soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became in a little time the prevailing taste of the two nations.

Several other causes conspired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated her victors with her poisoned cup, and enchanted them with the charms of pleasure. She furnished them with such ministers and instruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish voluptuousness with art and delicacy; and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world being at the entire disposal of new sovereigns, they thereby were enabled to satiate all their desires.

Even Cyrus himself, as I have observed elsewhere, contributed to this, without foreseeing the consequences of it; and prepared men's minds for it by the splendid festival which he gave, after having ended his conquests; at which he showed himself in the midst of his troops, who had shared in his victories, with such a pomp and ostentation as were most capable of dazzling the eye. He first inspired them with an admiration for pomp and show, which they had hitherto despised. He suggested to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the most glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them: and by thus inspiring his subjects with a strong desire for things they saw so highly esteemed by a most accomplished prince, his example authorized them to abandon themselves to that inclination without reserve.

He spread this evil still further by obliging his judges, officers, and governors of provinces, to appear with splendour before the people, the better to represent the majesty of the prince. On one side, these magistrates and commanders easily mistook these ornaments and trappings of their employments for the most essential parts of them, endeavouring to distinguish themselves by nothing but this glittering outside; and, on the other, men of the greatest wealth in the provinces proposed them as so many patterns for their imitation, and were soon followed by persons of moderate fortune, whom those in the lowest stations of life strove to equal.

So many causes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authorized publicly, soon destroyed the ancient virtue of the Persians. They did not sink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreseen and often opposed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there rose up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Mention was no longer made of that manly, that severe education which was bestowed on the Persian youth; of those public schools of sobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of those laborious and warlike exercises; of all these there did not remain the smallest traces; the young men being brought up in splendour and effeminacy, which they now saw was had in honour, immediately began to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers and formed, in the space of one generation, an entire new set of people, whose manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly opposite to those of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties: and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the most abandoned to splendour, luxury, feasting, and even to drunkenness; so that we may affirm that the empire of the Persians was almost at its birth, what other empires became through length of time alone, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its destruction in its own bosom, and this internal vice increased in every successive reign.

After the unsuccessful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes against Scythia and Greece, the princes their successors became insensible to the ambition of making conquests, and gave themselves up a prey to

gueness and effeminacy; they grew careless of military discipline, and substituted in the place of regular soldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confused multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their respective countries. The reader may have observed, on more than one occasion, that the whole strength, and almost the only resource of the Persian army, lay in the Greeks whom they retained in their service; that, properly speaking, they depended on them only, and always took great care to oppose them to the best troops of the enemy: they were the only soldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last; and we have seen that Memnon the Rhodian was the sole great general who made head against Alexander.

Instead of choosing for the command of their forces officers of skill and experience, they used to appoint persons of the greatest quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were distinguished by nothing but the sumptuousness of their feasts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever surrounded, of guards, domestics, eunuchs, and women; such an assemblage, formed merely for vain show and ostentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, encumbered an army (already but too numerous) with useless soldiers, made it slow in its marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of subsisting long in a country, and of following up great enterprises in sight of an enemy.

The Persian monarchs shutting themselves up in their palaces in order to abandon themselves to pleasures, and appearing seldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, in women, in slaves, and in flattering courtiers, whose sole thoughts and endeavours were to banish true merit, which was offensive to them; to give the rewards appointed for services to their own creatures; and to entrust the greatest employments of the state to persons devoted to their interested and ambitious views, rather than to such whose abilities rendered them capable of serving their country.

Another characteristic of these princes, which is but too frequent in that high sphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accustomed from their infancy to have their ears soothed with false praises and the most extravagant compliments, and to have a blind submission paid to their will. They were educated in so exalted an idea of their own grandeur, that they readily persuaded themselves that the rest of men were formed merely to serve them, and administer to their pleasures. They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wise and good government; the principles by which men should judge of solid merit, and select persons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raised to sovereign power merely to protect their subjects and make them happy. They were not made sensible of the exquisite pleasure that a monarch feels who is the delight of his subjects, and the public source of the felicity of so vast an empire, as Cyrus the Great had been, who was so dear to his people, that every individual family considered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to consist in making himself feared, and in his being able to gratify all his passions with impunity.

So ill judged an education must necessarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to sustain the weight of so mighty an empire, nor to grasp the several parts of so extensive and laborious an administration. Idleness, and a love for pleasure, made them careless and averse to business; and they sacrificed matters of the highest importance to their vain amusements. Some of them were born with such happy dispositions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned them-

selves to the allurements of a too despotic power, and an over great prosperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of listening, in their counsels, to any expressions delivered with freedom, or of suffering the least opposition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their subjects, since their whole study was to aggrandize themselves, and to sacrifice all considerations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortune, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domestics, and subjects; and did not find any where a sincere affection, nor a real attachment to his person and interest. The dazzling splendour of the Persian monarchy concealed a real weakness; and this unwieldy power, heightened by so much pomp and pride, had no support in the hearts of the people; so that this colossus, at the very first blow, fell to the ground.

SECTION XII.—LACEDÆMON REVOLTS FROM THE MACEDONIANS, WITH ALMOST ALL PELOPONNESUS. ANTIPATER MARCHES OUT ON THIS OCCASION. DEFEATS THE ENEMY IN A BATTLE, IN WHICH AGIS IS KILLED. ALEXANDER MARCHES AGAINST BESSUS. THALESTRIS, QUEEN OF THE AMAZONS, COMES TO VISIT HIM FROM A FAR COUNTRY. ALEXANDER, AT HIS RETURN FROM PARTHIA, ABANDONS HIMSELF TO PLEASURE AND EXCESS. HE CONTINUES HIS MARCH AGAINST BESSUS. A PRETENDED CONSPIRACY OF PHILOTAS AGAINST THE KING. HE, AND PARMENIO HIS FATHER, ARE PUT TO DEATH. ALEXANDER SUBDUES SEVERAL NATIONS. HE AT LAST ARRIVES IN BACTRIANA, WHITHER BESSUS IS BROUGHT TO HIM.

WHILST things passed in Asia as we have seen,¹ some tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had sent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that side; the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almost all Peloponnesus in their design. Upon this news, Antipater, after having settled to the best of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmost expedition into Greece, whence he immediately despatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of these several transactions. As soon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he resolved to give them battle. The Lacedæmonian army consisted of no more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, under the command of Agis, their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the superiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow spot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to signalize themselves in an extraordinary manner for the honour of their respective countries, the one fired with the remembrance of their pristine glory, and the other animated by their present greatness, fought with equal courage; the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the spot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a superiority, and made a proper use of his advantage. Agis was distinguished by his suit of armour, his noble mien, and still more so by his valour. The battle was hottest round his person, and he himself performed the most astonishing acts of bravery. At last, after having been wounded in several parts of his body, his soldiers carried him off upon his shield. However this did not damp their courage; for having seized an advantageous post, where they kept close to their ranks, they resisted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withstood them a long time, the Lacedæmonians began to give ground, being scarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with sweat; they afterwards retired very fast, and at last ran quite away. The king, seeing himself

¹ *Diod. l. xviii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 1*

closely pursued, still made some efforts, notwithstanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppose the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the last oppressed by numbers, he died sword in hand.

In this engagement upwards of 3000 Lacedæmonians lost their lives, and 1000 Macedonians at most; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but also the hopes of those who only waited the issue of this war, to declare themselves. Antipater immediately sent the news of this success to Alexander: but, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the most modest and circumspect terms; and such as were best adapted to diminish the lustre of a victory which might expose him to envy. He was sensible that Alexander's delicacy on the point of honour was so very great, that he looked upon the glory which another person obtained as a diminution of his own. And indeed he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop some words which discovered his jealousy. Antipater did not dare to dispose of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedæmonians leave to send an embassy to the king, in order that they themselves might learn their fate from his own mouth. Alexander pardoned them, some of those who had occasioned the revolt excepted, and these he punished.

Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from pursuing Bessus,¹ who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had assumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at last that it would be impossible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and resting his troops some days in Hecatompylos, commanded provisions to be brought thither from all quarters.

During his stay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conquests he had achieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very instant the soldiers, as if a signal had been made for their setting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load their waggon with the utmost despatch, and fill the whole camp with noise and tumult. The noise soon reached the ears of Alexander, when terrified at the disorder, he summoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midst of so glorious a career, he was stopped on a sudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by representing, that this sudden motion was a mere sally, and a transient gust of passion, which would not be attended with any ill consequences; and assured him, that the soldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he himself would address them but with mildness and tenderness. He promised to do it. The circumstance which had given occasion to this false report, was his having disbanded some Grecian soldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; so that the Macedonians imagined they also were to fight no more.

Alexander having summoned the army, made the following speech: "I am not surprised, O soldiers, if, after the mighty things we have hitherto performed you should be satiated with glory, and have no other views but ease and repose. I will not now enumerate the various nations we have conquered. We have subdued more provinces than others have cities. Could I persuade myself, that our conquests were well secured, over nations who were so soon overcome, I would think as you do (for I will not disseminate my thoughts,) and would make all the haste imaginable to revisit my household-gods, my mother, my sisters, and my subjects, and enjoy in the midst of my country the glory I have acquired in concert with you. But this glory will all vanish very soon,

if we do not put the last hand to the work. Do you imagine, that so many nations, accustomed to other sovereigns, and who have no manner of agreement with us either in their religion, manners, or language, were entirely subdued the moment they were conquered; and that they will not take up arms, in case we return back with so much precipitation? What will become of the rest who still remain unconquered? What! shall we leave our victory imperfect, merely for want of courage? But that which touches me much more; shall we suffer the detestable crime of Bessus to go unpunished? Can you bear to see the sceptre of Darius transferred to the sanguinary hands of that monster, who, after having loaded him with chains, as a captive, at last assassinated his sovereign, in order to deprive us of the glory of saving him? As for myself, I shall not be easy till I see that infamous wretch hanging on a gibbet, there to pay, to all kinds and nations of the earth, the just punishment due to his execrable crime. I do not know whether I am mistaken; but methinks I read his sentence of death in your countenances; and that the anger which sparkles in your eyes, declares you will soon imbrue your hands in that traitor's blood."

The soldiers would not suffer Alexander to proceed; but clapping their hands they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the speeches of this prince generally produced this effect. How desponding soever they might be, one single word from him revived their courage in an instant, and inspired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable disposition of the whole army, crossed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards submitted the Mardi, the Arii, the Drangæ, the Arachosii, and several other nations, into which his army marched, with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him still at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet designated Alexander many ages before his birth, by representing him as a panther, a leopard, and a he-goat, who rushed forward with so much swiftness, that his feet seemed not to touch the ground.

Nabarzanes,² one of Bessus's accomplices, who had written before to Alexander, came and surrendered himself, upon promise of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania; and, among other presents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained great influence over the mind of Alexander, as he had formerly over that of Darius.

At the same time arrived Thalestris, queen of the Amazons. A violent desire of seeing Alexander had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity. Being come pretty near his camp, she sent word that a queen was come to visit him; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and herself came forward with 300 women; and the moment she perceived the king, she leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. The dress the Amazons used to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their bosom was uncovered on the left side, while every other part of their body was hid; except that their gowns being tucked up with a knot, fell down no farther than the knee. They preserved their left breast to suckle their female offspring, but used to burn their right, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called *Amazons*.³

¹ Alexander hostes vinci voluerat: Antipatrum vicisse, ne tacitus quidem indignabatur. sum demptum glorie existimans, neque cessisset aliene. Q. Curt.

² Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 2-4.

³ Quint. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

⁴ This is a Greek word, signifying without breasts.

Thalestris¹ looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his name; for the Barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air, and think those only capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have posterity by him; adding, that she thought herself worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place; after which Thalestris returned to her own kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This story, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by some very judicious authors as entirely fabulous.

Alexander abandoned himself afterwards wholly to his passions,² changing into pride and excess the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been so greatly admired; virtues so very necessary in an exalted station of life, and in the midst of a series of prosperities. He was now no longer the same man. Though he was invincible with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwise with respect to the charms of ease. The instant he enjoyed a little repose, he abandoned himself to sensuality; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasure, women, and disorderly banquets, in which he used to pass whole days and nights in drinking. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs after the manner of their country. He happened, among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest, and who, by a modest, and at the same time a dignified confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness, whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined by her air and mien that she was not of vulgar birth; and inquiring of the lady herself, she answered that she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son; that she married Hystaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion at the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but reinstated her in all her possessions, and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.

This prince was naturally of a tender and humane disposition, which made him sensible of the affliction of persons in the lowest condition. A poor Macedonian³ was one day driving before him a mule laden with gold for the king's use: the beast being so tired that he was not able either to go on or sustain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a considerable way. Alexander, seeing him just sinking under his burden, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to ease himself, cried out, "Friend, do not be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to thy tent, for it is all thy own."

Alexander,⁴ in a forced march through a barren country, at the head of a small body of horse, when he was pursuing Darius, met some Macedonians who were carrying water in goatskins upon mules. These Macedonians, perceiving their prince was almost parched with thirst occasioned by the raging heat (the sun being then at the meridian,) immediately filled a

helmet with water, and were running to present him with it. Alexander asking to whom they were carrying that water, they replied, "We were going to carry it to our children, but do not let your majesty be uneasy, for if your life is but saved, we shall get children enough, in case we should lose these." At these words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he saw all his horsemen hanging down their heads, and, with eyes fixed earnestly on the liquor he held, swallowing it, as it were, with their glances: upon which he returned it, with thanks, to those who offered it him, and did not drink so much as a single drop, but cried, "There is not enough for my whole company; and should I drink alone, it would make the rest be thirstier, and they would die with faintness and fatigue." The officers, who were on horseback round him, struck in the most sensible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, entreated him with shouts to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not to spare them; that they were not in the least tired, nor felt the least thirst; and that as long as they should be commanded by such a king, they could not think themselves mortal men.

Such sentiments as these, which arise from a generous and tender disposition, reflect greater honour on a prince than all his victories and conquests. Had Alexander always retained them, he would justly have merited the title of *Great*; but too brilliant and interrupted series of prosperity, which is a burden too heavy for mortals to sustain, insensibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was a man: for now, contemning the customs of his own country, as no longer worthy the sovereign of the universe, he laid aside the dress, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and simple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went so far as to imitate the pomp of the Persian kings, in that very circumstance in which they seemed to equal themselves to the gods; I mean, by requiring those who had conquered nations to fall prostrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which becomes only slaves. He had turned his palace into a seraglio, filling it with 360 concubines (the same number as Darius kept,) and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the most infamous. Not satisfied with wearing a Persian robe himself, he also obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the same dress, which gave them the greatest mortification, not one of them however daring to speak against this innovation, or contradict the prince.

The veteran soldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publicly against this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learned in Susa and Ecbatana. The soldiers would frequently complain "That they had lost more by victory than they had gained: that as the Macedonians had thus assumed the manners and customs of foreigners, they might properly be said to be conquered: that therefore the only benefit they should reap from their long absence would be, to return back into their country in the habit of Barbarians: that Alexander was ashamed of, and despised them; that he chose to resemble the vanquished rather than the victorious; and that he, who had before been king of Macedonia, was now become one of Darius's lieutenants."

The king was not ignorant of the discontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the esteem and friendship of both by his beneficence; but slavery,⁵ though purchased at ever so high a rate, must necessarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the safest remedy would be to employ them; and for that purpose led them against Bessus. But as the army was so encumbered with booty and a useless train of baggage, that it could scarce move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into a great square, and afterwards that of the army (retaining only such things as were absolutely necessary;) and then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every

¹ Sed ut opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est Q. Curt.

¹ Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquamquam rerum parum oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est: magnarumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos extima specie donare natura dignata est. Quint. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

² Quint. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6.

³ Plot. in Alex. p. 687.

⁴ Ibid.

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one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had sent away the horses, he set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burned the rich spoils they had purchased with their blood, and often forced out of the midst of the flames. Such a sacrifice most certainly have been made with the utmost reluctance; but the example the king set them silenced all their complaints, and they seemed less affected at the loss of their baggage than at their neglect of military discipline. A short speech the king made, soothed all their uneasiness; and being now more able to exert themselves hereafter, they set out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander; but nothing could daunt his soul, or check his progress; for he put the strongest confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forsook that hero, but extricated him from a thousand perils, wherein one would have naturally supposed both himself and his army must have perished.

Being arrived among the Drange,¹ a danger to which he had not been accustomed, gave him very great uneasiness; and this was, the report of a conspiracy that was formed against his person. One Dymnus, a man of no figure at court, was the contriver of this treason; and the motive of it was, some private disgust which he had received. He had communicated his design to a young man named Nichomachus, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately discovered it to Philotas, earnestly entreating him to acquaint the king with it, because every moment was of the utmost consequence, and the conspirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and discoursed on a great variety of subjects, but without taking the least notice of the plot. In the evening Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and asking whether he had done as he requested, he answered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majesty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be sure not to forget it; but however he did not perform his promise. This made Cebalinus suspect him; and fearing that in case the conspiracy should be discovered by any other person, his silence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another person to disclose it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus himself, and being told how earnestly he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, first commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter guessing upon what account he was sent for by the king, ran himself through with his sword; but the guards having prevented him from completing the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king asked him why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? but he was quite speechless: so that, after fetching a deep sigh, he turned his head aside, and breathed his last.

The king afterwards sent for Philotas, and (having first commanded every one to withdraw) inquired whether Cebalinus had really urged him several times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on against him. Philotas, without discovering the least confusion in his countenance, confessed ingenuously that he had; but made his apology, by saying, that the person who had given him information, did not appear to him worthy of the least credit. He confessed, however, that Dymnus's death convinced him that he had acted very imprudently, in concealing so long a design of so black a nature: upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; and embracing them, besought him to consider his past life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad design, but from the fear he was under

of unseasonably alarming the king, should he communicate a design which he really supposed was without foundation. It is no easy matter to say whether Alexander believed what Philotas said, or only dissembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was persuaded he had despised rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly possible it should be otherwise, because none of them, was more familiar with the king, or more esteemed by him. Instead of softening and moderating the lustre of the distinguished favour he enjoyed, by an air of mildness and humanity, and a prudent modesty of demeanour; he seemed, on the contrary, to endeavour only to excite the envy of others, by affecting a silly pride, which generally displayed itself in his dress, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and still more so, by the haughty airs he assumed, which made him universally hated. Parmenio, his father, disgusted at his supercilious behaviour, said one day to him, "My son, make thyself less."² The strongest sense is couched under these words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He used often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a prosperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot persuade themselves that favour, which is established on so seemingly solid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his sorrow.

His former conduct,³ with regard to Alexander had given the king just reason to complain of him; for he used to take the liberty to speak disrespectfully of his sovereign, and applaud himself in the most haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman named Antigona, with whom he was in love, he began to boast, in a very insolent manner, of his father's services and his own: "What would Philip," said he, "have been, had it not been for Parmenio? and what would Alexander be, were it not for Philotas? what would become of his pretended divinity, and his father Ammon, should we undertake to expose this fiction?" All these things were repeated to Alexander; and Antigona herself made oath, that such words had been spoken. The king had nevertheless taken no notice of all this, nor so much as once let drop the least word which might show his resentment upon that account, even when he was most intoxicated with liquor: he had not so much as hinted it to his friends, nor even to Hephæstion, from whom he scarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accused of, recalled to his memory the disgust he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the conversation he had with Philotas, he held a council composed of his chief confidants. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great esteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occasion for supplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred under a specious pretence of zeal, he suggested to the king, "The apprehensions he might justly be under, both from Philotas himself, because mercy is not apt to work any change on a heart which could be corrupt enough to entertain so detestable a crime; and from Parmenio, his father, who," said he, "will never be able to bear the thoughts of his owing his son's life to the king's clemency. Some beneficial acts are so great, that they become a burden to those on whom they are conferred, for which reason they do all in their power to erase them from their memory. Besides, who can assure us, that both father and son are not engaged in the conspiracy? When a prince's life is in danger, every thing is of importance; and all things, even to the slightest suspicions, are so many proofs. Can we conceive it possible, that a favourite on whom his sovereign has bestowed the most shining marks of his beneficence, should be calm and undisturbed, upon his being told an affair of such importance? But we are told, that this design was com-

¹ Diod. l. xvii. p. 550, 551. Quint. Curt. l. vi. c. 7, 11, et s. vii. c. 1, 2. Arrian. l. iii. p. 141, 142. Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

² "Ὁ πατήρ σου καὶ οὐχ ὁ γιός σου."

³ Plut. de Fortun. Alex. a. 2. p. 339.

municated by young people, who deserved very little credit. Wherefore then did he keep them in suspense two days, as if he really believed what they told him, and still promise them that he would reveal the whole affair to the king? Who does not see, that he did this merely to prevent their having access by another way to his majesty? Sir," continued he, "it is necessary for your own sake and that of the state, that Philotas should be put to the torture; in order to force from his own mouth an account of this plot, and the several persons who are his accomplices in it." This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king acceded to it. He then dismissed the assembly, having first enjoined them secrecy; and the better to conceal his resolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to supper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necessary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep sleep; when, starting from his slumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, "Alas! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodness." After this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a single word. The next morning, the Macedonians, according to an order published for that purpose, came thither under arms, in number about 6000. It was a very ancient custom for the army, in the time of war, to take cognizance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do so; so that the prince had no power on these occasions, unless a sanction were given to it by the consent of one or other of these bodies; and the king was forced to have recourse to persuasion, before he employed his authority.¹

First, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then present knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the assembly; an air of sorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole countenance, while every one waited with impatience the issue of this gloomy scene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes cast on the ground, as if in the utmost dejection; but at last, having recovered his spirits, he made the following speech: "I have narrowly escaped, O soldiers, being torn from you, by the treachery of a small number of wretches; but by the providence and mercy of the gods, I now again appear before you alive: and I protest to you, that nothing encourages me more to proceed against the traitors, than the sight of this assembly, whose welfare is much dearer to me than my own; for I desire to live for your sakes only: and the greatest happiness I should find in living (not to say the only one) would be the pleasure I should receive in having it in my power to reward the services of so many brave men, to whom I owe every thing." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the soldiers, who all burst into tears. "Alas! how will you behave," continued he, "when I shall name the persons who formed so execrable a design? I myself cannot think of it without shuddering. They on whom I have been most lavish of my kindnesses: on whom I have bestowed the greatest marks of friendship: in whom I had put my whole confidence, and in whose breasts I lodged my greatest secrets—Parmenio and Philotas." At these names the soldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor to give credit to any thing they saw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were sent for, who made the several depositions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole assembly, being seized with a trouble and confusion easier conceived than expressed, continued in a sad and gloomy silence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarse worn-out piece of cloth. How shocking a sight! Almost deprived of his senses, he did not dare to look up or

open his lips; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the standers by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his spirits and his voice by degrees, he seemed desirous of speaking. The king then told him, that he should be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have justified himself very easily; for not one of the witnesses, and those who had been put on the rack, had accused him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who first formed it, had not named him to any of the conspirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ring-leader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the rest, in order to engage them the more strongly. Had Philotas been conscious to himself of guilt in this particular, as he was sensible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, sought earnestly to acquaint the king with it, was it probable that he could have remained quiet two days together, without once endeavouring either to despatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark design in execution, which he might very easily have done? Philotas set these proofs, and a great many more, in the strongest light; and did not omit to mention the reasons which had made him despise the information that had been given him, as groundless and imaginary. Then directing himself on a sudden, to Alexander, as if he had been present, "O king," says he, "whosoever you may be, (for it is thought Alexander heard all that passed from behind a curtain) if I have committed a fault in not acquainting you with what I heard, I confessed it to you, and you pardoned me. You gave me your royal hand as a pledge of this; and you did me the honour to admit me at your table. If you believed me, I am innocent: if you pardoned me, I am cleared; I refer all this to your own judgment. What new crime have I committed since? I was in a deep sleep when my enemies waked me, and loaded me with chains. Is it natural for a man, who is conscious that he is guilty of the most horrid of all crimes, to be thus easy and undisturbed? The innocence of my own conscience, and the promise your majesty made me, gave my mind this calm." Do not let the envy of my enemies prevail over your clemency and justice."

The result of this assembly was, that Philotas should be put on the rack. The persons who presided on that occasion were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas at first discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word, nor even so much as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he confessed himself to be guilty, named several accomplices, and even accused his own father. The next day, the answers of Philotas were read in full assembly, he himself being present. He was unanimously sentenced to die; immediately after which he was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia, with some other of the conspirators.

They also judged at the same time, and put to death Lyncestes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conspiring the death of the king, and had been kept three years in prison.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father now he had put the son to death. Polydamas, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to see the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers who love nothing but their own fortune. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because Parmenio could not entertain any suspicion of his being sent to him with such a design. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intrusted with the king's treasures, which amounted to 180,000 talents, about 27,000,000*l.* sterling. Alexander had given him several letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other sealed with Philotas's seal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the

¹ Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. Q. Curt.

father from harbouring the least suspicion. Polydamas was but eleven days on his journey, and alighted in the night-time at the house of Cleander. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went together with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamas spied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmost joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had passed on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In the opening it, he asked him what the king was doing; to which Polydamas replied, that he would know by his majesty's letter. Parmenio, after perusing it, said: "The king is preparing to march against the Arachosii. How glorious a prince is this, who will not suffer himself to take a moment's rest! However, he ought to be a little tender of himself, now he has acquired so much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, seemed pleased with the contents of it. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illustrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never achieved any thing conspicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a person of great abilities, both in forming plans and carrying them into execution; was very dear to the grandesees, and much more to the officers and soldiers, who reposed the highest confidence in him; and looked upon themselves as assured of victory when he was at their head, so firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threescore and ten years of age; and had always served his sovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his son and himself having been put to death, merely on a slight suspicion, unsupported by any real proof, which nevertheless obliterated in a moment all the great services both had done their country.

Alexander was sensible¹ that such cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they sent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding, therefore, that it would be proper for him to separate from the rest of the army such soldiers as had most distinguished themselves by their murmurs and complaints, lest their seditious discourses should spread the same spirit of discontent, he formed a separate body of these, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only punishment he inflicted on them. But they were so strongly affected with it that they endeavoured to wipe out the disgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they observed ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill consequences that might arise from this secret discontent, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus; on which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. After having passed through Drangiana, Arachosia, and the country of the Arimaspi, where all things submitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain, called Paropamisus (a part of Caucasus) where his army underwent inexpressible fatigues, through weariness, famine, cold, and the snows, which killed a great number of his soldiers. Bessus laid waste all the country that lay between him and mount Caucasus, in order that the want of provisions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of pursuing him. He indeed suffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repose for some time at Drapsaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactria, the two strongest cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about 7 or 8000 Bactrians, who till then had

adhered very firmly to Bessus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his respective home. Bessus, at the head of the small number of forces who continued faithful to him, passed the river Oxus, burnt all the boats he himself made use of, to prevent Alexander from crossing it, and withdrew to Nauaca, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raise a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber sufficient for the building of boats and rafts, he supplied the want of these by distributing to his soldiers a great number of skins stuffed with straw, and such-like dry and light materials; upon which they placed themselves, and crossed the river in this manner; those who went over first, drawing up in battle array, whilst their comrades were coming after them. In this manner his whole army passed over in six days.

In the mean while Spitamenes, who was Bessus's chief confidant, formed a conspiracy against him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having seized his person, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius which he had put on, and set him on horseback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the Branchidae. These were the descendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, whom Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly sent into Upper Asia, where he had settled them in a very flourishing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treasure of the temple of Apollo Didymæus, the keepers of which they were. They received the king with the highest demonstrations of joy, and surrendered both themselves and their city to him. Alexander sent for such Milesians as were in his army, who preserved an hereditary hatred against the Branchidae, because of the treachery of their ancestors. He then left them the choice, either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in consideration of their common extraction. The Milesians being so much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themselves, Alexander undertook the decision himself. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his phalanx to surround the city: and a signal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the sword: which inhuman order was executed with the same barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time that they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the streets and in their houses; no manner of regard being paid to their cries and tears, nor the least distinction made of age or sex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, that not the least traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were those ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they responsible for those their fathers had committed upwards of 150 years before? I do not know whether history furnishes another example of so brutal and frantic a cruelty.

A little after, Bessus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but stark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to say, whether that object was more agreeable to the Barbarians or Macedonians. In presenting him to the king, he said: "I have, at last, revenged both you and Darius, my kings and masters. I bring you this wretch, who assassinated his sovereign, and who is now treated in the same manner as he himself gave the first example of. Alas! why cannot Darius himself see this spectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Bessus, and spoke thus: "Thou surely must have been inspired with the rage and fury of a tiger, otherwise thou wouldst not have dared to load a king, from whom thou hadst received so many instances of favour, with chains, and afterwards murder him! Begone from my sight, thou monster of cruelty and perfidiousness." The king said no more, but sending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Bessus to him, in order that he might suffer all the ignominy he deserved; suspending, however, his execution, that he might be judged in the general assembly of the Persians.

¹ Arrian. l. iii. p. 143, 148. Quint. Curt. l. vii. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xvil p. 552, 554.

SECTION XI.1.—ALEXANDER, AFTER TAKING A GREAT MANY CITIES IN BACTRIANA, BUILDS ONE NEAR THE RIVER IAXARTES, WHICH HE CALLS BY HIS OWN NAME. THE SCYTHIANS, ALARMED AT THE BUILDING OF THIS CITY, AS IT WOULD BE A CHECK UPON THEM, SEND AMBASSADORS TO THE KING, WHO ADDRESS THEMSELVES TO HIM WITH UNCOMMON FREEDOM. AFTER HAVING DISMISSED THEM, HE PASSES THE IAXARTES, GAINS A SIGNAL VICTORY OVER THE SCYTHIANS, AND BEHAVES WITH HUMANITY TOWARDS THE VANQUISHED. HE CHECKS AND PUNISHES THE INSURRECTION OF THE SOGDIAN, SENDS BESSUS TO ECBATANA TO BE PUT TO DEATH, AND TAKES THE CITY OF PETERA, WHICH WAS THOUGHT IMPREGNABLE.

ALEXANDER,¹ insatiable of victory and conquest, still marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had suffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the Iaxartes.²

Not far from this river the Barbarians rushing suddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces; and having carried off a great number of prisoners, retired to their lurking holes, in which were 20,000 men, who fought with bows and slings. The king went and besieged them, in person, and being one of the foremost in the attack, he was shot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron head stuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not so secretly, but that the Barbarians knew of it; for they saw from the top of the mountain every thing that was doing below. The next day they sent ambassadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he showed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. They assured him, that as soon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could possibly be; and, that had it been possible for them to find the person who had shot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war against the gods; in a word, that being vanquished by his unparalleled bravery, they surrendered themselves to him with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his prisoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he set out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great dispute arose between the horse and foot who should carry it, each of those bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only; and there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they should carry it in turn.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very considerable city, the capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a considerable garrison there, he burned and laid waste all the open country.

There came an embassy to him from the Abian Scythians,³ who since the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: these submitted to Alexander. They were considered as the most equitable of all the Barbarians; never making war but to defend themselves; and the liberty established among them, and which they no ways abused, removed all distinction, and equalled the meanest among them with the greatest. A love of poverty and justice was their peculiar characteristic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and sent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

He had marked out a spot of ground proper for

building a city on the river Iaxartes, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, as well as those he intended to subdue. But this design was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was soon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander despatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Bessus into his hands, believing him a very fit person to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himself had been chiefly instrumental in this insurrection. The king, greatly surprised at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the most signal manner. He marched in person to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, whose name it bore. At the same time he sent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to besiege the city of the Memaceni, to whom fifty troops were sent, to desire them to sue for Alexander's clemency. These met with a very kind reception at first, but in the night-time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had resolved to spare Cyropolis, purely for the sake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over these nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, because they had surpassed all the rest in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the besieged, but they were so blindly obstinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and insolence; upon which he stormed the city, abandoning the plunder of it to his soldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was besieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander lost his best soldiers before it, and was himself exposed to very great danger; a stone striking him with so much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his senses. The whole army indeed lamented him as dead; but this prince, whom no danger nor disappointment could depress, pushed on the siege with greater vigour than before, the instant he recovered, without staying till his wound was healed, anger adding fresh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore caused the wall to be sapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burned to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Several other cities met with the same fate. This was the third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They lost above 120,000 men in these different sieges. The king afterwards sent Menedemus with 3000 foot and 800 horse to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had driven the Macedonian garrison, and had shut himself up there.

With regard to himself, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxartes, where he surrounded with walls the whole spot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, sixty furlongs⁴ in circumference, which he also called Alexandria; having before built several of that name. He caused the workmen to make such despatch, that in less than twenty days the ramparts were raised, and the houses built; and indeed there was a great emulation among the soldiers, who should get his work done soonest, every one of them having had his portion allotted him; and to people his new city, he ransomed all the prisoners he could meet with, settled several Macedonians there who were worn out in the service, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own request, to inhabit it.

But the king of those Scythians who live on the other side of Iaxartes, seeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke imposed on them, sent a great body of soldiers to demolish it, and to drive the Macedonians to a greater distance. Alexander, who had no design of attacking the Scythians, finding them make several incursions, even in his sight, in a very insolent manner, was very much perplexed; especially when advice was brought him at the same time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a

¹ Arrian. l. iii. p. 143, 149. et l. iv. p. 150—160. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 6—11.

² Quintus Curtius and Arrian call it the Tannais, but they are mistaken. The Tannais lies much more westward, and empties itself not into the Caspian Sea, but in the Pontus Euxinus, and is now called the Don.

³ Abii Scythæ.

⁴ Three leagues.

number of obstacles uniting together would have discouraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, and the Bactrians also; his army was harassed by the Scythians; he himself was brought so low, that he was not able to stand upright, to mount on horseback, to speak to his forces, or give a single order. "To increase his affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the passage of the river in sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle array on the other side. The king continued in the utmost perplexity all night long; however, his courage surmounted every difficulty. Being told that the auspices were not propitious, he forced the soothsayer to substitute favourable ones in their stead. At day-break he put on his coat of mail, and showed himself to the soldiers, who had not seen him since the last wound he had received. These held the king in such high veneration, that his presence alone immediately removed all their fears, so that they shed tears of joy, and went unanimously and paid him their respects; entreating him to lead them against the enemy, against whom they before had refused to march. They worked so hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days' time they had made 12,000; and also prepared a great number of skins for the same purpose.

As every thing was ready for the passage of the river, several Scythian ambassadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the custom of their country, who rode through the camp, desiring to speak with the king. Alexander having sent for them into his tent, desired them to sit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without speaking a single word, probably being surprised (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and stature) to find that his did not answer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldest of the ambassadors addressed him in a speech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I shall present my readers with the greatest part of it.

"Had the gods given thee a body proportionable to thy ambition, the whole universe would have been too little for thee. With one hand thou wouldst touch the east, and with the other the west; and not satisfied with this, thou wouldst follow the sun, and know where he hides himself. Such as thou art, thou yet aspirest after what it will be impossible for thee to attain. Thou crossest over from Europe into Asia; and when thou shalt have subdued all the race of men, then thou wilt make war against rivers, forests, and wild beasts. Dost thou not know, that tall trees are many years a growing, but may be torn up in an hour's time; that the lion serves sometimes for food to the smallest birds; that iron, though so hard, is consumed by rust; in a word, that there is nothing so strong, which may not be destroyed by the weakest thing?"

"What have we to do with thee? We never set foot in thy country. May not those who inhabit woods be allowed to live, without knowing who thou art, and whence thou comest? We will neither command over, nor submit to, any man. And that thou mayest be sensible what kind of people the Scythians are, know that we received from heaven, as a rich present, a yoke of oxen, a plough-share, an arrow, a javelin, and a cup. These we make use of, both with our friends, and against our enemies. To our friends we give corn, which we procure by the labour of our oxen; with them we offer wine to the gods in our cup; and with regard to our enemies, we combat them at a distance with our arrows, and near at hand with our javelins. It is with these we formerly conquered the most warlike nations,¹ subdued the most powerful kings, laid waste all Asia, and opened ourselves a way into the heart of Egypt.

"But thou, who boastest thy coming to exterminate robbers, thou thyself art the greatest robber upon

earth. Thou hast plundered all the nations that thou hast overcome. Thou hast possessed thyself of Lydia, invaded Syria, Persia, and Bactriana; thou art forming a design to march as far as India, and thou now comest hither to seize upon our herds of cattle. The great possessions thou hast, only make thee covet more eagerly what thou hast not. Dost thou not see how long the Bactrians have checked thy progress? Whilst thou art subduing these, the Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee only the occasion of war.

"Pass but the Iaxartes, and thou wilt behold the great extent of our plains. It will be in vain for thee to pursue the Scythians; and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our poverty will be more active than thy army, laden with the spoils of so many nations; and, when thou shalt fancy us at a great distance, thou wilt see us rush suddenly on thy camp; for we pursue, and fly from our enemies with equal speed. I am informed that the Greeks speak jestingly of the Scythian solitudes, and that they are even become a proverb; but we are fonder of our deserts, than of your great cities and fruitful plains. Let me observe to thee, that fortune is slippery; hold her fast therefore, for fear she should escape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if thou desirest to continue in possession of it.

"If thou art a god, thou oughtest to do good to mortals, and not to deprive them of their possessions: if thou art a mere man, reflect always on what thou art. They whom thou shalt not molest, will be thy true friends; the strongest friendships being contracted between equals; and they are esteemed equals, who have not tried their strength against each other: but do not imagine, that those whom thou conquerest can love thee; for there is no such thing as friendship between a master and his slave, and a forced peace is soon followed by a war.

"To conclude,² do not fancy that the Scythians will take an oath in their concluding an alliance. The only oath among them is to keep their word without swearing. Such cautions as these do indeed become Greeks, who sign their treaties, and call upon the gods to witness them; but, with regard to us, our religion consists in being sincere, and in keeping the promises we have made. That man who is not ashamed to break his word with men, is not afraid of deceiving the gods; and of what use could friends be to thee whom thou couldst not trust? Consider that we will guard both Europe and Asia for thee. We extend as far as Thrace, and we are told, that Thrace is contiguous to Macedonia. The river Iaxartes alone divides us from Bactriana. Thus we are thy neighbours on both sides. Consider, therefore, whether thou wilt have us for friends, or enemies."

The barbarian spoke thus; to whom the king made but a very short answer: "That he would take advantage both of his own good fortune, and of their counsel: of his good fortune, by still continuing to rely upon it; and of their counsel, by not attempting any thing rashly." Having dismissed the ambassadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed such as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to secure themselves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind these were those who worked the machines for discharging arrows and stones, covered on all sides with soldiers armed cap-a-pie. The rest who followed the engines, had their shields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoise, by which they defended the sailors who wore corselets. The like order and disposition were observed in the other rafts which carried the horse.

The army found great difficulty in crossing. Every thing conspired to intimidate them: the clamour and confusion that are inseparable from such an enterprise; the rapidity of the stream, which carried away every thing with it; and the sight of a numerous army, drawn up in battle array, on the opposite shore. However, the presence of Alexander, who was ever

¹ This is to be understood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and possessed themselves of Upper Asia for twenty-eight years. See the History of the Assyrians. I have not followed Quintus Curtius literally in this place, the text being much embarrassed.

² Jurando gratiam Scythians sancto ne credideris: colendo fidem jurant. Gracorum ista cautio est, qui acta consignat, et deos invocant: nos religionem in ipsa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. Quint. Curt.

the foremost in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own safety, and be concerned for his only. As soon as the Macedonians began to draw near the shore, they who carried shields rose up together, when throwing their javelins with a steady aim, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that shower of darts, began to give way, and draw their horses back, they leaped on the shore with incredible swiftness, and animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this disorder, the troopers, whose horses were ready bridled, rushed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reason of the faintness of his voice, but the example he set, spoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but shouts of joy and victory, whilst they continued to attack the Barbarians with the utmost fury. The latter not being able to stand so fierce an onset, fled as fast as their horses could carry them; for they consisted of cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheless pursued them briskly a long way, till, being at last quite spent, he was obliged to stop. After commanding his troops to pursue them as long as daylight lasted, he withdrew to the camp, in order to repose himself, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries of Bacchus, which were marked out by great stones ranged close one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the pursuit carried them still farther, and they did not return back into the camp till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more prisoners, with 1800 horses, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's side, there were but sixty troopers slain, and about 100 foot, with one thousand wounded. Alexander sent back to the Scythians all their prisoners without ransom, to show, that not animosity, but a thirst of glory had prompted him to make war against so valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquished, greatly increased his reputation. The Scythians had always been considered as invincible; but after their defeat, it was owned that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The Sacæ, who were a powerful nation, sent an embassy to Alexander, by which they submitted themselves to him, and requested his friendship. The Scythians themselves made an apology by their ambassadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on some few individuals, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being so happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himself. At the first news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king pursued him thither, but despairing to come up with him, he returned back and plundered Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polyimetes.

Among the Sogdians that were taken prisoners, there were thirty young men, all well shaped and very comely, and the greatest lords of the country. These being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to sing songs of joy, to leap and dance, discovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, surprised to see them go to death with so much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he asked them, how they came to break into such transports of joy, when they saw death before their eyes? they answered, that they should have been afflicted, had any other person but himself put them to death; but as they would be restored to their ancestors by the command of so great a monarch, who had vanquished all nations, they thought themselves happy in a death so glorious, that the bravest men would wish to die the same. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, asked whether they would desire to be pardoned, upon condition that they should be no longer his enemies? They answered, he might

be assured they had never been his enemies; but that, as he had attacked them, they had defended themselves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeness and generosity. The king asked them farther, what pledges they would give him of their faith and sincerity? "No other," answered they, "but the same life we receive from your goodness, and which we shall always be ready to give back, whenever you shall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a small number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having assembled all his generals, he commanded Bessus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer the most extreme torture, under the direction of Darius's mother. Plutarch has left us an account of this execution. Four trees were bent, by main force, one towards the other; and to each of these trees, one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastened. Afterwards, these trees being suffered to return to their natural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him. The same punishment is at this day inflicted on persons convicted of high treason, who are torn to pieces by four horses.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of 16,000 men. By this considerable reinforcement, he was enabled to subdue all those who had rebelled; and, to curb them for the future, he built several fortresses in Margiana.

All things were now restored to a profound tranquillity. There remained but one strong hold called *Petra Oxianna*, or the rock of Oxus, which was defended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with 30,000 soldiers under his command, and ammunition and provisions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all sides, was accessible only by a single path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in suspense whether he should besiege it; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impossibilities, he resolved to try, if he could not overcome, on this occasion, nature itself, which seemed to have fortified this rock in such a manner as had rendered it absolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the siege, he summoned those Barbarians, but in mild terms, to submit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner; and after using several insulting expressions, asked, "whether Alexander, who was able to do all things, could fly also; and whether nature had, on a sudden, given him wings?"

Alexander was highly exasperated at this insolent answer. He therefore gave orders for selecting, from among the mountaineers who were in his army, 300 of the most active and dexterous. These being brought to him, he addressed them thus: "It was in your country, brave young men, that I stormed such places as were thought impregnable; that I made my way over mountains covered with eternal snows: crossed rivers, and broke through the passes of Cilicia. This rock, which you see, has but one outlet, which alone is defended by the Barbarians, who neglect every other part. There is no watch nor sentinel, except on that side which faces our camp. If you search very narrowly, you certainly will meet with some path that leads to the top of the rock. Nothing has been made so inaccessible by nature, as not to be surmounted by valour; and it was only by our attempting, what no one before had hopes of effecting, that we have possessed ourselves of Asia. Get up to the summit, and when you shall have made yourselves masters of it, set up a white standard there as a signal; and be assured, that I then will certainly disengage you from the enemy, and draw them upon myself, by making a

A. M. 3676.

Ant. J. C. 328.

diversion." The king accompanied this order with the most splendid promises; but the pleasing him, was considered by them as the greatest of all rewards. Fired therefore with the most noble ardour, and fancying they had already reached the summit, they set out, after having provided themselves with wedges to drive into the stones, with cramp-irons, and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march¹ at the second watch of the night, by that part which should seem to them of easiest access; beseeching the gods to guide their steps. They took provisions for two days; and being armed with swords and javelins only, they began to ascend the mountain, walking some time on foot; afterwards, when it was necessary for them to climb, some clung to the stones which projected forwards, and by that means raised themselves; others thrust their cramp-irons into the snow that was frozen, to keep themselves from falling where the way was slippery; while others, driving in their wedges with great strength, made them serve as so many scaling-ladders. They spent the whole day in this manner, hanging against the rock, and exposed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to struggle at the same time with snow, cold, and wind. Nevertheless, the hardest task was yet to come; and the farther they advanced, the higher the rock seemed to rise. But that which terrified them most was the sad spectacle of some of their comrades falling down precipices, whose unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themselves might expect. Notwithstanding this, they still advanced forward, and exerted themselves so vigorously, that, in spite of all these difficulties, they at last got to the top of the rock. But they were all inexpressibly weary, and many of them even lost the use of some of their limbs. Night and drowsiness came upon them at the same time, so that dispersing themselves in such parts of the rock as were free from snows, they lay down in them, and slept till day-break. At last waking from a deep sleep, and looking on all sides to discover the place where so many people could lie hid, they saw smoke below them, which showed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the signal, as had been agreed; and their whole company being drawn up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had lost their lives in the ascent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a desire of storming the fortress, and struck with the visible dangers to which those men were exposed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and did not retire to rest till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the first who perceived the signal. Nevertheless he was still in doubt whether he might trust his eyes, because of the false splendour which takes place at day-break; but the light increasing, he was sure of what he saw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had sounded the Barbarians, he despatched him a second time, to exhort them to think better of the matter; and in case they should still depend upon the strength of the place, he then was ordered to show them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the summit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments possible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; representing to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in case he did not interrupt the great designs he meditated, by obliging him to make some farther stay before that rock. Arimazes sent a haughtier and more insolent answer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes taking him by the hand, desired he would come out of the cave with him, which the Barbarian doing, he showed him the Macedonians posted over his head, and said in an insulting tone of voice, "You see that Alexander's soldiers have wings." In the mean time the trumpets were heard to sound in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army shouted aloud, and cried, Victory! These things, though of little consequence in themselves, did nevertheless, as often happens, throw the Barbarians into so

great a consternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the summit, they thought themselves lost. Upon this, Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the Barbarians were sent back with him, who agreed to surrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be spared. The king, notwithstanding the strong opposition he might meet with, was however so exasperated at the haughtiness of Arimazes, that he refused to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and rash confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him insensible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other side, blinded by fear, and concluding himself absolutely lost, came down with his relations and the principal nobility of the country into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not master of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaties and humanity required on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards be fixed to crosses, at the foot of the rock. The multitude of people who surrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in those parts, and Artabazus was left governor of the rock and the whole province round it.

SECTION XIV.—THE DEATH OF CLITUS. SEVERAL EXPEDITIONS OF ALEXANDER. HE ENDEAVOURS TO PROCURE WORSHIP TO BE PAID TO HIMSELF, AFTER THE MANNER OF THE PERSIANS. DISCONTENTMENTS ARISE AMONG THE MACEDONIANS. DEATH OF CALLISTHENES THE PHILOSOPHER.

ALEXANDER² having subdued the Massageteæ and the Dahæ, entered Bazarin. In this province are a great number of large parks stocked with deer. Here the king took the diversion of hunting, in which he was exposed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous size advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a single thrust. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occasion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his person, gave orders, pursuant to the custom of their country, that the king should go no more a-hunting on foot, without being attended by some of his courtiers and officers. They were sensible, that a king is not born for his own sake, but for that of his subjects; that he ought to be careful of his own person for their sakes, and reserve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beasts (a reputation unworthy of a great prince) ought not to be purchased so dear.

From hence he returned to Maracanda, where he quelled some tumults which had broken out in that country. Artabazus requesting to be discharged from the government of that province, by reason of his great age, he appointed Clitus his successor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalized himself on many occasions. It was he who at the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bareheaded, and Rosaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, covered the king with his shield, and cut off the Barbarian's hand. Hellanicæ, his sister had nursed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother. As the king, from these several considerations, had very great respect for Clitus, he intrusted him with the government of one of the most important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to set out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king,³ after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was so lavish in his praises of himself, that he even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth. However, the oldest men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boasted, "That the fa-

¹ Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 1—8. Arrian. l. iv. p. 161—171 Plut. in Alex. p. 638—639. Justin. l. xii. c. 6. 7.

² In quo rex. cùm multo incalescit mero, immodicus estimator sui, celebrare quæ gesserat capit: gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. Q. CURT.

³ About nine or ten o'clock.

mous victory of Charonea was won by his means; and that the glory of that celebrated day had been torn from him by the malice and jealousy of his father: that in the insurrection¹ which broke out between the Macedonians and mercenary Greeks, Philip, fainting from the wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid himself on the ground; and could not think of a better method to save himself, than by lying along as dead: that on this occasion he had covered him with his shield and killed with his own hands those who attempted to fall upon him; but that his father could never prevail upon himself to confess this circumstance ingenuously, being vexed that he owed his life to his own son: that in the war against the Illyrians, he alone had done every thing, Philip having had no manner of share in it; and hearing of the defeat of the enemy, no otherwise than by the letters he sent him: that the persons worthy of praise, were not such as initiated themselves in the mysteries² of the Snathracians, when they ought to have laid waste all Asia with fire and sword, but those who had achieved such mighty exploits as surpassed all belief."

This and similar discourse was very pleasing to the young men, but highly offensive to those advanced in years; especially for Philip's sake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who also was flushed with wine, turning about to those who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from Euripides;³ but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of this passage was, "That the Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, that in the inscriptions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only should be mentioned;⁴ because, by these means, brave men were robbed of the glory they had purchased with their blood." The king, suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him, what he had said? As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Whatever vexation the king might inwardly feel, he nevertheless stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clitus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopped there; but the latter, growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, went such lengths, as openly to defend Parmenio; and to assert, that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause; Clitus rises up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger: "It is nevertheless this hand," said he to him, extending it at the same time, "that saved your life at the battle of the Granicus. It is the blood and wounds of these very Macedonians, who are accused of cowardice, that raised you to this grandeur. But the tragical end of Parmenio shows, what reward they and myself may expect for all our services." This last reproach stung Alexander: however he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right," says Clitus, as he rose up, "not to hear freeborn men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He will do well to pass his life among Barbarians and slaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to his Persian girdle and his white robe." The king, now no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the spot, had

not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it immediately by another door, singing, with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince: who seeing the general near him, struck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the same time, "Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus."

The king's anger being in a manner extinguished on a sudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime displayed itself to him in the blackest and most dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed had abused his patience, but who till then had always served him with the utmost zeal and fidelity, and saved his life, though he was ashamed to own it. He had that instant performed the vile office of an executioner, in punishing, by a horrid murder, the uttering of some indiscreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the sister of Clitus, his nurse, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? No longer able to support these melancholy reflections, he threw himself on his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have despatched himself with it, had not the guards who rushed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He passed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite wasted his spirits, he continued speechless, stretched on the ground, and only venting deep sighs. But his friends, fearing this silence would be fatal, forced themselves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the efforts that were employed to comfort him; but Aristander, the soothsayer, jutting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he saw Clitus, clothed in a black robe, and seated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened, was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, and consequently unavoidable, Alexander appeared a little easier in his mind. He next was addressed by two philosophers, Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderness, and endeavoured to suppress his grief, by agreeably insinuating himself, and endeavoured to make him recall his reason, by sound reflections drawn from the very essence of philosophy, and by carefully shunning all such expressions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was still bleeding, required to be touched with the gentlest hand. But Anaxarchus was not so considerate; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, "What! is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the world are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, shedding floods of tears, like the meanest slave! Does not he know, that he himself is a supreme law to his subjects; that he conquered merely to raise himself to the exalted dignity of lord and sovereign, and not to subject himself to a vain opinion?" The king was determined to starve himself; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little sustenance. The Macedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been justly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philosopher had given occasion, by asserting that the will of princes is the supreme law of the state. Alas! how weak are all such reflections against the cries of a justly alarmed conscience, which can never be quieted either by flattery or false arguments!

It must be confessed that Clitus had committed a great and inexcusable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in discourses calculated to sully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to show his dislike of what was said, by a mournful but modest silence. He possibly might have been allowed to have given his testimony to the merits of the late monarch, provided he had expressed himself with prudence and moderation. Had such moderation been unsuccessful, he might justly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and shocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the sacred character of kings: with regard to whom, how unjustly soever they may act, not only every contemptuous and insulting expression is forbid, but every disrespectful and unguarded word; they

¹ This sedition is not mentioned in any other place.

² It was usual for generals, before they set out on their expeditions, to cause themselves to be initiated in those mysteries, and offer sacrifices to the gods who presided over them. Possibly Philip, by observing this ceremony, had delayed some enterprise.

³ In his *Andromache*.

⁴ Alieno enim sanguine partem gloriam intercipi. *Q. Curt.* Vol. I. - 78

being towards their subjects the representatives of God himself.

It must nevertheless be confessed, that the circumstance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in some measure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a subject to his table; when he makes him the companion of a debauch, and in person excites him to drink immoderately; a king on such an occasion, seems to forget his dignity, and to permit his guests to forget it also; he gives a sanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and sudden flights, which wine commonly inspires; and should he be displeased with a subject for equalling himself with him, he ought to blame himself, for having first raised a subject so high. A fault committed under these circumstances, is nevertheless a fault; but then it does not deserve to be expiated by the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares anger,¹ when united with power, to thunder; and, indeed, what havoc does it not then make? But how dreadful must it be, when joined with drunkenness! We see this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to subdue those two vices in his youth;² but even to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors? For it is asserted, that both were the consequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to excess? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the transports of anger? Alexander,³ who had overcome so many nations, was himself conquered by those two vices, which throw a shade over the glory of his brightest actions. The reason of this, says Seneca, is, he endeavoured more to vanquish others, than to subdue himself; not knowing, that to triumph over our passions is, of all conquests, the most glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his spirits, marched into the Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither some rebels were retired, all whom he subjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he set forward with his army towards the Chorienian rock, of which Sysimethres was governor. All access to it seemed absolutely impracticable; nevertheless, he at last got near it, after having passed through numberless difficulties, and, by the mediation of Oxyartes, a prince of that country, who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Sysimethres to surrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promised him very great advantages in case he continued faithful.

Alexander had resolved to attack the Dahæ, because Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, had taken refuge among them; but the good fortune which always attended him, spared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond wretched life her husband had forced her to lead, and having often entreated him, but in vain, to surrender himself to the conqueror, she herself murdered him in the night; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was shocked at so horrid a spectacle, and ordered her to be driven ignominiously from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garrisons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful storm. Flashes of lightning coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the soldiers, and entirely discouraged them. It thundered almost incessantly, and the thunderbolts fell every moment at the feet of the soldiers; so that

they did not dare either to stand still or advance forward. On a sudden, a violent shower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and so extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as soon as it fell. The sufferings of the army on this occasion were almost insupportable. The king, who was the only person invincible by these calamities, rode up and down among the soldiers, comforted and animated them; and pointing at smoke which issued from distant huts, urged them to march thither with all the speed possible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means saved the army; but upwards of 1000 men lost their lives. The king made up to the officers and soldiers the several losses they had sustained during this fatal storm.

When they were recovered so well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the Sace, which he soon overran and laid waste. Soon after this, Oxyartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet, in which he displayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter called Roxana, whose exquisite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good sense. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife; covering his passion with the specious pretence, of uniting the two nations in such bands as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, to see him make one of his slaves his father-in-law: but as, after his murdering Clitus,⁴ no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themselves wonderfully to flattery and servile complaisance.

In fine; having resolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded (in order that nothing might be left behind to check his designs) that 30,000 young men should be brought him, all completely armed, out of the several provinces, to serve him at the same time for hostages as well as soldiers. In the meanwhile he sent Craterus against some of the rebels, whom he easily defeated. Polysperchon likewise subdued a country called Bubacene; so that all things being in perfect tranquillity Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on war with India. This country was considered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorned themselves, but with more luxury than gracefulness. It was related, that the shields of the soldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greatest monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any person whatsoever, in any circumstance caused the shields of his soldiers to be set off with silver plates, put golden bridles to the horses, had the coats of mail ornamented with gold and silver, and prepared to march for this enterprise, at the head of 120,000 men, all equipped thus magnificently.

All things being ready for their setting out, he thought proper to reveal the design he had so long meditated, viz. to have divine honours paid him; and was solely intent on the means of putting that design in execution. He was anxious, not only to be called, but to be believed, the son of Jupiter; as if it had been possible for him to command absolutely the mind as well as the tongue, and that the Macedonians should fall prostrate, and adore him after the Persian manner.

To soothe and cherish these ridiculous pretensions,⁵ there were not wanting flatterers, those common pests of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed, would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them, to a man, refusing to vary, in any manner, from the

¹ Fulmen est, ubi cum potestate habitat iracundia. *Publ. Syr.*

² Nec minores error eorum nocet moribus, si quidem Leonidas Alexandri pædagogus, ut à Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibsdam cum vitii imbut, que robustum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illâ institutione puerili auit proscata. *Quintil. l. i. c. 1.*

³ Victor tot regum atque populorum, ire succubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potius haberet in potestate, quam affectus—Imperare sibi, maximum imperium est. *Senec. Epist. cxlii.*

⁴ Sed, post Clyti eadem, libertate sublatâ, vultu qui maxime servit, assentiebantur. *Q. Curt.*

⁵ Non deerat talia concupiscienti perniciosa adulatio per petuum malum regum; quorum opor. auspiciis assentatis quam hostis, evertit. *Q. Curt.*

customs of their country. The whole evil was owing to some Greeks, whose depraved manners were a scandal to their profession of teaching virtue and the sciences. These, though the very refuse of Greece, were nevertheless in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army: it was such creatures as these that placed him in the skies; and published, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Castor, and Pollux, would resign their seats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a festival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greatest lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and most of the highest quality among the Persians. With these he sat down at table for some time, after which he withdrew. Upon this Cleon, one of his flatterers, began to speak, and expatiated very much on the praises of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him, all which (he observed) they might acknowledge and repay at a very easy expense, merely with two grains of incense, which they should offer to him as to a god, without the least scruple, since they believed him such. To this purpose he cited the example of the Persians. He took notice, that Hercules himself, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities till after they had surmounted the envy of their contemporaries; that in case the rest should scruple to pay this justice to Alexander's merit, he himself was resolved to show them the way, and to worship him if he should come into the hall: but that all of them must do their duty, especially those that professed wisdom, who ought to set the others an example of the veneration due to so great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this speech was directed to Callisthenes. He was related to Aristotle, who had presented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Persia. He was considered, upon account of his wisdom and gravity, as the fittest person to give him such wholesome counsel as was most capable of preserving him from those excesses, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him; but he was accused of not possessing the gentle, insinuating behaviour of courts; and of not knowing a certain medium, between grovelling complaisance, and inflexible obstinacy. Aristotle had attempted, but to no purpose, to soften the severity of his temper; and foreseeing the ill consequences with which this disagreeable liberty of speaking his mind might be attended, he used often to repeat the following verse of Homer to him:*

My son, thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

This philosopher, seeing that every one, on this occasion, continued in a deep silence, and that the eyes of the whole assembly were fixed on him, made a speech, which appears to me just enough. However, it often happens, when a subject is bound in duty to oppose the inclinations of his sovereign, that the most cautious and most respectful zeal is considered as insolence and rebellion. "Had the king," said he, "been present at the speech which thou hast just made, none among us would have attempted to answer thee, for he himself would have interrupted thee, and not have suffered thee to prompt him to assume the customs of barbarians, in casting an odium on his person and glory, by so servile an adulation. But since he is absent, I will answer thee in his name. I consider Alexander as worthy of all the honours that can be paid a mortal; but there is a difference between the worship of the gods and that of men. The former includes temples, altars, prayers, and sacrifices; the latter is confined to praises only, and awful respect. We salute the latter, and look upon it as glorious to pay them submission, obedience, and fidelity; but we adore the former, we institute festivals to their honour,

and sing hymns and anthems to their glory. The worship of the gods does itself vary, according to their rank; and the homage we pay to Castor and Pollux, is not like that with which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. We must not therefore confound all distinctions, either by bringing down the gods to the condition of mortals, or by raising a mortal to the state of a god. Alexander would be justly offended should we pay to another person, the homage due to his sacred person alone: ought we not to dread the indignation of the gods as much, should we bestow upon mortals the honours due to them alone? I am sensible that our monarch is vastly superior to the rest; he is the greatest of kings, and the most glorious of conquerors: but then he is a man, not a god. To obtain this title, he must first be divested of his mortal frame: but this it is greatly our interest to wish may not happen, but as late as possible. The Greeks did not worship Hercules till after his death: and that not till the oracle had expressly commanded it. The Persians are cited as an example for our imitation: but how long is it that the vanquished have given law to the victor? Can we forget that Alexander crossed the Hellespont, not to subject Greece to Asia, but Asia to Greece?"

The deep silence which all the company observed whilst Callisthenes spoke, was a sufficient indication of their thoughts. The king, who stood behind the tapestry all the time, heard whatever had passed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, "That without insisting any farther, he would only require the Persians to fall prostrate, according to their usual custom." A little after this he came in, pretending he had been busied in some affair of importance, and immediately the Persians fell prostrate to adore him. Polysperchon, who stood near him, observing that one of them bowed so low that his chin touched the ground, bid him in a rallying tone of voice, to *strike harder*. The king, offended at this joke, threw Polysperchon into prison, and broke up the assembly. However, he afterwards pardoned him; but Callisthenes was not so fortunate.

To rid himself of him, he laid to his charge a crime of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of some private pique, formed a conspiracy against him; but it was very happily discovered, the instant it was to be put in execution. The criminals were seized, put to the torture, and executed. Not one among them had accused Callisthenes; but having been very intimate with Hermolaus, that alone was sufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the most grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confession of guilt. But he insisted upon his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected so much dishonour on Alexander's memory as this unjust and cruel death of Callisthenes. He truly merited the name of philosopher, from the solidity of his understanding, the extent of his knowledge, the austerity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and above all, from the hatred he so evidently manifested for dissimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which must have a supple, pliable, flexible temper: sometimes indeed it must be of a knavish and treacherous, at least of a hypocritical, flattering turn. He very seldom was seen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it, and whenever he prevailed so far upon himself as to go thither, his melancholy silent air was a manifest indication, that he disapproved of every thing that was said or done at it. With this humour, which was a little too severe, he would have been an inestimable treasure to a prince who hated falsehood; for among the many thousands who surrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Callisthenes alone had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of such a treasure and the use which ought to be made of it? Truth seldom pierces those clouds which are raised by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed, Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of pointing out his

* Diog. Laert. in Aristot. lib. v. 303.

† Inter abruptum contumaciam ac deformis obsequium pergere iter subitaneum ac periculis vacuum. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 20.

‡ Οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ὡς μοι, τίνας, ἑταίρους, ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρῃς.

Il. xviii. v. 95.

true interest. From that instant no one spoke with freedom in the council; even those who had the greatest love for the public welfare, and a personal affection for Alexander, thought themselves not obliged to undeceive him. After this nothing was listened to but flattery which gained such an ascendancy over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and justly punished him for having sacrificed to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the most virtuous man about his person.

I observe, after Seneca,¹ that the death of Callisthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and so horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful soever, no military exploit, however brilliant, can ever efface its infamy. If it is said in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Persians; that he dethroned and slew the most powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the most remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the East: in answer to each of these particulars, "Yes," says Seneca, "but he murdered Callisthenes;"² a crime of such magnitude, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.

SECTION XV.—ALEXANDER SETS OUT FOR INDIA.

A DIGRESSION WITH REGARD TO THAT COUNTRY. HE BESIEGES AND TAKES SEVERAL CITIES WHICH APPEARED IMPREGNABLE, AND IS OFTEN IN DANGER OF HIS LIFE. HE CROSSES THE RIVER INDUS, AND AFTERWARDS THE HYDASPES, AND GAINS A SIGNAL VICTORY OVER PORUS, WHOM HE RESTORES TO HIS THRONE.

ALEXANDER, to stop the murmurs and discontents which arose among his soldiers, set out for India. He himself wanted action and motion, for he always, when unemployed, lost part of the glory he had acquired in war. An excess of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite useless in itself, and attended with very dangerous consequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus, and Hercules, both sons of Jupiter, like himself, had marched so far. He was determined not to be surpassed by them; and there was not wanting many flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical design.

These are the things that constitute the glory and merit of such pretended heroes; and it is this which many people, dazzled by a false splendour, still admire in Alexander: a ridiculous desire of rambling up and down the world; of disturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all those as enemies, who should refuse to acknowledge him for their sovereign; of ransacking and extirpating such as should presume to defend their liberties, their possessions and their lives, against an unjust invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the least shadow of reason. Add to this glaring injustice, the rash and wild project he had formed, of subduing with infinite labour, and the utmost hazard, many more nations than it was possible for him to keep in subjection; and the sad necessity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them anew, and punish them for their rebellion. This is a sketch of what the conquest of India would exhibit to us, after I shall have given some little account of the situation and manners of that country, and of some of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts; India on this, and India on the other side of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even so far

as the Ganges. This first part is situated between two great rivers, the Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy says, the limits of it are, to the west, Paropamisus, Arachosia and Gedrosia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Persia; to the north, Mount Imaus, which is a part of Great Tartary; to the east, the Ganges; to the south, the Ocean or Indian Sea.

All the Indians,³ according to Arrian, are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no slaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make use of foreign slaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illustrious men is their mausoleum.

They may be divided into seven classes. The first and most honourable, though the least numerous, is that of the Brahmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I shall have occasion to mention them in the sequel.

The second and greatest is that of the husbandmen. These are had in great esteem. Their only occupation is to cultivate the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and serve in the field: even in time of war, it is an inviolable law, never to molest them or their lands.

The third is that of herdsmen and shepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exercise themselves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots and seamen are included. These three last orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempt from it but those that make arms, who instead of paying any thing, receive a stipend from the public.

The fifth is of soldiers, whose only improvement is war: they are furnished with all sorts of necessaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly supplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and disengaged from cares of every kind.

The sixth order is that of overseers (*Epistates*), who superintend the actions of others, and examine every transaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in these magistrates are exactness, sincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of these magistrates, says the historian, have ever been accused of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! However, this observation proves at least that truth and justice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and insincerity were detested in it.

Lastly, the seventh class consists of persons employed in the public councils, and who share the cares of the government with the sovereign. From this class are taken magistrates, intendants, governors of provinces, generals, and all military officers, whether for land or sea; comptrollers of the treasury, receivers, and all who are entrusted with the public monies.

These different orders of the state never intermix by marriage; and an artificer, for instance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the class of husbandmen; and so of the rest. None of these can follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another. It is natural to conclude, that this regulation must have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own industry and reflections to those of his ancestors, which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many observations might be made on these Indian customs, which I am obliged to omit, for the sake of proceeding in my history. I only entreat the reader to observe, that in every wise government, every well-governed state, the tilling of lands, and the grazing of cattle (two perpetual and certain sources of riches and abundance), have always been one of the chief objects of the care of those who preside in the administration.

¹ Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit occidit Persarum multa milia, opponetur, et Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, occidit Darium, pendet quem tunc magnam regnum erat; opponetur, et Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, omnia oceanus tenuis vici, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, et imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicitur, sed Callisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua ducum regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit, nihil tam magnam erit, quam scelus Callisthenis. Senec. Nat. quæst. vi. c. 22.

² Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

³ Arrian. de Indic. p. 324—326.

and that the neglect of either is erring against one of the most important maxims in policy.

I also admire very much that custom of appointing overseers, whether they are known for such or not, who go upon the spot, in order to inspect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages, to which unlimited authority, and the distance from a court, frequently give occasion; the only method, at the same time, for a sovereign to know the state of his kingdom, without which it is impossible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has entrusted to his care. This care regards him personally; and those who act under him can no more dispense with the discharge of it, than they can usurp his diadem.

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to those of September and October, excessive rains fall very often, whereby the crossing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and, frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this season, the armies of Alexander must have suffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I shall say a few words concerning the elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terrestrial animals in size. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives sometimes to the age of 100 or 120 years; nay much longer, if some ancient writers may be credited. Its nose, called its trunk (*proboscis*), is long and hollow, like a large trumpet, and serves the elephant instead of a hand,¹ which it moves with incredible agility and strength, and thereby is of prodigious service to it. The elephant,² notwithstanding its prodigious size, is so tractable and industrious, that one would be almost apt to conclude it were formed with something like human reason. It is susceptible of affection, fondness, and gratitude, so far as to pine away with sorrow when it has lost its master, and even sometimes to destroy itself when it happens to have ill used or murdered him in the transport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whose authority is not to be questioned, relates, that he had seen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to his legs, which he struck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; while the rest danced round him, keeping time with a surprising exactness.

He describes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians inclose a large spot of ground, with a trench of about twenty feet wide, and fifteen high, to which there is access but in one part, and this is a bridge, which is covered with turf; in order that these animals, who are very subtle, may not suspect any thing. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raised on the outer side, of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themselves in order to watch these animals, leaving a very small opening. In this enclosure two or three tame female elephants are set. The instant the wild elephants see or smell them, they run and whirl about so much, that at last they enter the enclosure, upon which the bridge is immediately broken down, and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirst, people enter the enclosure upon tame elephants, and with these they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impossible for them to make a long resistance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having first made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in case they attempt to stir. Being tamed in this manner, they suffer themselves to be led quietly to the houses with the rest, where they are fed with grass and green corn, and gradually tamed by blows and hunger, till such

time as they obey readily their master's voice, and perfectly understand his language.

Every one knows the use that was formerly made of these animals in battle; however, they frequently made greater havoc in the army to which they belonged than in that of the enemy. Their teeth, or rather tusks, furnish us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

This prince having entered India,³ all the petty kings of these countries came to meet him, and make their submissions. They declared that he was the third son of Jupiter,⁴ who had arrived in their country: that they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwise than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happiness to see him, and to enjoy his presence. The king received them with the utmost courtesy, commanding them to accompany him, and serve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephestion and Perdicas with part of his forces, to subdue all who should refuse to submit. He ordered them to advance as far as the Indus, and to prepare boats to convey his army across that river. But finding he was obliged to cross several rivers, he caused these boats to be built in such a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the several parts of them carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himself marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and after a slight engagement, he defeated those who had dared to make head against him, and pursued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify, at the first onset, those nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his soldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he besieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants to the sword. But as he was going round the walls on horseback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithstanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havoc of all the soldiers and inhabitants, and did not so much as spare the houses.

After subduing this nation, which was of no great consequence, he marched towards the city of Nysa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a forest, that hid it. In the mean time, it grew so very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt so excessive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up several fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The besieged having attempted a sally with ill success, a faction arose in the city, some being of opinion that it would be best for them to surrender, whilst others were for holding out. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any farther injury; till at last, tired out with the length of the siege, they surrendered at discretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army, for six days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worshipped.

He marched from thence to a country called Dacala, which had A. M. 3677. been abandoned by the inhabitants, Ant. J. C. 326. who had fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, as had also those of Acadera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his method of war, and to disperse his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: no resistance was made any where, and those who were so courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took several little cities the instant he set

¹ Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficile aditus habebant ad pastum. Cic. de nat. deor. lib. ii. n. 123.

² Elephantis bellorum nulla providentia. At figura quæ variis? De nat. deor. lib. i. n. 97.

³ Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 9—14. Arrian. l. iv. p. 182—193. l. v. p. 195—221. Plut. in Alex. p. 647—699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557—559. Justin. l. xii. c. 7, 8.

⁴ Quatuor Curtius supponit, quæ several countries on this side of the Indus, but adjacent to that river, belonged to India, and made part of it.

⁵ Could these Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?

down before them. Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, passed the river Chonaspes,¹ and left Cœnus to besiege a rich and populous city, called Bazira by the inhabitants.

He afterwards marched towards Massaga, whose king, called Assacnus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were 30,000 foot in it, and both nature and art seemed to have vied with each other in raising its fortifications; for towards the east, it was surrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which were steep, and difficult of access; and on the west and south were high craggy rocks; at the foot whereof were caves, which through length of time had increased into a kind of abysses; and where these failed, a trench of an astonishing depth was digged with incredible labour.

Whilst Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was shot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon, and, without so much as binding up the wound, mounted his horse, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried,² "Every one swears that I am the son of Jupiter, but my wound makes me sensible that I am a man." However, he did not leave the place till he had seen every thing; and given all the necessary orders. Some of the soldiers, therefore, demolished such houses as stood without the city, and with the rubbish, filled up the gulfs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge stones into them; and all laboured with so much vigour, that in nine days the works were completed, and the towers were raised upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, visited the works, and after applauding the soldiers for their great despatch, caused the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were discharged against those who defended the walls. But that which most terrified the barbarians, was those towers of a vast height, which seemed to them to move of themselves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that those battering-rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never seen, could not be the effect of human strength: so that, persuaded that it would be impossible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themselves more secure there, they sent ambassadors to propose a surrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of sacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and restored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polysperchon was sent with an army to besiege the city of Ora, which he soon took. Most of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having besieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the siege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of easy access; but it rises like a bank; and being very wide at the bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whose source is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its banks being perpendicular and high; and on the other side were vast morasses, which it was necessary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians they were near a forest. This the king caused to be cut down, commanding the soldiers to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with the less difficulty; and he himself threw the first trunk into the morass. The army seeing this, shouted for joy, and every soldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finished in seven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the

king to expose himself on this occasion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no sooner sounded, than this prince, who was not master of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himself first climbing the rock. At this sight it appeared no longer inaccessible, and every one flew after him. Never were soldiers exposed to greater danger; but they were all resolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whose whirlpools swallowed them up. The barbarians rolled great stones on the foremost, who being scarce able to keep upon their feet (the rock was so slippery,) fell down the precipices, and were dashed to pieces. No sight could possibly be more dismal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loss of so many brave soldiers, caused a retreat to be sounded. Nevertheless, though he had lost all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raise the siege, he acted as if he intended to continue, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The besieged, by way of insult, made great rejoicings; and continued their festivity for two days and two nights, making the rock and the whole neighbourhood echo with the sound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were surprised to see every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians had lighted them to assist their flight, and to guide them the more easily among the precipices, during the obscurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, shouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives so much, that several of them fancying they saw the enemy, flung themselves from the top of the rock, and perished miserably. The king, having so happily and unexpectedly possessed himself of the rock, in an almost miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered sacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched towards Ecbolimus which he took, and after sixteen days' march arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephestion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whose father died some time before, had sent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithstanding he had received this permission, he nevertheless delayed assuming it till his arrival. He then went to meet him with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he pushed forward his horse, came up singly to him, and the king did the same. The Indian then told him by an interpreter, "that he was come to meet him at the head of his army, in order to deliver up all his forces into his hands; that he surrendered his person and kingdom to a monarch, who he was sensible, fought only with the view of acquiring glory, and dreaded nothing so much as treachery." The king, greatly satisfied with the frankness of the barbarian, gave him his hand, and restored him to his kingdom. He then made Alexander a present of fifty-six elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious size. Alexander asking him which were most necessary to him, husbandmen or soldiers? he replied, that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greatest service to him. These two monarchs were Abisares and Porus, the latter of whom was the most powerful, and the dominions of both were situated on the other side of the Hydaspes. Omphis assumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were usually called. He made magnificent presents to Alexander, who did not suffer himself to be exceeded in generosity.

The next day, ambassadors from Abisares, waiting upon the king, surrendered up to him, pursuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their sovereign; and after a promise of fidelity had been given on both sides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, astonished with the report of his glory, would not fail to submit to him, sent a message to that prince, as if he had been his vassal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus answered

¹ This is not the Chonaspes which runs by Susa.

² Omnes jurant me Jovis esse filium, sed v' nus hoc hominem esse me clamat. *Senec. Epist. lix.*

with great composure, that he would meet him upon the frontiers, but it should be sword in hand. At the same time, a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great service, were sent to Alexander. He gave the superintendence of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the banks of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him; and had posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them 300 chariots, supported by 30,000 foot; he had not at most above 7000 horse. This prince was mounted on an elephant much larger than any of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men; so that, clothed in his armour, glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature, and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide (about 400 fathoms,) and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly impetuous notwithstanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses, and elephants. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with great terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were emboldened by an uninterrupted series of prosperity; but then they did not think it would be possible for them, as their barks were so crazy, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

This river was full of little islands, to which the Indians and Macedonians used to swim, with their arms over their heads; and slight skirmishes took place every day in the sight of the two kings, who were well pleased to try their strength in these small excursions, and to form a judgment from such skirmishes of the success of a general battle. There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egesimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever successful, despised dangers of every kind. They took with them the bravest youths in the whole army; and with no other weapons than their javelins, swam to an island in which several of the enemy were landed; where, with scarce any other assistance but their intrepidity, they made a great slaughter. After this bold stroke, they might have retired with glory, were it possible for rashness, when successful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt, and an insulting air, for those who came to succour their companions, they were surrounded by a band of soldiers, who had swum unperceived to the island, and overwhelmed with the darts which were shot from far. Those who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, were either carried away by the waves, or swallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who saw all this from the shore, was surprisingly increased by this success.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not pass the Hydaspes by force of arms, he therefore resolved to have recourse to artifice. Accordingly he caused his cavalry to attempt several times to pass it in the night, and to shout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpose. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle array on the bank. This stratagem having been attempted several times, and Porus finding the whole but mere noise and empty menaces, he took no farther notice of these motions, and only sent scouts to every part of the shore. Alexander being now no longer apprehensive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to cross

the river in the night, began to resolve seriously to pass it.

There was in the river, at a considerable distance from Alexander's camp, an island of a greater extent than either of the rest, which being covered with trees was well suited to conceal his design, and therefore he resolved to attempt the passage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occasion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noise, at a certain time which should be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to cross the river; but that he should not attempt this, till such time as Porus should have raised his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards those Macedonians who should attempt the passage. Between the camp and the island he had posted Melenger and Gorgias with the foreign horse and foot, with orders for them to pass over in bodies, the instant they should see him engaged in battle.

After giving these orders, he took the rest of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the shore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the island into which he was resolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander caused his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was opposite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and splendour with which the majesty of a great king is usually surrounded. He also caused a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the same age with himself, and so much resembled the king, both in stature and features, especially at so great a distance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might suppose Alexander himself was on the bank, and was attempting the passage in that place. He, however, was by this time got to the island above mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the rest of his troops, whilst the enemy were employed in opposing Craterus. But on a sudden a furious storm arose, which seemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it; for so fortunate was this prince, that obstacles changed into advantages and succours in his favour. The storm was succeeded by a very violent shower, with impetuous winds, flashes of lightning and thunder, insomuch that there was no hearing or seeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his design; but he, on the contrary, was animated by the very danger, not to mention that the noise, the confusion, and the darkness, assisted his passage. He thereupon made the signal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himself in the first boat. It is reported that it was on this occasion he cried out, "O Athenians, could you believe that I would expose myself to such dangers to merit your applause?" And, indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his name, than the having his actions recorded by such great historians as Thucydides and Xenophon;¹ and so anxious was he about the character which should be given him after his death, that he wished it were possible for him to return again into the world only so long as was necessary to know what impression the perusal of his history would make on the minds of men.

Scarce any person appeared to oppose their landing, because Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppose his passage. Immediately this general, pursuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and seemed disposed to attempt the passage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to shore, one excepted, which the waves dashed to pieces against a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, consisting of 6000 foot and 5000 horse. He himself headed the latter; and having commanded the foot to make all imaginable despatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in case the Indians should oppose him with their whole force

¹ Lucian, de scrib. hist. p. 694.

his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, at all events, he might easily continue fighting till his foot should come up; or, that in case the enemy, alarmed at the news of his having passed the river, should fly, it would then be in his power to pursue, and make a great slaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had crossed the river, had sent against him a detachment, commanded by one of his sons, of 2000 horse and 120 chariots. Alexander imagined them at first to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed upon the spot, with 400 horses, and all the chariots were taken. Each of these chariots carried six men; two were armed with bucklers, two bowmen sat on each side, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheless always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts which they discharged at the enemy. But all these did little execution that day, because the rain, which had fallen in great abundance, had moistened the earth to such a degree, that the horses could scarcely stand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, most of them sunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his post, because Craterus, with the rest of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to pass the river. However he at last resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with 30,000 foot, 4000 horse, 300 chariots, and 200 elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, into which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants at 100 feet distance one from the other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear their horses would have of the elephants; and much less the infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and themselves in danger of being trod to pieces by those animals. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which his chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in sight of the enemy, halted to wait the coming of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little after; and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not be led, fatigued as they were, against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: but his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them; and marching against the left wing, sent Cœnus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time; ordering him to attack the cavalry on the left, in the rear, while he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

Being come within arrow-shot, he detached 1000 bowmen on horse-back, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself should charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally.

The Indians, having closed their squadrons, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; so that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the 1000 bowmen, and against Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden evolution had thrown them, charged with great vigour those that made head against him, who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse, but that very instant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopped by the elephants, returned to the charge; however, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it again to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horse being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, no longer observed their usual order; but, frantic as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force; all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp, with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were fresh and vigorous, killed as many enemies in the retreat as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost on this occasion 20,000 foot and 3000 horse; not to mention the chariots which were all broken to pieces, and the elephants, all of which were either killed or taken. Porus's two sons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but fourscore of the 6000 soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bowmen of the horse, twenty of his horse guards, and 200 common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duties both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with intrepid bravery, seeing all his horse defeated and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great king Darius, who, on a like disaster, was the first that fled; on the contrary, he continued in the field as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was easily distinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by those glorious marks, and being desirous of saving him, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy: "How!" says he "is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom?" Immediately after which he would have transixed him with his dart, had he not instantly

retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander being still desirous to save so brave a prince, despatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror altogether worthy of him. After much entreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mien, he being above five cubits in height.¹ Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had conquered him. Alexander spoke first, and with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But," continued Alexander, "do you ask nothing more?" "No," replied Porus; "all things are included in that single word." Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, which seemed heightened by the distress of that prince, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem, and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to say, whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicaea, from his victory; and the other Bucephalia, in honour of his horse, who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are astonished at the rapidity of Alexander's conquests; the ease with which he surmounts the greatest obstacles, and forces almost impregnable cities: the uninterrupted and unheard-of efficacy that extricates him out of those dangers into which his rashness plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded, he must a hundred times have perished. But to unravel these mysterious kinds of events, several of which are repugnant to the usual course of things, we must go back to a superior cause, unknown to the profane historians and to Alexander himself. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the minister and instrument of the Sovereign Disposer of empires, who raises and destroys them at pleasure. He had received the same commission to overthrow the Persian and eastern empires, as Cyrus to destroy that of Babylon. The same Power conducted their enterprises, assured them of success, protected and preserved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commission, and completed their ministry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God spake concerning Cyrus in Isaiah.² "Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places.—I girded thee, though thou hadst not known me." This is the true and only cause of the incredible success with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his soldiers had for him; that anticipation of good fortune, and that assurance of success, which astonished his most intrepid captains.

SECTION XVI.—ALEXANDER ADVANCES INTO INDIA. A DIGRESSION RELATING TO THE BRACHMANS. THAT PRINCE RESOLVES TO MARCH AS FAR AS THE GANGES, WHICH RAISES A GENERAL DISCONTENT IN HIS ARMY. REMONSTRANCES BEING MADE TO HIM ON THIS ACCOUNT, HE LAYS ASIDE HIS DESIGN, AND IS CONTENTED

WITH GOING NO FARTHER THAN THE OCEAN HE SUBDUES ALL OBSTACLES IN HIS WAY THITHER, AND IS EXPOSED TO GREAT DANGER AT THE SIEGE OF THE CITY OF THE OXYDRACÆ; AND ARRIVING AT LAST AT THE OCEAN, HE AFTERWARDS PREPARES FOR HIS RETURN INTO EUROPE.

ALEXANDER,³ after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into A. M. 3677. India, where he subdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himself as a conqueror by profession as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with so much ardour and vivacity, that he seemed to fancy himself invested with a personal commission, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to storm all cities, to lay waste all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which should refuse his yoke; and that he should have considered himself as guilty of a crime, had he forborne visiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and desolation wherever he went. He passed the Acesines, and afterwards the Hydaroates, two considerable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the rest, the Cathæans, who were the most valiant and most skilful of those nations in the art of war; and that they were encamped near a strong city, called Sangala. Alexander set out against these Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, some philosophers,⁴ called Brachmans in the language of that country, were conversing together as they were walking in a meadow. The instant they perceived him, they all stamped against the ground with their feet. Alexander, surprised at this extraordinary gesture, demanded the cause of it. They answered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "That no man possessed any more of that element than he could enjoy: that the only difference between him and other men was, that he was more restless and ambitious than they, and overran all seas and lands, merely to do harm to others and himself; and yet—he would die at last, and possess no greater part of the earth than was necessary for his interment." The king was not displeased at this answer: but he was hurried on by the torrent of glory, and his actions were the very reverse of what he approved.

These Brachmans, says Arrian, are held in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but assist him with their counsel, and perform the same offices as the Magi do to the kings of Persia. They assist at the public sacrifices; and if a person desires to sacrifice in private, one of these must be present, otherwise the Indians are persuaded the sacrifices would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themselves particularly to consulting the stars; none but themselves exercise the art of divination; and they foretell, chiefly, the change of the weather and of the seasons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is silenced forever.

Their sentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from those of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who presides over and fills it with his majesty: and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the soul, and the punishment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing with it, like that philosopher, some fictions, in order to express or describe those punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks gave them the name of Gymnosophists. Many incredible particulars are related concerning the austerity of their lives, and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempsychosis, and believe that the

¹ Q. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1.

² Arrian. lib. vii. p. 275, 276. Id. in India, p. 324. Strab. lib. xv. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Quint. Curt. lib. viii. c. 9.

³ Seven feet and a half.

⁴ Chap. xiv.—5.

souls of men transmigrate from their bodies into those of beasts, they abstain from the flesh of animals. It is thought that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days standing with their faces towards the sun, and that in the season when this luminary darts its rays with the greatest violence. Persuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himself oppressed by age or sickness, they hold it glorious to anticipate their last hour, and burn themselves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to those who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to ashes, should they go into it otherwise than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and associate with mankind: and so far from considering self-murder as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakness in man, not to wait patiently the stroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tusculan questions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian sages, but also of the women of that country,¹ who used to contest for the honour of dying with their common husband. This privilege was reserved for that wife whom the husband had loved most affectionately; and was given in her favour by the sentence of persons appointed for that purpose, who never gave judgment till such time as they had made a strict examination, and heard the allegations on all sides. The wife on whom the preference was bestowed, ran to meet death, and ascended the funeral pile with incredible resolution and joy: whilst the surviving wives withdrew in the deepest transports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The description which Porphyry² has left us of these philosophers, resembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abstain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themselves unclean. They spend the greatest part of the day and night in singing hymns in honour of their gods. They fast and pray perpetually. The greatest part of them live alone, and in the deepest solitude, and neither marry nor possess any thing. They wish for nothing so earnestly as death; and considering this life as a burden, they wait impatiently for the moment when the soul will be separated from the body.

These philosophers exist still in India, where they are called *Bramins*: and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient Brachmans.

Alexander passing near a city wherein several of these Brachmans dwell, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them, and not just to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, who was a great philosopher, and had been a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, was deputed to them. He met not far from the city with fifteen, who from morning till evening stood always naked, in the same posture in which they had at first placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, and told him the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Onesicritus's clothes and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That anciently the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with dust; that besides water, the rivers used to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine; that man's guilt had occasioned a change of this happy condition; and

that Jupiter, to punish their ingratitude, had sentenced them to a long, painful labour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to compassion, he had restored their former abundance; however, that by the course of things, they seemed to be returning to their ancient confusion." This relation shows evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of the toil to which he had been sentenced for his sin.

After this conversation, Onesicritus spoke to Mandanis, the eldest, and, as it were, the superior of the band. This Brachman said, "That he thought Alexander worthy of admiration, in seeking thus for wisdom in the midst of the cares of his government: that he was the first,³ who had ever united in himself the two characters of conqueror and philosopher; that it were to be wished, that the latter character were the attribute of those who could inspire the wisdom which they themselves possessed, and enjoin it by their authority." He added, that he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake so long and laborious a journey, nor what he came in search of, in so remote a country.

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying, that they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis, assuming a haughty, philosophical tone, answered, "That he did not want Alexander, and was the son of Jupiter as well as himself: that he was exempted from want, desire, or fear; that so long as he should live, the earth would furnish him all things necessary for his subsistence, and that death would rid him of a troublesome companion (meaning his body,) and set him at full liberty." Calanus was more tractable; and, notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition, of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy.

We find by a circumstance which history has recorded, that this people used often to employ parables and similitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was discoursing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wise policy and a prudent administration, he exhibited to that prince a sensible image and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide, which was very dry and shrunk up, and then set his foot upon one end of it. The hide being pressed so gave way, and all the other ends flew up: going thus quite round the hide, and pressing the several edges of it, he made him observe, that whilst he lowered it on one side all the rest rose up, till treading at last upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all sides. By this image he hinted to him that it would be proper for him to reside in the centre of his dominions, and not undertake such long journeys. We shall soon show the reader the manner in which this philosopher ended his days.

Alexander⁴ being determined to continue the war as long as he should meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilst they should live independently of him, was meditating about passing the Hyphasis. He was told that after passing that river, he must travel eleven days through deserts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India. That farther in the country lived the Gangaridæ and the Prasii, whose king was preparing to oppose his entering his dominions, at the head of 20,000 horse, and 200,000 foot, reinforced by 2000 chariots; and, which struck the greatest terror, with 3000 elephants. A report of this being spread through the army, struck all the soldiers with consternation, and raised a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having traversed so many countries and being grown gray in the field, were incessantly directing their eyes and wishes towards their dear

¹ Mulieres in Indiâ, cum est cujusque earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures enim singulis essent esse nuptæ. Quæ est victrix, ex læta, postsequentibus suis una cum viro in rogam importatur: illa victa mœsta discedit. *Tusc. Quest. lib. v. n. 78.*

² Lib. de Abst. Animal.

³ Μέγας ὡς ἔστι αὐτὸν ἐν ἑσπέραις εὐλογοῦντες.

⁴ Quint. Curt. l. ix. c. 1-9. Arrian. l. v. p. 221-234. & l. vi. p. 235-259. Plut. in Alex. p. 690, 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 550-570. Justin. l. xii. c. 9, 10.

native country, made loud complaints that Alexander should every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but just before, inexpressible fatigues, having been exposed to rain, accompanied with storms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion; others insolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and learning that secret assemblies were held in his camp, to prevent the ill consequences of them, sent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the soldiers together, he made the following speech: "I am not ignorant, O soldiers, that the Indians have spread abroad many reports, purposely to terrify us; but such discourses and artifices are not unusual to you. Thus the Persians described the straits of Cilicia, the vast plains of Mesopotamia, the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, as so many insurmountable difficulties, and yet your bravery conquered them. Do you repent you have followed me thus far? As your glorious deeds have subdued for you a multitude of provinces; as you have extended your conquests beyond the Iaxartes and mount Caucasus; as you see the rivers of India flow through the midst of your empire; why are you afraid of crossing the Hyphasis, and of setting up your trophies on the banks of it, as on those of the Hydaspes? What! can the elephants, whose number is so falsely augmented, terrify you to such a degree? But has not experience taught you, that they are more destructive to their own masters than to the enemy? Endeavours are used to intimidate you by the dreadful idea of innumerable armies; but are they more numerous than those of Darius? It is sure too late for you to count the legions of the enemy, after your victories have made Asia a desert. It was when you crossed the Hellespont that you ought to have reflected on the small number of our forces: but now the Scythians form part of our army; the Bactrians, the Sogdians, and the Dahæ, are with us, and fight for our glory. I, however, do not depend on those barbarians. It is on you only that I rely; your victorious arms alone are present to my imagination; and your courage alone ensures me success. So long as I shall be surrounded with you in fight, I shall not have any occasion to count the number of my troops nor that of the enemy, provided you go on to battle with the same marks of joy and confidence you have hitherto discovered. Not only our glory, but even our safety, is at stake. Should we now retreat, it will be supposed that we fly before our enemies, and from that moment we shall appear as men as the enemy will be judged formidable; for you are sensible, that in war reputation is every thing. It is in my power to make use of authority, and yet I employ entreaties only. Do not abandon (I conjure you,) I do not say your king and master, but your pupil and companion in arms. Do not break to pieces in my hand that glorious palm, which will soon, unless envy rob me of so great a glory, equal me to Hercules and to Bacchus." As the soldiers stood with their eyes cast on the ground, and did not once open their lips, "What!" continued he, "do I then speak to the deaf? Will no one listen to me, nor condescend to answer? Alas! I am abandoned, I am betrayed, I am delivered up to the enemy. But—I will advance still farther, though I go alone. The Scythians and Bactrians, more faithful than you, will follow me whithersoever I lead them. Return then to your country, and boast, ye cowardly deserters of your king, that you have abandoned him. As for myself, I will here meet either with the victory you despair of, or with a glorious death, which henceforward ought to be the sole object of my wishes."

Notwithstanding this lively, pathetic speech, the soldiers still kept a profound silence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonstrate to the king, that their affection was as strong as ever; but that as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impossible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them presumed to address him in their favour. The example of Clitus, and that of Cullis-

thenes, were still recent. The officers, who were then with him, had a hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the losing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilst therefore the soldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to lift up their eyes, there rose on a sudden a murmur, which increasing by insensible degrees, broke into such deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himself, whose anger was now changed into compassion, could not forbear weeping.

At last, whilst the whole assembly were in tears, and in deep silence, Cæsus took courage, and drew near to the throne, discovering by his air and action, that he desired to speak. And when the soldiers saw him take off his helmet, that being the custom when any person spoke to the king, they besought him to plead the cause of the army; and accordingly he spoke as follows: "No, Sir, we are not changed with regard to our affection for you: God forbid that so great a calamity should ever befall us. We still have and shall always retain the same zeal, the same affection and fidelity. We are ready to follow you at the hazard of our lives, and to march whithersoever you shall think fit to lead us. But if your soldiers may be allowed to lay before you their sentiments sincerely, and without disguise, they beseech you to condescend so far as to give ear to their respectful complaints, which nothing but the most extreme necessity could have extorted from them. The greatness, Sir, of your exploits has conquered, not only our enemies, but even your soldiers themselves. We have done all that it was possible for men to do. We have crossed seas and land. We shall soon have marched to the end of the world; and you are meditating the conquest of another, by going in search of new Indias, unknown to the Indians themselves. Such a thought may be worthy of your valour, but it surpasses ours, and our strength still more. Behold those ghastly faces, and those bodies covered over with wounds and scars. You are sensible how numerous we were at your first setting out, and you see what now remains of us. The few, who have escaped so many toils and dangers, have neither courage nor strength enough to follow you. All of them long to revisit their relations and country, and to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labours and your victories. Forgive them a desire natural to all men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to have fixed such boundaries to your fortune, as only your moderation could prescribe you; and to have vanquished yourself, after having conquered all your enemies."

Cæsus had no sooner spoken, but there were heard, on all sides, cries and confused voices, intermixed with tears, calling upon the king as *their lord and their father*. Afterwards all the rest of the officers, especially those whose age gave them a greater authority, and a fairer excuse for the freedom they took, made the same humble request; but still the king would not comply with it. It must cost a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himself to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore shut himself up two days in his tent, without once speaking to any one, not even to his most familiar friends, in order to see whether some change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on such occasions. But finding it would be impossible to change the resolution of the soldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpressible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he condescended, for the sake of his subjects, to sacrifice some part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praises and blessings of Alexander, for having suffered himself to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible by the rest of the world. No triumph is comparable to those acclamations and applauses that come from the heart, and which are the lively and sincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not spent above three or four months, at most, in conquering all the country between Ant. J. C. 326.

the Indus and the Hyphasis, called to this day *The Penjah*, which is, the *five waters*, from the five rivers which water it. Before his setting out, he raised twelve altars, to serve as so many trophies and thanksgivings for the victories he had obtained.

These instances of gratitude towards the gods, were attended with marks of vanity carried to an excess almost incredible. The altars which he erected in their honour were seventy-five feet high. He caused a camp to be marked out, three times as large again as his own, and surrounded it with fosses fifty feet in depth by ten broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent two beds, seven feet and a half in length; and the cavalry to make mangers for the horses of twice the usual dimensions. Every thing else was in proportion. Alexander's views in these orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave posterity monuments of his heroic and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed, that himself and his followers were superior to all other mortals.

He afterwards crossed the Hydrates, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphasis. He also reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and settled a peace between them by means of an alliance equally advantageous to both. From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Acesines;¹ but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp to a higher ground. Here a fit of sickness carried off Cœnus, whose loss was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had distinguished himself in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of those singularly good men, zealous for the public welfare, all whose actions are free from self-interested or ambitious views, and who bear so great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the consequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet consisted of 800 vessels, as well galleys as boats, to carry the troops and provisions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, according to Aristobolus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and Acesines mix their streams. Here the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with such prodigious rapidity, that as great storms arise in this part as in the open sea. At last he came into the country of the Oxycdrace and the Malli, the most valiant people in those parts. These were perpetually at war one with another; but having united for their mutual safety, they had drawn together 10,000 horse, and 80,000 foot, all vigorous young men, with 900 chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of some strongholds, and at last marched against the city of the Oxycdrace, whither the greatest part were retired. Immediately he causes the scaling-ladders to be set up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the scaling-ladders from a soldier; runs up the first (covered with his shield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peucestes and Limæus. The soldiers anxious for his safety, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladder breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, seeing himself the mark against which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was so rash, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect but to be either taken or killed, before it would be possible for him to rise, and without once having an opportunity to defend himself, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poised his body in such a manner, that he fell upon his feet; and finding himself standing, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a second time, not far from thence stood a great tree, against the trunk of which

he leaned, his shield receiving all the darts that were shot at him from a distance; for no one dared to approach him, so great was the dread which the boldness of the enterprise, and the fire which shot from his eyes had struck into the enemy. At last an Indian let fly an arrow three feet long (that being the length of their arrows), which piercing his coat of mail entered a considerable way into his body, a little above the right side. So great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropped his arms and lay as dead. Behold then this mighty conqueror,² this vanquisher of nations, upon the point of losing his life, not at the head of his armies, not at the siege of any place of importance, but in a corner of an obscure city, into which his rashness had thrown him. The Indian who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greatest transports of joy, to strip him; however, Alexander no sooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but fired with the spirit of revenge, he recalled his spirits; and grappling with the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his side. Some of his chief officers, as Peucestes, Leonates, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with some soldiers, came up at that instant, and attempting impossibilities for the sake of saving their sovereign's life, they form themselves as a bulwark round his body, and sustain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the soldiers, who had climbed up with the officers above-mentioned, having broken the bolts of a little gate, standing between two towers, they by that means let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.

Their first care was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the surgeons,³ cut off, so very dexterously, the wood of the shaft which had been shot into his body, that they did not move the steel point; and after undressing him, they found it was a bearded arrow;⁴ and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unless the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible resolution, so that there was no occasion for people to hold him. The incision being made, and the arrow drawn out, so great an effusion of blood ensued, that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being stopped, he recovered by degrees, and knew the persons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not stir from their posts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little rest.

At the end of the seven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was closed, as he knew that the report of his death gained ground among the barbarians, he caused two vessels to be joined together, and his tent pitched in the middle, in sight of every one, purposely to show himself to those who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects and the hopes with which they flattered themselves. He afterwards went down the river, going before at some distance from the rest of the fleet, for fear lest the noise of the oars should keep him from sleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the soldiers who were upon guard brought him his litter, but he refused it, and calling for his horse, mounted him. At this sight, all the shore, and the neighbouring forests, echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they saw him rise, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, surrounded with a great number of soldiers, some of whom kissed his hands, whilst others clasped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with seeing him; but all in general burst into tears, and calling for a thousand blessings from heaven, wished him long life, and an uninterrupted series of prosperity.

¹ Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

² In those ages they and physicians were the same thing.

³ So arrows are called that have beards at their points like fish-hooks. *Animadvertant hamos inesse tela.*

⁴ Arrian. in Ind. p. 310 Strab. lib. xv. p. 692.

At this instant deputies came from Malli, with the chiefs of the Oxydrace, to the number of 150, besides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him presents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuse, for not having done it before, their strong love of liberty. They declared that they were ready to receive for their governor whomsoever he pleased to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hostages. He demanded 1000 of the chief persons of their nation, whom he also might make use of in war, till he had subjected all the country. They put into his hands such of their countrymen as were handsomest and best shaped, with 500 chariots, though not demanded by him; at which the king was so much pleased, that he gave them back their hostages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embassy, and found his strength increase daily, tasted with so much the greater pleasure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have lost them for ever. His chief courtiers, and most intimate friends, thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and serenity of mind, for them to unbosom themselves, and expose their fears to him: it was Craterus spoke on this occasion. "We begin, royal Sir, to breathe and live, now we find you in the condition to which the goodness of the gods has restored you. But how great were our fears and our griefs! How severely did we reproach ourselves, for having abandoned, in such an extremity, our king, our father! It was not in our power to follow him; but this did not extenuate our guilt, and we look upon ourselves as criminals, in not having attempted impossibilities for your sake. But, Sir, never plunge us in such deep affliction hereafter. Does a wretched paltry town deserve to be bought at so dear a price as the loss of your life? Leave those petty exploits and enterprises to us, and preserve your person for such occasions only as are worthy of you. We still shudder with horror, when we reflect on what we so lately were spectators of. We have seen the moment, when the most abject hands upon earth were going to seize the greatest prince in the universe, and despoil him of his royal robes. Permit us, Sir, to say, you are not your own master, but that you owe yourself to us: we have a right over your life, since ours depends on it; and we dare take the freedom to conjure you, as being your subjects and your children, to be more careful of so precious a life, if not for your own sake, at least for ours, and for the felicity of the universe."

The king was strongly touched with these testimonies of their affection, and having embraced them severally with inexpressible tenderness, he answered as follows: "I cannot enough thank all present, who are the flower of my citizens and friends, not only for your having this day preferred my safety to your own, but also for the strong proofs you have given me of your zeal and affection, from the beginning of this war; and if any thing is capable of making me wish for a longer life, it is the pleasure of enjoying, for years to come, such valuable friends as you. But give me leave to observe, that in some points we differ very much in opinion. You wish to enjoy me long; and even, were it possible, for ever; but as to myself, I compute the length of my existence, not by years, but by glory. I might have confined my ambition within the narrow limits of Macedonia; and, contented with the kingdom my ancestors left me, have waited, in the midst of pleasures and indolence, an inglorious old age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, are computed, I shall seem to have lived long; but can you imagine, that, after having made Europe and Asia but one empire, after having conquered the two noblest parts of the world, in the tenth year of my reign, and the thirtieth of my age, it will become me to stop in the midst of so brilliant a career, and discontinue the pursuit of glory, to which I have entirely devoted myself? Know that this glory ennobles all things, and gives a true and solid grandeur to whatever appears insignificant. In what place soever I may fight, I shall fancy myself upon the stage of the world and in presence of all man-

kind. I confess that I have achieved mighty things hitherto; but the country we are now in, reproaches me that a woman has done still greater. It is Semiramis I mean. How many nations did she conquer! How many cities were built by her! What magnificent and stupendous works did she finish! How shameful is it, that I should not yet have attained to her pitch of glory! Do but second my ardour, and I soon shall surpass her. Defend me only from secret cabals, and domestic treasons, by which most princes lose their lives. I take the rest upon myself, and will be answerable to you for all the events of the war."

This speech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or end of it. He placed it where it certainly was not. The common error was that which he adopted and cherished. He fancied himself born merely for glory; and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjust, and irregular conquests. In his impetuous sallies after a mistaken glory, he followed neither reason, virtue, nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and standard to all other men, he was surprised that neither his officers nor soldiers would enter into his views, and lent themselves very unwillingly to support his ridiculous enterprises.

Alexander, after having ended his speech, dismissed the assembly, and continued encamped for several days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him along the banks. He then came among the Sabrace, a powerful nation of Indians. These had levied 60,000 foot and 6000 horse, and reinforced them with 500 chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander spread terror through the whole country, and accordingly they sent ambassadors to make their submission. After having built another city, which he also called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Musicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in those of king Satamus. At the siege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was very dangerously wounded; for the Indians had poisoned all their arrows and swords, so that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the highest love and esteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and caused him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himself might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to some writers, a natural son of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the bravest men in the army, was highly esteemed in war, and had still greater talents for peace. He was averse to luxury, vastly generous, and easy of access, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and prosperity had made the rest of the Macedonian noblemen assume: in a word, it is hard to say, whether he were more esteemed by his sovereign or his country. We are told there appeared to Alexander, in a dream, a dragon, which presented him an herb, as an effectual remedy for his friend's wound; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be sent for; when laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the universal joy of the army.

The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala about the rising of the dog-star, that is, about the end of July, so that the fleet was nine months at least from its setting out, till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an island, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above-mentioned received its name, Patala, according to Arrian,² signifying, in the Indian tongue, the same as Delta in Greek. Alexander caused a citadel to be built in Patala, as also a harbour, and an arsenal for the shipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to sail as far as the ocean, exposing in this manner so many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only consolation they had in this rash enterprise, was Alexander's uninterrupted success. When he had sailed twenty leagues,³ the pilots told him that they began

¹ Strab. l. xv. p. 692.

² Arrian. in India. p. 214

³ Four hundred furlongs.

to perceive the sea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping or joy, he besought the sailors to row with all their strength, and told the soldiers, "That they at last were come to the end of their toils, which they had so earnestly desired; that now nothing could oppose their valour, nor add to their glory; that without fighting any more, or spilling of blood, they were masters of the universe; that their exploits had the same boundaries with nature; and that they would soon be spectators of things, known only to the immortal gods."

Being come nearer the sea, a circumstance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmost confusion, and exposed the fleet to the greatest danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vast sea, from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whose tides are imperceptible, they were very much astonished when they saw it rise to a great height, and overflow the country; and considered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, who were disposed to punish their rashness. They were no less surprised and terrified, some hours after, when they saw the ebbing of the sea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving those lands uncovered it had so lately overflowed. The fleet was very much shattered, and the ships being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, with broken oars and planks, as after a great storm.

At last Alexander, after having spent full nine months in coming down the rivers, arrived at the ocean; where gazing with the utmost eagerness upon that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this sight, worthy of so great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls he had slaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and besought the gods not to suffer any mortal after him to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had completed his mighty design; and, highly delighted with himself, he returned to rejoin the rest of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala, and in the neighbourhood of that place.

SECTION XVII.—ALEXANDER, IN HIS MARCH THROUGH DESERTS, IS GRIEVOUSLY DISTRESSED BY FAMINE. HE ARRIVES AT PASARGADA, WHERE CYRUS'S MONUMENT STOOD. ORSINES, A POWERFUL SATRAP, IS PUT TO DEATH THROUGH THE CLANDESTINE INTRIGUES OF BAGOAS THE EUNUCH. CALANUS THE INDIAN ASCENDS A FUNERAL PILE, WHERE HE VOLUNTARILY MEETS HIS DEATH. ALEXANDER MARRIES STATIRA, THE DAUGHTER OF DARIUS. HARPALUS ARRIVES AT ATHENS. DEMOSTHENES IS BANISHED. THE MACEDONIAN SOLDIERS MAKE AN INSURRECTION, WHICH ALEXANDER APPEASES. HE RECALLS ANTIPATER FROM MACEDONIA, AND SENDS CRATERUS IN HIS ROOM. THE KING'S SORROW FOR THE DEATH OF HEPHESTION.

ALEXANDER being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet.¹ He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commission, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting of it; and, after testifying his acknowledgment upon that account in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the fleet, and to go and observe the sea-coast, extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulf; and, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.

Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the same time with Alexander.² It was not yet the season proper for sailing. It was summer, when the southern sea-

winds rise; and the season of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not set sail till about the end of September, and even that was too soon; and accordingly he was incommoded by adverse winds some days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for twenty-four days.

We are obliged for these particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the Oritæ, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhaumbacia. Here he was in such want of provisions, that he lost a great number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of 120,000 foot, and 15,000 horse. Sickness, bad food, and the excessive heats, had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havoc among the troops in this barren country, which was neither ploughed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who lived very hard, and led a most uncomfortable life. After they had eaten all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beasts of burden, and next upon their war-horses; and when they had no beasts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which the Macedonians had run to the extremities of the earth. The plague, the usual attendant upon famine, completed the calamity of the soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of them.

After marching threescore days, Alexander arrived at the confines of Gedrosia, where he found plenty of all things: for not only the soil was very fruitful, but the kings and great men, who lay nearest that country, sent him all kinds of provisions. He continued some time here, in order to refresh his army. The governors of India having sent, by his order, a great number of horses, and all kind of beasts of burden from the several kingdoms subject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped those who had lost every thing; and soon after presented all of them with arms as beautiful as those they had before, which it was very easy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Persia, at that time in peace, and in a very flourishing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, A. M. 3679, not with the air and equipage of a warrior, but in a kind of masquerade and Bacchanalian festivity; committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carousing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets and purple coverlets; and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads, and at the doors of houses, a great number of casks ready broached were placed, whence the soldiers drew wine in large flagons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpose. The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments, and the howlings of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, and like so many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves to every kind of licentiousness. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, crossed all Asia, in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, dissolute march lasted seven days, during all which time the army was never sober. It was very happy, says Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for 1000 resolute men, well armed, might with great ease have defeated the conquerors of the world, whilst thus plunged in wine and excess.

Nearchus³ still keeping along the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Indus, came at last into the Persian

¹ Arrian, in Indic. p. 334.

² Arrian. p. 335.

³ Arrian. in Indic. 348—352.

gulf, and arrived at the island of Harmusia, now called Ormus. He was there informed, that Alexander was not above five days' journey from him. Having left the fleet in a secure place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four persons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almost alone, he imagined that it had been entirely destroyed, and that Nearchus had been so very happy as to escape from the general misfortune. His arrival confirmed him still more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whose countenances were so much changed, that it was scarce possible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aside, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the same time was inconsolable for the loss of his fleet. "Your fleet, royal Sir," cried he immediately, "thanks to the gods, is not lost;" upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confessed that this happy news gave him greater pleasure than the conquest of all Asia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the discoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, pursuant to the first orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievously oppressed the people of various provinces during his absence; for, fully persuaded he would never return, they had exercised every species of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppression. Alexander, strongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very soul with their just complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-administration, and with them 600 soldiers, who had been the instruments of their exactions and other crimes. He ever afterwards treated with the same severity all such of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, so that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes these examples of severity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory to prove he does not connive, or share in the injustice committed in his name; to the consolation of his subjects, which he supplies with a vengeance which themselves ought never to exercise; in fine, to the safety of his dominions, which, by so equitable an administration, is secured from many dangers, and very often from insurrections. It is a great unhappiness to a kingdom, when every part of it resounds with exactions, vexations, oppressions, and corruption, and not so much as a single man is punished, as a terror to the rest: and that the whole weight of the public authority falls only upon the people, and never on those who ruin them.

The great pleasure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his successful voyage, inspired that prince with a great inclination for navigation and voyages by sea. He proposed no less than to sail from the Persian gulf, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's Pillars; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, by order of a king of Egypt, called Necho, as I have observed elsewhere. It was afterwards his design, when he should have humbled the pride of Carthage, against which he was greatly exasperated, to cross into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus: he next was to go over the Alps, and coast along Italy, where he would have had but a short passage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpose, he sent orders to the viceroys of Mesopotamia and Syria, to build in several parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapsacus, ships sufficient for that enterprise; and he caused to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Pasargada, a city of Persia. Orsines was governor of the country, and

the greatest nobleman in it. He was a descendant of Cyrus; and, besides the wealth he inherited from his ancestors, he himself had amassed great treasures having, for many years, ruled a considerable extent of country. He had done the king a signal piece of service. The person who governed the province during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orsines observing, that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confusion, took the administration upon himself, composed matters very happily, and preserved them in the utmost tranquillity till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with presents of all kinds for himself, as well as his officers. These consisted of a great number of fine and well-trained horses, chariots enriched with gold and silver, precious furniture, jewels, gold vases of prodigious weight, purple robes, and 4000 talents of silver in specie.¹ However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him: for when he presented such gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, he passed by the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulness, but out of contempt. Some persons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he answered, "I honour the king's friends, but not an infamous eunuch." These words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince descended from the noblest blood in the East, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed some of Orsines' attendants, giving them instructions, how to impeach him at a proper season; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with suspicions and distrust, letting drop ambiguous expressions concerning that nobleman, as if by chance; and dissembling very artfully the motives of discontent. Nevertheless the king suspended his judgment for the present, but discovered less esteem than before for Orsines, who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private discourses with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treason.

The great danger to which princes are exposed, is the suffering themselves to be prejudiced, and overreached in this manner by their favourites; a danger so common, that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius,² assures him that if he were exempt from this weakness, he may boast himself to be the only man in the world that is so. What is here spoken of princes, is applicable to all who are in power. Great men generally listen with pleasure to the slanderer: and for this reason, because he generally puts on the mask of affection and zeal, which soothes their pride. Slander always makes some impression on the most equitable minds; and leaves behind it such dark and gloomy traces, as raise suspicions, jealousies, and distrusts. The artful slanderer is bold and indefatigable, because he is sure to escape unpunished; and is sensible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they seldom make inquiry into the grounds of these secret calumnies, either from indolence, inattention or shame to appear suspicious, fearful, or diffident; in a word from their unwillingness to own that they were imposed upon, and had abandoned themselves to a rash credulity. In this manner, the most unsullied virtue, and the most irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a sad example on the present occasion. Bagoas, after having taken his measures at a distance, at last gave birth to his dark design. Alexander having caused the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the ashes of that great prince, found nothing in it but an old rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and silver, as the Persians had reported. The king had a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vastly surprised that so powerful and renowned a prince had been buried with no greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas thinking this a proper time for

¹ About 600,000*l*.

² De Consider. lib. ii. c. 14.

him to speak, "Are we to wonder," says he, "that we find the tombs of kings so empty, since the houses of governors of provinces are filled with the gold of which they have deprived them? I, indeed, had never seen this monument; but I have heard Darius say, that immense treasures were buried in it. Hence flowed the unbounded liberality and profusion of Orsines, who, by bestowing what he could not keep, without ruining himself, thought to make a merit of this in your sight." This charge was without the least foundation; and yet the Magi who guarded the sepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpose; and nothing was discovered relating to the pretended theft. Their silence on this occasion ought naturally to have cleared Orsines; but the artful, insinuating discourses of Bagoas, had made a deep impression on Alexander's mind, and by that means given calumny an easy access to it. The accusers, whom Bagoas had suborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orsines, and charged him with the commission of several odious crimes, and amongst the rest, with stealing the treasure of the monument. At this charge, the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and no farther proof was thought requisite; so that this prince was loaded with chains, before he so much as suspected that any accusation had been brought against him; and was put to death, without being so much as heard, or confronted with his accusers; too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in person; and who still continue infatuated, notwithstanding the numberless examples they read in history, of princes who have been deceived in like manner.

I have already said, that there had followed the king, an Indian, named Calanus, reputed the wisest man of his country, who, though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had however been persuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. This man, having lived fourscore and three years, without having ever been afflicted with sickness; and having a very severe fit of the colic, upon his arrival at Pasargada,² resolved to put himself to death. Resolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed, be impaired by lingering pains; and being also afraid of falling into the hands of physicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he besought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and desired that after he had ascended it, fire might be set to it. Alexander at first imagined that Calanus might easily be dissuaded from so dreadful a design; but finding, in spite of all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was still inflexible, he at last was obliged to acquiesce in his request. Calanus then rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; caused the same libations to be poured upon himself, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed, which are practised at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, as was done to the victims at a sacrifice; embraced such of his friends as were present; entreated them to be merry that day and carouse with Alexander; assuring them at the same time, that he would soon see that prince in Babylon. After saying these words he ascended, with the utmost cheerfulness, the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face; and when the flame caught him, he did not make the least motion; but with a patience and constancy that surprised the whole army, continued in the position in which he at first had laid himself; and completed his sacrifice, by dying pursuant to the custom practised by the sages of his country.

The historian informs us,³ that people differed very much in opinion with respect to this action. Some condemned it, as imitating only a frantic, senseless wretch; others imagined he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the sake of being gazed at, and to pass for a miracle in constancy (and these were not

mistaken;) others again applauded this false heroism, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over pain and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited several of his friends and general officers to supper; and in compliance with Calanus's request, and to do him honour, he proposed a crown, as a reward for him who should quaff most. He who conquered on this occasion, was Promachus, who swallowed four measures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown, worth a talent,⁴ he survived his victory but three days. Of these guests, forty-one died of their intemperance: a scene worthy of closing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited!

From Pasargada,⁵ Alexander came to Persopolis; and, surveying the remains of the conflagration, was exasperated against himself for his folly in setting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Susa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to sail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but being informed that Alexander was going to Susa, he came down again to the mouth of the Pasitigris, and sailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to pass it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to the gods sacrifices, by way of thanks for his happy return; and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it so far safe through numberless dangers.

Alexander found in Susa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter, and gave the youngest to his dear Hephestion. And in order that, by making these marriages more common, his own might not be censured, he persuaded the greatest noblemen in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they chose from among the noblest families of Persia, about fourscore young maidens, whom they married. His design was, by these alliances, to cement so strongly the union of the two nations, that they should thenceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise gave a feast to all the rest of the Macedonians, who had married before in that country. It is related that there were 9000 guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not satisfied with this bounty, he would also pay his soldiers' debts. But finding that several would not declare the sum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice, merely to discover those among them who were too lavish of their money, he appointed in his camp, officers, where all debts were paid, without asking the name either of the debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave prodigious satisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near 10,000 talents;⁶ but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached the soldiers for their seeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them: "That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his subjects;⁷ nor his subjects suspect that he could be guilty of so shameful a prevarication:" a truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which, at the same time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a single promise; which in affairs of government is the most fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Susa 30,000 Persian young men, most of the same age, and called *Epigoni*, that is, *successors*; as coming to relieve the old soldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only as were made choice of, as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia; and had been sent to the governors of such cities as were either lately founded or conquered by Alexander. These had instructed them in military

¹ Arrian. lib. vii. p. 276. Diod. lib. xvii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.

² [See a former note on Pasargada, where this passage is considered, in the attempt to prove the identity of Pasargada with Persopolis.]

³ Diodorus.

⁴ A thousand crowns.

⁵ Arrian. de Ind. p. 357, 358.

⁶ About fifteen hundred thousand pounds.

⁷ Οὐ γὰρ χρὴν ἐστὶν οὐδέν τινος ἐπαγγελίας ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡ ἀληθεύειν περὶ τοὺς ὑπακούοντες, οὐδὲ τὸν ἀρεσκόμενον τινὲς ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀληθεύειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιτολῇ. Arrian.

discipline, and in all things relating to the science of war. They were all very neatly dressed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. They came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle array, they were reviewed; and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well pleased and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed, Alexander observing that the latter were harassed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurings and complaints in the assemblies, was, for that reason, desirous of training up these new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to show too marked a preference to foreigners.

In the mean time Harpalus,¹ whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himself with the hopes that this prince would never return from the wars in that country, he had given a loose to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been entrusted. As soon as he was informed that Alexander, in his return from India, punished very severely such of his lieutenants as had abused their power, he meditated how he might best secure himself; and for this purpose amassed 5000 talents, that is, about 750,000*l.*; assembled 6000 soldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed in Athens. Immediately all such orators as made a trade of their eloquence,² ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to distribute a small part of his wealth among these orators, to win them over to his interest, but he offered Phocion 700 talents,³ and even put his person and property under his protection, well knowing the prodigious influence he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his disinterestedness, had gained him this influence. Philip's deputies had offered him great sums of money in that prince's name, entreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least for his children, who were so poor that it would be impossible for them to support the glory of his name: "If they resemble me,"⁴ replied Phocion, "the little spot of ground, on the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me to the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them: if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to foment and heighten their luxury." Alexander,⁵ having likewise sent him 100 talents,⁶ Phocion asked those who brought them, "with what design Alexander had sent so great a sum to him alone of all the Athenians?"—"It is," replied they, "because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man."—"Let him, then," says Phocion, "suffer me still to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for."

The reader will suppose, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the persons sent by Harpalus. And indeed he spoke to them in very harsh terms, declaring that he should immediately take such measures as would be very disagreeable to the person on whose errand they came, in case he did not leave off bribing the city; so that Harpalus lost all hopes from that quarter.

Demosthenes did not at first show more favour to Harpalus. He advised the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war upon a very unjust occasion, and at the same time without the least necessity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having observed that Demosthenes took a particular pleasure in viewing one of the king's cups, and that he admired the fashion and the beauty

of the workmanship, desired him to take it in his hand, and tell him *the weight of the gold*. Demosthenes taking the cup, was surprised at its heaviness, and accordingly asked how much it weighed? Harpalus answered with a smile, *Twenty talents*,⁷ *I believe*; and that very evening sent him that sum with the cup; for so great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could discover by the air, and certain glances, the foible of a man struck with the charms of gold. Demosthenes could not resist its power; but, overcome by this present, and being no longer master of himself,⁸ he joined on a sudden Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, having wrapped his neck well in wool and bandages, he went to the assembly. The people then ordered him to rise and make a speech, but he refused, making signs that he had lost his voice; upon which some wags cried aloud, that their orator had been seized in the night, not with a *quintana*,⁹ but an *argyrancy*; thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had suppressed his voice.

The people being told next day of the gift which had been sent to Demosthenes, were highly exasperated, and refused to hear his justification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to discover the persons who had taken bribes, the magistrates commanded a strict search to be made in all houses, that of Caricles excepted, who having married but a little before, was exempt from this inquiry, out of respect to his bride. The politeness shown on this occasion does honour to Athens, and is not always exercised elsewhere.

Demosthenes to prove his innocence, proposed a decree, by which the senate of the Areopagus was empowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the first they tried, and fined, upon being convicted, fifty talents,¹⁰ for the payment of which he was thrown into prison; however, he found means to escape, and left his country. Demosthenes did not behave with resolution and magnanimity in his banishment, residing generally at Ægina or Træzene; and every time he cast his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he suffered such words to drop from him as were unworthy a brave man; words, which by no means correspond with his resolute and generous behaviour during his administration. Cicero was reproached with the same weakness in his exile, which shows that great men are not such at all times, nor in all circumstances.

It were to be wished,¹¹ for the honour of eloquence, that what Pausanias relates in justification of Demosthenes were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was seized by Philoxenus the Macedonian; and being racked to extort from him the names of such Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demosthenes, whose name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppressed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the first report of Harpalus's flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in person to punish Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their assembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aside all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having still a curiosity to see the ocean, came down from Susa, upon the river Euphrates; and after having coasted the Persian gulf to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæstion.

Upon his arrival there, he published a declaration

¹ Twenty thousand crowns.

² The expression in the Greek is full of beauty and spirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demosthenes, to a garison (of the enemy) which a governor had received into his city, and thereby disposed himself of the command of it. Πληγὴς καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὄψις καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερίας.

³ It is impossible to translate the agreeable play of those Greek words. Οὐκ ὁρῶ συναγωγῆς, ἰσχυρῆς, ἀλλ' ἀν' ἀγ. γυναικὸς εὐχάριστην εὐνὴν τῆς δημοκρατίας.

⁴ Fifty thousand crowns.

⁵ Pausan. l. ii. p. 148

¹ Plut. in Demost. p. 537, 538.

² Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

³ Seven hundred thousand crowns.

⁴ Si mihi similes erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus, illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit: sin dissimiles erunt, cur me? non meis ingloriis illorum alii augerique luxuriam.

⁵ Cor. Nep. in Phoc. c. 1.

⁶ Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

⁷ A hundred thousand crowns.

in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to support any longer the fatigues of the service, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring that his design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native country in a safe and honourable manner. His intention, in making this declaration, was to oblige, and at the same time to give them the strongest proof of his affection for them. However, the very contrary happened; for being already disgusted upon some other accounts, especially by the visible preference which Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined that his resolution was to make Asia the seat of his empire, and to disengage himself from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his discharging them, was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was sufficient to exasperate them to fury. Without observing the least order or discipline, or regarding the remonstrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of insolence which they had never assumed till then, and with seditious cries demanded to be all discharged; saying farther, that since he despised the soldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war against whomsoever and in what manner they pleased; but as for themselves, they were fully determined not to serve him any longer.

The king, no way surprised, and without once hesitating, leaps from his tribunal; causes the principal mutineers, whom he himself pointed out to his guards, to be immediately seized, and orders thirteen to be punished. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderstruck the Macedonians, suppressed their insolence in an instant; quite amazed and confounded, and scarce daring to look at one another, they stood with downcast eyes, and were so dispirited, and trembled so prodigiously, that they were unable to speak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he reascended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a severe countenance, and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had bestowed upon them, and all the marks of kindness and friendship by which he himself had distinguished them, he concluded with these words: "You all desire a discharge; I grant it to you. Go now, and publish to the whole world, that you have left your prince to the mercy of the nations he had conquered, who were more affectionate to him than you." After speaking this, he returns suddenly into his tent, cashier his old guard; appoints another in its place, all composed of Persian soldiers; and shuts himself up for some days, without seeing any person all the time.

Had the Macedonians been sentenced to die, they could not have been more shocked, than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the care of his person to the Persians. They could suppress their grief no longer, so that nothing was heard but cries, groans, and lamentations. Soon after, they all ran together to the king's tent, threw down their arms, confessing their guilt; acknowledging their fault with tears and sighs; declare that the loss of life will not be so grievous as the loss of honour; and protest that they will not leave the place till the king has pardoned them. Alexander could no longer resist the tender proofs they gave of their sorrow and repentance; so that when he himself, at his coming out of his tent, saw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and after some gentle reproaches, which were softened by an air of humanity and kindness, he declared so loud as to be heard by them all, that he restored them to his friendship. This was restoring them to life, as was manifest from their shouts.

He afterwards discharged such Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and sent them back to their native country with rich presents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they should be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there sit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should receive, during their minority the same pay which had been given their fa-

thers. Such support and honours granted to veterans must necessarily ennoble, in a very conspicuous manner, the military profession. It is not possible for a government to enrich every soldier individually; but it may animate and console him by marks of distinction, which inspire a stronger ardour for war, more constancy in the service, and nobler sentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of these soldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits instead of Craterus. The king had long since been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater with aspiring at sovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable disposition; and had often declared in his letters, that she did not behave in a manner suitable to her dignity. It was with some reluctance Antipater resigned his government.

From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ecbatana in Media, where, after A. M. 3680 having despatched the most urgent Ant. J. C. 324 affairs of the kingdom, he again solemnized games and festivals: there had come to him from Greece, 3000 dancers, makers of machinery, and other persons skilled in diversions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of these festivals, that Hephæstion died of a disease which he brought upon himself. Alexander abandoning himself to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and sometimes spent whole days and nights in these excesses. In one of them Hephæstion lost his life. He was the most intimate friend the king had, the confidant of all his secrets, and, to say all in a word, a second self. Craterus alone seemed to dispute this honour with him. An expression, which one day escaped that prince, shows the difference he made between these two courtiers. "Craterus," says he, "loves the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander." This expression signifies, if I mistake not, that Hephæstion was attached, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the person of Alexander; but that Craterus loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and sometimes was less obsequious to his will, than zealous for his glory and interest. An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephæstion was as much beloved by all the courtiers as by Alexander himself. Modest, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice, and jealousy; he never abused his credit with the king, nor preferred himself to those officers, whose merit made them necessary to his sovereign. He was universally regretted; but his death threw Alexander into excessive sorrow, to which he abandoned himself in such a manner, as was unworthy so great a king. He seemed to receive no consolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours to be paid to his friend on his arrival at Babylon, whither he commanded Perdicas to carry his corpse.

In order to remove, by business and employment the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army against the Cosseæ, a warlike nation, inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Persian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards passed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

SECTION XVIII.—ALEXANDER ENTERS BABYLON, IN SPITE OF THE SINISTER PREDICTIONS OF THE MAGI AND OTHER SOOTHSAYERS. HE THERE FORMS THE PLANS OF SEVERAL VOYAGES AND CONQUESTS. HE SETS ABOUT REPAIRING THE BREACHES MADE IN THE EMBANKMENTS OF THE TIGRIS AND EUFRATES, AND REBUILDING THE TEMPLE OF BELUS. HE ABANDONS HIMSELF TO IMMODERATE DRINKING, WHICH BRINGS HIM TO HIS END. THE UNIVERSAL GRIEF SPREAD OVER THE WHOLE EMPIRE UPON THAT ACCOUNT. SYSA

GAMBUS IS NOT ABLE TO SURVIVE HIM. PREPARATIONS ARE MADE TO CONVEY ALEXANDER'S CORPSE TO THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER AMMON IN LIBYA.

ALEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon,¹ the Chaldeans, who pretended to know futurity by the stars, deputed to him some of their old men, to warn him that he would be in danger of his life, in case he entered that city, and were very urgent with him to pass by it. The Babylonish astrologers were held in such great reputation that this advice made a strange impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. Upon this, after sending several of the grandes of his court to Babylon, he himself went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he stopped for some time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philosophers, being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him; when setting in the clearest light the principles of Anaxagoras, whose tenets they followed, they demonstrated to him, in the strongest manner, the vanity of astrology; and made him have so great contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. He knew that there were arrived in that city,² ambassadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing so much with the terror of his name, that the several nations came, with inexpressible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their sovereign. This view, which agreeably soothed the strongest of all his passions, contributed very much to stifle every other reflection, and to make him careless of all advice that might be given him; so that he set forward with all possible diligence towards that great city, there to hold, as it were, the states-general of the world. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambassadors, with the grandeur and dignity suitable to a great monarch, and, at the same time, with the affability and politeness of a prince, who is desirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded those of Epidaurus with great presents for the deity who presided over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the same time. "Æsculapius," says he "has showed me but very little indulgence, in not preserving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as myself." In private he discovered a great friendship for such of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories and his happy return; and he restored to them all the statues, and other curiosities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Susa, Babylon, Pasargada, and other places. We are told that among these were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambassadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which seemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained so exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told, that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and piqued himself upon treading in his steps, and resembling him in all things. But, cries Seneca,³ in what did this frantic young man, with whom successful temerity passed for virtue, resemble Hercules? The latter, free from all self-interested views, travelled through the world, merely to benefit the several nations whom he visited, and to purge the earth of such robbers as infested it: whereas Alexander, who is justly entitled the plunderer of nations, made his glory to consist in carrying desolation

into all places, and in rendering himself the terror of mankind.

At the same time he wrote a letter which was to be read publicly in the assembly of the Olympic games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country those excepted who had committed sacrilege, or any other crime deserving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly. But the Athenians and Ætolians did not think themselves obliged to put these orders in execution, which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having despatched these affairs, finding himself now at leisure, began to think of Hephestion's burial. This he solemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been seen. As he himself undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmost in exalting the pomp of it. He likewise ordered all the nations of Asia to extinguish what the Persians called the *sacred fire*, till the ceremony of the interment should be ended, which was considered as an ill omen, it being never practised in Persia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to please Alexander, caused images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the same time the king, having procured a great number of architects and skilful workmen, first caused near six furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beaten down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the spot designed for the funeral pile, he had a most magnificent monumental structure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raised a uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect square, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each side was a furlong, or 100 fathoms in length. At the foot of it, and in the first row, were set 244 prows of ships gilded on the butresses or supporters whereof, the statues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed, and two other statues, in an upright posture, completely armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The spaces between the prows were spread and adorned with purple cloth. Over these prows was a colonnade of large flambeaux, the shafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embellished with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of those flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downwards, and extended wings, served as capitals. Dragons fixed near or upon the base, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonnade stood a third, in the base of which was represented, in relief, a party of hunting animals of every kind. On the superior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the Centaurs was represented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, representing lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and barbarian fashion, as so many symbols of the victory of the former and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were represented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled (but so as not to be discerned) with musicians, who sang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceased. This edifice was upwards of 130 cubits high, that is, above 195 feet.

The beauty of the design of this structure, the singularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the several ornaments of it, surpassed the most wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquisite taste. Alexander had appointed to superintend the building of this edifice, Stasicrates, a great architect, and admirably well skilled in mechanics, in all whose inventions and designs there appeared, not only pro-

¹ In Greek, *Ἐκκλῆσις*, or *ἐκκλῆσις*. These are two pieces of timber which project to the right and left of the prow.

¹ Arrian. lib. vii. p. 294—309. Quint. Curt. lib. x. c. 4—7. Plot. in Alex. p. 705—707.

² Diod. lib. xvii. p. 577—583. Justin. lib. xii. c. 13—16.

³ Quid ille simile habebat vesanus adulescens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vicit. Orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando: marum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pectorator. At hic a pueritia latro gentiumque vastator—namque binum duxit terrori esse cunctis mortalibus. Senec. de Benef. lib. i. cap. 13.

digious magnificence, but a surprising boldness, and such grandeur as was scarce conceivable.

It was this artist, who, in a conversation some time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would so well admit of being cut into the shape of a man, as mount Athos, in Thrace: that, if he therefore pleased to give orders, he would make this mountain the most durable of all statues, and that which would lie most open to the view of the universe. In its left hand it should hold a city, consisting of 10,000 inhabitants; and from its right should pour a great river, whose waters would discharge themselves into the sea. One would have thought that this project would have pleased Alexander, who sought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheless, he rejected it, and wisely answered, that it was enough that there already was one prince, whose folly mount Athos would eternize. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the isthmus of that mountain, wrote a letter to it in the most proud and senseless terms.¹ "With regard to myself," says Alexander, "mount Caucasus, the river Tannais,² the Caspian sea, all which I passed in triumph, shall be my monument."

The expense of the splendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæstion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of 12,000 talents, that is, more than 1,800,000*l*. But what man was ever so ridiculously and extravagantly profuse! All this gold, all this silver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the substance of provinces, which were thus sacrificed to a vain ostentation.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceased friend, something was still wanting to the honours he paid him, which might raise him above human nature; and this was what he proposed, and for that purpose had sent to the temple of Ammon a trusty person named Philip, to inquire the will of the god. It doubtless was the echo of that of Alexander; and the answer was, that sacrifices might be offered to Hephæstion as a demi-god. These were not spared in any manner; Alexander himself first setting the example, when he made a great feast, to which upwards of 10,000 persons were invited. At the same time he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the island of Pharos. In this letter (which is still extant), to excite his diligence, and to hasten the work, he grants the governor, who was despised universally for his injustice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, past, present, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city should be completed. And now nothing was seen but new altars, new temples, and new festivals; no oaths were administered but in the name of the new deity; to question his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer (a friend of Hephæstion) having bewailed him as dead, in passing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been assured, that the officer wept, merely from some remains of tenderness, and not as doubting Hephæstion's divinity. I cannot say whether Alexander prevailed so far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæstion's divinity; but he himself appeared, or at least endeavoured to appear, firmly persuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himself could make gods. How ridiculous is all this!

During almost a year that Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great number of projects in his mind; such as to go round Africa by sea; to make a complete discovery of all the nations lying round the Caspian sea, and inhabiting its coasts; to conquer Arabia; to make war against Carthage, and to subdue the rest of Europe. The very thoughts of sitting still fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never suffer him to be at

rest; nay, could he have conquered the whole world he would have sought a new one, to satiate the avidity of his desires.

The embellishing of Babylon also employed his thoughts very much. Finding it surpassed in extent, in convenience, and in whatever can be wished, either for the necessities or pleasures of life, all the other cities of the east, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose, was desirous of adding to it all the conveniences and ornaments possible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had suffered prodigiously by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its usual channel, by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at last so wide, that it would have cost almost as much to repair the bank, as the raising of it had done at first. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon, that there was scarce depth enough for small boats, which consequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpose he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occasion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, insulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans, who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; since notwithstanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with, (as if he had been a credulous woman) he however had entered Babylon, and was returned from it very safe. Attentive to nothing but the subject of his voyage, he went and viewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and restoring it to its former condition.

This design of Alexander merited the greatest applause. Such works are truly worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, since they are not the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but solely calculated for the public good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and consequently of greater service to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs (a league and a half,) was stopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the soil; and the death of this prince, which happened soon after, put an end to this project, and several others he had formed. A supreme cause, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obstacle to the success of it, was the curse which God had pronounced against this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard.³ "I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant," had the Lord of hosts sworn above 300 years before: "I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction."⁴ It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation—neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.⁵ Heaven and earth would sooner have passed away, than Alexander's design have been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inaccessible, by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered with stagnated waters, which would make all access to it impracticable.⁶ Thus it now lies; and all things were to conspire to reduce it to this dejected state, in order that the prophecy might be completely fulfilled:⁷ "For the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? And his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?" Nothing shows more evidently the strength and weight of this invincible curse, than the efforts of the most powerful prince that

¹ Plut. de fortun. Alex. perm. i. p. 335.

² Proud Athos, who lifteth thy head to heaven, be not so bold as to oppose to my workmen such rocks and stones as they cannot cut; otherwise I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the sea. *Pistarch.* de irâ cohib. p. 355.

³ The laxartes is here meant.

⁴ Unus Pellmo juveni non sufficit orbis. *Juv.*

⁵ Isa. xiv. 22, 23.

⁶ Chap. xiii. 20.

⁷ See what is said on this subject in the history of Cyrus

⁸ Isa. xiv. 27.

ever reigned; a prince, the most obstinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, of whose enterprises none had ever miscarried; and who failed in this only, though it did not seem so difficult as the rest.

Another design which Alexander meditated, and had most at heart, was the repairing of the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demolished it on his return from Greece, and it had lain in ruins ever since. Alexander was resolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raise a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he caused all the rubbish to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whose care he had left this, went on but slowly, he made his soldiers work. Notwithstanding 10,000 of them were daily employed at it, for two months successively, the work was not finished at the death of that prince, so prodigious were its ruins. When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers who were in his army,¹ to work as the rest had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their assistance; but excused themselves with saying, that as idolatry was forbidden by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to assist in the building of a temple designed for idolatrous worship; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but all to no purpose; so that, at last, Alexander admiring their constancy, discharged, and sent them home. This delicate resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many Christians, as it teaches them that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occasion. God had broken to pieces, by the hand of his servant Cyrus,² the idol Belus, the god who rivalled the Lord of Israel: he afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish his temple. These first blows which the Lord struck at Babylon, were so many omens of its total ruin, and it was as impossible for Alexander to complete the rebuilding of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Although Alexander employed himself in the works above mentioned, during his stay in Babylon, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diversions, was to stupify himself, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other soothsayers: for though in certain moments, he seemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however seriously affected with them inwardly; and these gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at last to such a degree, that whenever the most insignificant thing happened (if ever so little extraordinary and unusual) his imagination swelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with sacrifices, with persons whose office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to see into futurity and prophesy things to come. It was certainly a spectacle worthy a philosopher's eye, to see a prince, at whose nod the world trembled, abandoned to the strongest terrors; so true it is, says Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear nor believe any thing, be a great misfortune, superstition, which enslaves the soul to the most abject fears, the most ridiculous follies, is a misfortune no less to be dreaded, and no less fatal in its consequences. It is plain that God, by a just judgment, took a pleasure in degrading, before the eyes of all nations, and in every age, and in sinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to set himself above human nature, and equal himself to the Deity. This prince had sought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conquest which men most admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing else, the idea

of grandeur: and God delivers him up to a ridiculous superstition, which men of good sense and understanding despise most, and than which nothing can be more weak or grovelling.

Alexander was therefore for ever solemnizing new festivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his usual intemperance. After having spent a whole night in carousing, a second entertainment was proposed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty guests at table. He drank to the health of every person in company, and then pledged them severally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup, which held six bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas by name, and afterwards pledged him again, in the same enormous bumper. He had no sooner swallowed it, than he fell upon the floor. "Here, then," cries Seneca,³ (describing the fatal effects of drunkenness,) "is this hero, invincible by all the toils of prodigious marches, by the dangers of sieges and combats, by the most violent extremes of heat and cold; here he lies, conquered by his intemperance, and struck to the earth by the fatal cup of Hercules."

In this condition he was seized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with some considerable intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself just all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdicas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithstanding his great weakness,⁴ he however struggled with death, and raising himself upon his elbow, presented his soldiers (to whom he could not refuse this last testimony of friendship,) his dying hand to kiss. After this, his principal courtiers asking to whom he left the empire: he answered, "To the most worthy;" adding, "that he foresaw the decision of this would give occasion to strange funeral games after his decease." And Perdicas, inquiring farther at what time they should pay him divine honours; he replied, "When you are happy." These were his last words, and soon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the spring, the first year of the cxiiv Olympiad.

No one, says Plutarch and Arrian, suspected then that Alexander had been poisoned; and yet it is at this time that such reports generally prevail. But the state of his body proved that he did not die by that means; for all his chief officers disagreeing among themselves, the corpse, though it lay quite neglected for several days in Babylon, which stands in a hot climate, did not show the least symptoms of putrefaction. The true poison which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thousands besides Alexander. It was nevertheless believed afterwards, that this prince had been poisoned by the treachery of Antipater's sons; that Cassander, the eldest of them, brought the poison from Greece;⁵ that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly chose the time of the great feast:

¹ Alexandrum tot itinera, tot prælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victis temporis locorumque difficultate, transierat, tot flumina, ex igitur oto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiserunt; intemperantia bibendi et ille Herculeanus ac fatalis scyphus condidit. Senec. Epist. 63.

² Quamquam violentiâ morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellet, porrexit. Quis autem, illam oculari non curreret, quæ jam fatis oppressa, maximi, exercitus complexui; humanitate quàm spiritu vividior, sufficit? Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

³ It is pretended that this poison was an extremely cold water, which distils drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is so acrimonious, that it corrodes whatever vessel receives it, those excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told that it was brought for this horrid purpose from Greece to Babylon, in a vessel of the latter sort.

¹ Josephus contra Appion. lib. i, cap. 8.

² God gives him this name in Isaiah.

mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank, might conceal the true cause of his death. The state of Antipater's affairs at that time, gave some grounds for this suspicion. He was persuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, because of his mal-administration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his own son to commit a crime, which would save his own life, by taking away that of his sovereign. An undoubted circumstance is, that he could never wash out this stain; and that as long as he lived, the Macedonians detested him as a traitor who had poisoned their king. Aristotle was also suspected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander lost his life by poison or by excessive drinking, it is surprising to see the prediction of the Magi and soothsayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, so exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indisputable, that God had reserved to himself alone the knowledge of futurity; and if the soothsayers and oracles have sometimes foretold things which really came to pass, they could do it in no other way than by their impious correspondence with devils, who by their penetration and natural sagacity, find out several methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which though they appear above the reach of human understanding, are not yet above that of malicious spirits of darkness. The knowledge those evil spirits have of all the circumstances which precede and lead to an event;¹ the part they frequently bear in it, by inspiring such of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and desire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inspiration to which they are sure those wicked persons will consent; by these things, devils are enabled to foresee and foretell certain particulars. They, indeed, often mistake in their conjectures, but God also sometimes permits them to succeed in them;² in order to punish the impiety of those, who, in contradiction to his commands, inquire their fate of such lying spirits.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquished bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occasioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, while all his faults were forgotten. The Persians declared him to have been the most just, the kindest sovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the best, the most valiant prince in the universe; and all exclaimed against the gods for having evidently bereaved mankind of him in the flower of his age, and the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they saw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, still lead them on to battle, besiege cities, climb walls, and reward such as had distinguished themselves. They then reproached themselves for having refused him divine honours; and confessed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he so justly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themselves, and the sad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They considered that they were on the farther side (with respect to Macedonia) of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them, and surrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his successor, a dreadful futurity presented itself to their imagination; and exhibited nothing but divisions, civil wars, and a fatal necessity of still shedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Asia, but only to give a king to it: and to

raise to the throne perhaps some mean officer or wretched wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but spread over all the province; and the news of it soon reached Darius's mother. One of her grand-daughters was with her, still inconsolable for the loss of Hephæstion her husband, and the sight of the public calamity recalled all her private woes. But Sysgambis bewailed the several misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awakened the remembrance of all its former sufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but just dead, and that this unfortunate mother solemnized the funeral of two sons at the same time. She wept the living no less than the dead: "Who now," would she say, "will take care of my daughters? where shall we find another Alexander?" She would fancy she saw them again reduced to a state of captivity, and that they had lost their kingdom a second time; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone they had no refuge left. At last she sunk under her grief. This princess, who had borne with patience the death of her father, her husband, of fourscore of her brothers, who were murdered in one day by Ochus, and to say all in one word, that of Darius her son, and the ruin of her family; though she had, I say, submitted patiently to all these losses, she however had not strength sufficient to support herself after the death of Alexander. She would not take any sustenance, and starved herself to death, to avoid surviving this last calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions arose among the Macedonians, about appointing him a successor; of which I shall give an account in its proper place. After seven days spent in confusion and disputes, it was agreed that Aridæus, bastard brother to Alexander, should be declared king, and that in case Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, should be delivered of a son, he should share the throne in conjunction with Aridæus, and that Perdicas should have the care of both; for Aridæus was an idiot, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpse after their manner, Aridæus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral;³ which made Olympias bewail the fate of her son, who having had the ambition to rank himself among the gods, was so long deprived of burial; a privilege generally allowed to the meanest of mortals.

SECTION XIX.—THE JUDGMENT WHICH WE ARE TO FORM OF ALEXANDER.

The reader would not be satisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I should not here take notice of the judgment which we are to form of them; especially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of ecstasy as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion seems to be the most prevalent; others, on the contrary, have represented him in such colours as at least silly, if not quite eclipse, the splendour of his victories.

This diversity of sentiment denotes that of Alexander's qualities; and it must be confessed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended in any prince.⁴ But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or circumstances in which we consider him, as Livy has very justly observed. In the inquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, supposing he had turned them towards Italy, he discovers in him a kind of double Alexander;⁵ the one wise, temperate, ju-

¹ Demones perversis (solent) malefacta suadere, de quorum moribus certi sunt quod sint eis talia suadentibus consensuri. Suadent autem miris invisibilibus modis. *S. Aug. de Divinat. Demon.* p. 509.

² Facile est et non incongruum, ut omnipotens et justus ad eorum penam quibus is a prædicatore—occulto apparatus ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinatione impartiat. *S. Aug. de Div. Quæst. ad Simplic.* l. II. Quæst. 3.

³ *Ælian.* l. xiii. c. 30.

⁴ Luxuriâ, industriâ; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus. *Tacit.*

⁵ Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merito secundis rebus, quorum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habito novæ, fortunæ, novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod sibi victor indurât, spectetur, Dario magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam venisset, et exercitum Macedonum oblitum

ditions, brave, intrepid, but at the same time prudent and circumspect; the other immersed in all the wantonness of a haughty prosperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; softened by voluptuousness, abandoned to intemperance and excesses; in a word, resembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Persians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he assumed after his conquests.

I shall have an eye to this plan in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and shall consider it under two aspects, and in a manner two eras; first, from his youth to the battle of Issus, and the siege of Tyre, which followed soon after; and secondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities with few defects (according to the idea the heathens had of these;) the second will represent to us enormous vices; and, notwithstanding the splendour of so many victories, very little true or solid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he sustained his reputation.

First Part.

We are first to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy disposition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous soul. He delighted in beneficence and liberality; qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whose business it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good lesson on that subject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, "And am I then to have no ball?"—"No, Sir," replied the lad, "you do not ask me for it." This witty and ready answer gave great satisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occasion to excite him to acts of generosity; for he would be quite angry with such as refused them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, "that he would no longer be his friend, in case he refused to accept of his favours."

Alexander, from his early years, as if he had been sensible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to shine on all occasions, and appear superior to all others. No one was ever fired with so strong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is considered by Christians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander support with courage all the toils and fatigues necessary for those who would distinguish themselves, in the exercises both of body and mind. He was accustomed very early to a sober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young soldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very conversant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the most abstracted and most sublime sciences. How happy was he in meeting with so great a preceptor! None but an Aristotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the disciple pay so illustrious a testimony of respect to his master, by declaring he was more indebted to him in one sense than to his father. A man who thinks and speaks in this manner, must be fully sensible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were soon seen. Can we admire too much the great solidity and judgment which this young prince discovered in his conversation with the Persian ambassadors? his early wisdom, whilst, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's absence, and pacified the feuds which had broken out in Macedonia? his courage and bravery at the battle of Cheronæa, in which he so gloriously distinguished himself?

It is painful to me to see him wanting in respect to

his father at a public banquet, and even employing severe, insulting expressions on that occasion. It is true, indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias his mother, in divorcing her, transported him in a manner out of himself; but still no pretence, no injustice or violence, can either justify or excuse such usage to a father and a king.

He afterwards discovered more moderation,² when on occasion of the insolent and seditious discourses held by his soldiers in an insurrection, he said, "That nothing was more royal, than for a man to bear with calmness himself ill spoken of, at the time he is doing good." It has been observed,³ that the great prince of Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtiness with which he spoke to the rebellious soldiers, who refused to follow him: "Go," says he, "ungrateful, base wretches, and proclaim in your country, that you have abandoned your king among nations who will obey him better than you. Alexander," says that prince, "abandoned by his own troops among barbarians, who were not yet completely conquered, believes himself so worthy of commanding over others, that he did not think men could refuse to obey him. Whether he were in Europe or in Asia, among Greeks or Persians, it was the same to him. He fancied, that wherever he found men, he found subjects." Alexander's patience and moderation, which I took notice of at first, are no less worthy of admiration.

The first years of his reign are perhaps the most glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age he should be able to appease the intestine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either crushed or subjected foreign enemies, and those of the most formidable kind; that he disarmed Greece, most of the nations whereof had united against him; and that in less than two years, he should have enabled himself to execute securely those plans his father had so wisely projected; all this supposes a presence of mind, a strength of soul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a consummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

This character he supported in a wonderful manner, during the whole course of his expedition against Darius till the time mentioned by us. Plutarch⁴ very justly admires the bare plan of it, as the most heroic act that ever was. He formed it the very instant he ascended the throne, looking upon this design, in some measure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When scarce twenty years old, surrounded with dangers both within and without the kingdom, finding his treasury drained and encumbered with debts to the amount of 200 talents,⁵ which his father had contracted; with an army greatly inferior in number to that of the Persians; in this condition, Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Susa, and proposes no less a conquest than that of so vast an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and rashness of youth? asks Plutarch. Certainly not; replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterprise with so great preparations, and such mighty succours, by which I understand (continues Plutarch) magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and courage; preparations and aids, with which he was supplied by philosophy, which he had thoroughly studied; to that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conquests to the lessons of Aristotle his master, as to the instructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterprise must naturally be successful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, consisting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the best troops at that time in the world, trained up to war during a long course of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exercises of sieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their past victories, by the hopes of an immense booty, and still more by

¹ Plut. in Alex. p. 688.

² St. Evremont.

³ Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Orat. l. p. 327.

⁴ About 30,000*l*.

degenerantemque jam in Persarum mores adduxisset. Liv. ix. n. 18.

⁵ Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

their hereditary and irreconcilable hatred to the Persians; such troops, I say, headed by Alexander, were almost sure of conquering an army, composed indeed of an infinite number of men, but of few soldiers.

The swiftness of the execution was answerable to the wisdom of the project. After having gained the affections of all his generals and officers, by an unparalleled liberality; and of all his soldiers by an air of goodness, affability, and even familiarity, which, so far from debasing the majesty of a prince, adds to the respect which is paid him, such a real and tenderness, as is proof against all things: after this, I say, the next thing to be done, was to astonish his enemies by bold enterprises, to terrify them by examples of severity; and, lastly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He succeeded wonderfully in these.

The passage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated sieges of Miletus and Holicarnassus showed to Asia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the latter city to the very foundations, spread a universal terror; but the allowing the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws to all those who submitted cheerfully, made the world believe that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an easy and lasting peace.

His impatience to bathe himself, when covered with sweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a giddy, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we must not judge of it from the manners of the present age. The ancients, all whose exercises had a reference to those of war, accustomed themselves early to bathing and swimming. It is well known, that in Rome, the sons of the nobility, after having heated themselves in the military exercises of the Campus Martius, in running, wrestling, and hurling the javelin, used to plunge into the Tiber, which runs by that city. By these means they enabled themselves to pass rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for those are never crossed, but after painful marches, and after having long been exposed to the sun-beams, which, with the weight of the soldier's arms, must necessarily make them sweat. Hence we may apologize for Alexander's bathing himself, which had like to have been fatal to him; especially as he might not know that the waters of this river were so excessively cold.

The two battles of Issus and Arbela, with the siege of Tyre, one of the most famous of antiquity, completed the proof that Alexander possessed all the qualities which form the great soldier; as skill in making choice of a field of battle; such a presence of mind in the heat of action, as is necessary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the most evident dangers served only to animate; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by such a prudent restraint, as will not suffer the hero to be carried away by an indiscreet ardour; lastly, such a resolution and constancy, as is neither disconcerted by unforeseen obstacles, nor discouraged by difficulties, though seemingly insurmountable, and which knows no other limits or end but victory.

Historians have observed a great difference between Alexander and his father,¹ in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted secretly, and in the dark; but his son pursued his schemes with more candour and without disguise. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to subdue them by force. The former discovered more art, the latter more magnanimity. Philip did not look upon any methods,² which conduce to conquest, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail upon himself to employ treachery. He indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ablest of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable means. When he

marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his soldiers, under the severest penalties, not to make the least havoc in them. His design, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his side, or to make the Persians suspect his fidelity. Memnon also prided himself in behaving with generosity towards Alexander;³ and hearing a soldier speak ill of that prince, "I did not take thee into my pay," says that general, striking him with his javelin, "to speak injuriously of that prince, but to fight against him."

The circumstance which raises Alexander above most conquerors, and, as it were, above himself, is the use he made of victory after the battle of Issus. This is the most beautiful incident of his life; is the point of view in which it is his interest to be considered, and in which it is impossible for him not to appear truly great. By the victory of Issus, he had possessed himself, not indeed of Darius's person, but of his empire. Not only Sysigambis, that king's mother, was his captive, but also his wife and daughters, princesses, whose beauty was not to be paralleled in all Asia. Alexander was in the bloom of life,⁴ a conqueror, free, and not yet in the bands of marriage, as an author observes of the first Scipio Africanus, on a like occasion: nevertheless his camp was to those princesses a sacred asylum, or rather a temple, in which their chastity was secured, as under the guard of virtue itself, and so highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wishing success to so wise and generous a conqueror, who governed his passions so absolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I must not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheless does honour to human nature, and makes life happy; this is, his being informed by a soul capable of a friendship, tender, unreserved, active, constant, void of pride and arrogance, in so exalted a fortune, which generally considers itself only, makes its grandeur consist in humbling all around it, and is better pleased with servile wretches, than with frank, sincere friends.

Alexander endeared himself to his officers and soldiers; treated them with the greatest familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exercises, and conversations; was truly concerned for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when sick, rejoiced at their recovery, and was interested in whatever befell them. We have examples of this in Hephæstion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit loses none of his dignity by such a familiarity and condescension; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and respected upon that very account. Every man of a tall stature, does not scruple to put himself upon a level with the rest of mankind, well knowing that he shall overtop them all. It is the interest of truly diminutive persons alone not to vie in stature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, because they were sensible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumstance made the soldiers strongly desirous to please him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greatest difficulties, and dangers; this made them submit patiently to the severest hardships, and threw them into the deepest affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for discontent.

In the picture which has hitherto been given of Alexander, what was wanting to complete his glory? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmost splendour; goodness, clemency, moderation, and wisdom, have crowned it, and added such a lustre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us suppose, that Alexander, at this juncture, to secure his glory and his victories, stops short in his career; that he himself checks his ambition, and raises Darius to the throne with the same hand that had dispossessed him of it; makes Asia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Persia: that he declares himself pro-

¹ Vincendi ratio nuptique diversa. Hic apertè, ille aribus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hostibus, hic palam fusis. Prudentior ille consilio, hic animo magnificentior — Nulla apud Philippum turpis ratio vincendi. Justin. lib. ix. cap. 8.

² Pausan. l. vii. p. 415.

³ Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.

⁴ Et juvenis, et celebs, et victor. Val. Max. l. iv. cap. 2.

terior of all the cities and states of Greece, in no other view than to secure them their liberties, and the enjoyment of their respective laws and customs; that he afterwards returns to Macedonia, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight consist in rendering his people happy, in procuring for them abundance of all things, in seeing the laws put in execution, and making justice flourish; in causing virtue to be had in honour, and endearing himself to his subjects: in fine, that now become, by the terror of his arms, and much more so by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world, he sees himself, in some measure, the arbiter of all nations; and exercises, over the minds of men, such an empire, as is infinitely more lasting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only; supposing all this to have happened, would ever any prince have been as great, as glorious, as revered, as Alexander?

To adopt such a resolution, a greatness of soul, and a most refined taste for true glory, are required; such as is seldom met with in history. Men generally do not consider that the glory which attends the most shining conquests, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has despised and trampled upon ambition, and knows how to give bounds to universal power. But Alexander was far from possessing these happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverse fortune, intoxicated and changed him to such a degree, that he no longer appeared the same man; and I do not remember, that ever the poison of prosperity had a more sudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

Second Part.

From the siege of Tyre, which was soon after the battle of Issus, in which Alexander displayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior, we see the virtues and noble qualities of this prince, degenerate on a sudden, and make way for the grossest vices and most brutal passions. If we sometimes, through the excesses to which he abandons himself, perceive some bright rays of humanity, gentleness, and moderation, these are the effects of a happy natural disposition, which, though not quite extinguished by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterprise more wild and extravagant than that of crossing the sandy deserts of Libya; of exposing his army to the danger of perishing with thirst and fatigue; of interrupting the course of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raise a new army, merely for the sake of marching so far, in order to get himself named the son of Jupiter Ammon; and purchase at so dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

How mean it was in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word, which signifies *health*,¹ except in those he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, because employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at least to wish, all his subjects the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is so grovelling, none so unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenness; its bare name is intolerable, and strikes us with horror. How infamous a pleasure is it to spend whole days and nights in carousing, to continue these excesses for weeks together; to pride one's self in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain such a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend these debauches, how shocking it is to hear the frantic discourses of a son, who, intoxicated with the fumes of wine, industriously strives to defame his father, to subvert his glory, and, lost to all shame, scruples not to prefer himself to him? Drunkenness

is only the occasion, not the cause of these excesses. It betrays the sentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and insatiable of praise, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, or despising all mankind, is able in his sober moments to conceal his sentiments; but no sooner is he intoxicated, than he shows himself to be what he really is.

What shall we say of his barbarously murdering an old friend; who, though indiscreet and rash, was yet his friend? Of the death of the most honest man in all his court, whose only crime was his refusing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved against them, and on the slightest suspicions?

I pass over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to most historians, gave into, and which are not to be justified: to speak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror; qualities with respect to which he is generally considered, and which have gained him the esteem of all ages and nations; all we now have to do, is, to examine whether this esteem be so well grounded as is generally supposed.

I have already observed, that, to the battle of Issus and the siege of Tyre inclusively, it cannot be denied, but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illustrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during these first years of his exploits, he ought to be set above his father Philip; whose actions, though not so dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and those of the military profession. Philip, at his accession to the throne, found all things unsettled. He himself was obliged to lay the foundation of his own fortune, and was not supported by the least foreign assistance. He alone raised himself to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up, not only his soldiers, but his officers; to instruct them in all the military exercises; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and to his care and abilities alone, Macedonia owed the rise of the celebrated phalanx, that is, of the best troops the world had then ever seen, and to which Alexander owed all his conquests. How many obstacles stood in Philip's way, before he could possess himself of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had successively exercised over Greece! The Greeks, who were the bravest people in the universe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through seas of blood, and by gaining numberless conquests over them. Thus we see, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great design; the plan whereof, and most excellent instructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much easier task, to subdue Asia with Grecian armies, than to subject the Greeks, who had so often triumphed over Asia?

But without carrying farther the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all, who do not consider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but by the intrinsic value of their actions, must give in favour of the latter: what judgment are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius; and is it possible to propose him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of those who aspire to the character of great soldiers and illustrious conquerors?

In this inquiry, I shall begin with that which is unanimously agreed, by all the writers on this subject, to be the foundation of the solid glory of a hero; I mean the justness of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an usurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Asia the seat of war, and turning his arms against Darius, had a plausible pretence for it; because the Persians had been in all ages, and were at that time, professed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generalissimo, and whose injuries he therefore might think himself justly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great num-

¹ Scis ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria—Arce, et statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur et obscurat oblivio; contra, contemptor ambitionis, et infinitæ potentie dominor ac frenator animus ipsâ vetustate florescit. *Plin. in Pœn. Trajana.*

² Plat. in Phœd. p. 749.

³ *Xuixev.*

cer of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the least injury? The Scythian ambassador spoke very judiciously, when he addressed him in these words: "What have we to do with thee? We never once set our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of thee, and the place from whence thou comest? Thou boastest, that the only design of thy marching is to extirpate robbers; thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world." This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate spoke to him to the same effect, and in stronger terms. Alexander asked him what right he had to infest the seas? "The same that thou hast," replied the robber with a generous liberty, "to infest the universe; but because I do this in a small ship, I am called a robber; and because thou actest the same part with a great fleet, thou art entitled a conqueror." This was a witty and just answer, says St. Austin,² who has preserved this small fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reasonable man can doubt of its being so, that every war, undertaken merely from views of ambition, is unjust; and that the prince who begins it is guilty of all the sad consequences, and all the blood shed on that occasion: what idea ought we to form of Alexander's last conquests? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Coming from a little spot of ground;³ and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conquests; has subdued, not only the Persians, but also the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: after all this, I say, he still finds himself pent up; and determined to force, if possible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to discover a new world, and does not scruple to sacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curiosity. It is related that Alexander,⁴ upon Anaxarchus the philosopher's telling him that there were an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impossible for him to conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in Seneca⁵ to compare these pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwise than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waste and destroy all things; or to wild beasts, who live merely by blood and slaughter?

Alexander,⁶ passionately fond of glory, of which he

neither knew the nature nor just bounds, prided himself upon treading in the steps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than he. What resemblance was there, says the same Seneca, between that wise conqueror and this frantic youth, who mistook his successful rashness for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conquests for himself. He overran the universe as the subduer of monsters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the restorer of peace by land and sea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjust robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happiness and glory consist in making himself formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fiercest animals, but even the vilest, make themselves feared by their venom.

But leaving this first consideration, which represents conquerors to us as so many scourges sent by the wrath of heaven into the world to punish the sins of it, let us proceed to examine the latter conquests of Alexander abstractedly in themselves, in order to see what judgment we are to form of them.

It must be confessed, that the actions of this prince diffuse a splendour that dazzles and astonishes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthusiastic courage raises and transports all who read his history, as it transported himself. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour to a boldness that is equally blind, rash, and impetuous; a boldness void of all rule, that will never listen to the voice of reason, and has no other guide than a senseless ardour for false glory, and a wild desire of distinguishing itself, at any price? This character suits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whose own life is alone exposed; and who, for that reason, may be employed in some desperate action; but the case is far otherwise with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all the army and his whole kingdom. If we except some very rare occasions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his person, and share the danger with his troops in order to preserve them; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private soldier. True valour is not desirous of displaying itself, is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is solely intent on preserving the army. It steers equally between a timid prudence, that foresees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour which industriously pursues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accomplished general, prudence must soften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as valour in return must animate and warm the coldness and slowness of prudence.

Do any of these characteristics suit Alexander? When we peruse his history, and follow him to sieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his safety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being destroyed. Here we see a rapid flood, which is going to draw in and swallow up this conqueror: there we behold a craggy rock, which he climbs, and perceives round him soldiers, either transfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge stones from precipices. We tremble when we perceive in a battle the axe just ready to cleave his head; and much more when we behold him alone in a fortress, whither his rashness had drawn him, exposed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever persuaded, that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreasonable, as Plutarch observes; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at last are weary of guiding and preserving rash mortals, who abuse the assistance they afford them.

Plutarch, in a treatise,⁷ where he makes the eulogium of Alexander,⁸ and exhibits him as an accomplished hero, gives a long detail of the several wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that the only design of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conspicuous. A renowned warrior, whose eulogium Plutarch

¹ Eleganter et veraciter Alexander illi Magno comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogasset, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infestum; ille, liberâ contumaciâ: Quod tibi, inquit ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magnâ classe, imperator. *Refert Nonius Marci. ex Cicero. 3 de rep.* ² St. Aust. de Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. iv.

³ Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devastandi, et ad ignota mittebat—Jam in unum regnum multa regna conjecit; (or congestit) jam Græci Persæque eundem timent: jam etiam à Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Herculis Liberique vestigiis victoriam flectere, ipsi naturæ vim parat—et, ut ita dicam, mundi claustra, perumpit. Tanta est cæcitas mentium, et tanta initiorum suorum oblivis. Ille modò ignobilis anguli non sine controversiâ Dominus, detecto fine terrarum, per suam redditurus orbem, tristis est. *Senec. Epist. 94 & 119.*

⁴ Alexandro pectus insatiabilis laudis, qui Anaxarcho—innumerabiles mundos esse referenti; Heu me, inquit, miserum, quod ne uno quidem adhuc potitus sum! Angusta homini possessio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio sufficit. *Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 14.*

⁵ Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuisse pestes mortaliū, quàm inundatio—quàm conflagratio. *Senec. Nat. Quest. lib. iii. in Profat.*

⁶ Homo gloriæ deditus, cuius nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis vestigia sequens, ne ibi quidem resistens, ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) simile habebat, vesanus adolescens, cui per virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil sibi vult: orbem terrarum transivit, non concupiscendo, sed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pascitor? At hic à pueritâ latro, gentiumque vastator, tam hostium perniciem quàm amicorum, qui summum bonum duceret terrori esse cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferocissimam tantum sed ignavissimam quocunque animalia timeri ob virus malum. *Senec. de Benef. l. i. c. 13.*

⁷ Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. II. p. 341.

⁸ This treatise, if written by Plutarch, seems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of declamation.

has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. Some persons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle,¹ the general himself declared, that it was a fault which could only be excused in a young man, and justly deserved censure. It has been observed in Hannibal's praise, and I myself have taken notice of it elsewhere, that he never was wounded in all his battles.² I cannot say whether Cæsar ever was.

The last observation, which relates in general to Alexander's expeditions in Asia, must necessarily lessen very much the merit of his victories, and the splendour of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations against whom he fought. Livy, in a digression, where he inquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in case he had turned them towards Italy; and where he shows that Rome would certainly have checked his conquests, insists strongly on the reflection in question. He opposes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illustrious Romans, who would have resisted him on all occasions; and in the article of prudence, that august senate, which Cineas, to give a more noble idea of it to Pyrrhus his sovereign, said, was composed of so many kings. "Had he marched," says Livy,³ "against the Romans, he would soon have found, that he was no longer combating against a Darius, who, encumbered with gold and purple, the vain equipage of his grandeur, and dragging after him a multitude of women and eunuchs, came as a prey rather than as an enemy; and whom Alexander conquered without shedding much blood, and without wanting any other merit, than that of daring to despise what was really contemptible. He would have found Italy very different from India, through which he marched in a riotous manner, his army quite stupefied with wine; particularly when he should have seen the forests of Apulia, the mountains of Lucania, and the still recent footsteps of the defeat of Alexander his uncle, king of Epirus, who there lost his life." The historian adds, that he speaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by prosperity, whose subtle poison worked as strongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy, from what he had seemed hitherto.

These reflections of Livy show, that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakness of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous and as well inured to all the hardships of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as those of Rome, his victories would not have been either so rapid or so uninterrupted. Nevertheless, these are the points from which we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are considered as two of the greatest generals that ever lived, and for this reason: because both of them not only understood perfectly the military science, but their experience, their abilities, their resolution and courage, were put to the trial, and set in the strongest light. Now, should we give to either of them an unequal antagonist, one whose reputation is not answerable to theirs, we shall no longer have the same idea of them; and their victories, though supposed alike, appear no longer with the same lustre, nor deserve the same applause.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by shining actions and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themselves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied that Alexander possessed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other scale his errors and vi-

ces, the presumptuous idea he entertained of his own merit,⁴ the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirst of praise and flattery; his ridiculous notion of making himself believed to be the son of Jupiter; of ascribing divinity to himself; of requiring a free victorious people to pay him a servile homage, and prostrate themselves ignominiously before him; his abandoning himself so shamefully to wine; his violent anger, which rises to brutal ferocity; the unjust and barbarous execution of his bravest and most faithful officers, and the murder of his most worthy friends in the midst of feasts and carousals; can any one, says Livy, believe, that all these imperfections do not greatly sully the reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantic ambition, which knows neither laws nor limits; the rash intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the least reason or necessity; the weakness and ignorance of the nations (totally unskilled in war) against whom he fought; do not these enervate the reasons for which he is thought to have merited the surname of Great, and the title of Hero? I leave the decision of the question to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myself, I am surprised to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impossible for panegyric to soar higher: they cannot imagine to themselves any thing more august; and think they have omitted the stroke which finishes the glory of a hero, should they not exalt him by this comparison. In my opinion this denotes a false taste, a wrong turn of thinking; and if I might be allowed to say it, a want of judgment, which must naturally shock a reasonable mind. For, as Alexander was invested with supreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the several duties of the sovereignty. We do not find that he possessed the first, the most essential and most excellent virtues of a great prince, which are to be the father, the guardian, and shepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by land and sea, flourish: to encourage and protect arts and sciences, to establish peace and plenty, and not suffer his subjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to employ himself in doing justice to all his subjects, to hear their disputes, and reconcile them; to consider himself as the father of his people, as obliged to provide for all their necessities, and to procure them the several enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almost a moment after he ascended the throne, left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of these things, which however are the chief and most substantial duties of a great prince.

He seems possessed of such qualities only as are of the second rank, I mean those of war; and these are all extravagant, are carried to the rashest and most odious excess, and to the extremes of folly and fury, whilst his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the insatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppressions so far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his soldiers appear to be better regulated; for these, having plundered the wealth of the East, after the prince had given them the highest marks of his beneficence, grew so licentious, so disorderly, so debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts by a largess of 1,500,000*l*. What strange men were these! how depraved their school! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince, is it adorning his panegyric, to compare him with such a model?

¹ Timotheus. Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

² Mention is made of but one single wound

³ Non jam cum Durio rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac ejusmodi agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortune sue apparatus, prædam veriùs quàm hostem, nihil aliud quàm bene ausus vana contemneret, inveniunt devicit. Longè alius Italie, quàm Indię, per quam temulentò agmine commissabundus incessit, vias illi habitus esset, saltus Apulię ac montes Lucanę cornuti, et vestibigia recentia domesticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus super, Epiri ex Alexander assumptus erat. Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

⁴ Referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis, et desideratas humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; et fœda supplicia et inter vinum et epulas cædes amicorum, et vanitatem ementendi stitipis. Quid si vini amor in dies fieret acrior? quid si trux ac præservida ira? (nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imitatoris virtutibus ducimus? Liv. l. ix. n. 18.

The Romans, indeed, seemed to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much question, whether in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been considered as so great a man. Cæsar seeing his statue in a temple in Spain, during his government of that country after his prætorship, could not forbear groaning and sighing, when he compared the few glorious actions achieved by himself, with the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was said that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dressed in that king's surtout. Augustus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the sake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he assumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch so far as Caracalla. He used the same kind of arms and goblets as that prince; he had a Macedonian phalanx in his army; he persecuted the Peripatetics, and would have burned all the books of Aristotle their founder, because he was suspected to have conspired with those who poisoned Alexander.

I believe that I may justly assert, that, if an impartial person of good sense reads Plutarch's lives of illustrious men with attention, they will leave such a tacit and strong impression in his mind, as will make him consider Alexander one of the least valuable among them. But how strong would the contrast be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal and Scipio, the loss of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, set off with all his titles, and surrounded by all his conquests, even if considered in a military light, when compared to those heroes, who where truly great, and worthy their exalted reputation!

SECTION XX.—REFLECTIONS ON THE PERSIANS, GREEKS, AND MACEDONIANS, BY MONS. BOSSUET, BISHOP OF MEAUX.

THE reader will not be displeased with my inserting here, part of the admirable reflections of the Bishop of Meaux,¹ on the character and government of the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, with whose history we have been engaged.

The Greek nations, several of whom had at first lived under a monarchical form of government, having studied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themselves, and most of their cities formed themselves into commonwealths. But the wise legislators, who arose in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in history, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiousness. Laws, drawn up with great simplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conspire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which such a conduct inspired was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themselves was subject to the law, that is to reason itself, acknowledged as such by the whole nation. They would not let men rise to power among them. Magistrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was considered as their sovereign; it was she who appointed magistrates, prescribed the limits of their power, and punished their mal-administration. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens bore so much the greater love to their country, as all shared in the government of it; and as every individual was capable of attaining its highest dignities.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philosophy, with regard to the preservation of its form of government, is incredible. The greater freedom these nations enjoyed, the greater necessity there was to settle the laws relating to manners and those of society, agreeably to reason and good sense. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why should we mention philosophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's hands, amused them very much, but instructed them still more. The most renowned of conquerors considered Homer as a master, who taught him to govern wisely. This great poet instructed people, no less happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, saw the delicacy of the Asiatics: their dress and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmost contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the most sacred, inspired them with horror; and the barbarians were the most hateful of objects to Greece.

The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the most early times,² and it was become almost natural to them. A circumstance which made them delight so much in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Asia. On the side of Asia was Venus, that is to say, the pleasures, the idle loves, and effeminacy; on that of Greece, was Juno, or in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wise policy. With the Asiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to say, war carried on with fury: with the Greeks, Pallas, or, in other words, the science of war and valour, conducted by reason. The Grecians, from this time, had ever imagined, that understanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Asia's design to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had subjected virtue to pleasure, the mind to the body, and true courage to brutal strength, which consisted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were strongly inspired with these sentiments, when Darius, son of Hystaspes, and Xerxes, invaded them with armies so prodigiously numerous as exceeds all belief. The Persians found often, to their cost, the great advantage which discipline has over multitudes and confusion; and how greatly superior courage (when conducted by skill) is to a blind impetuosity.

Persia, after having been so often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to sow divisions among them; and the height to which conquest had raised the latter, facilitated the design. As fear,⁴ held them in the bands of union, victory and security dissolved them. Having been always used to fight and conquer, they no sooner believed that they had no longer any thing to fear from the power of the Persians, than they turned their arms against each other.

Among the several republics of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. These two great commonwealths, whose manners and conduct were directly opposite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common design they had of subjecting all Greece; so that they were eternally at variance, and this more from the contrariety of interests, than an opposition of tempers and disposition.

The Grecian cities would not subject themselves to either: for besides that every one of them desired to live free and independent, they were not pleased with the government of either of those two commonwealths. We have shown, in the course of this history, that the Peloponnesian, and other wars, were either owing to, or supported by, the reciprocal jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But at the same time that this jealousy disturbed, it supported Greece in some measure; and kept it from being dependent on either of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this state and condition of Greece; after which, the whole secret of their politics was to keep up these jealousies, and foment these divisions. Lacedæmon, being the most ambitious, was the first that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Persians took part in them, with a view of subjecting the whole nation; and industriously

¹ Dion. l. xxvii. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. li. p. 434. Id. l. lix. p. 653. Id. l. lxxvii. p. 673.

² Discourse on Universal History. Part iii. chap. 4.

³ Isocrates in Panegyric.

⁴ Plat. de Leg. ul.

to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable instant to crush them altogether. Already the cities of Greece considered, in their wars, only the king of Persia, whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themselves his subjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of slavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the barbarians, it was impossible for the genius, the spirit of the country, not to rouse and take the alarm. Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed that they might be humbled. Their weakness was still more evident by the glorious retreat of the 10,000 Greeks, who had followed the Younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece saw more plainly than ever, that it possessed an invincible body of soldiery, which was able to subdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and divisions could subject it to an enemy, who was too weak to resist it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whose abilities were equal to his valour, took so great advantage of the divisions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but small, yet, as it was united, and his power absolute, he at last, partly by artifice and partly by strength, rose to greater power than any of the Grecian states, and obliged them all to march under his standards against the common enemy. This was the state of Greece when Philip lost his life, and Alexander his son succeeded to his kingdom, and to the designs he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his accession, were not only well disciplined and inured to toils, but triumphant: and become, by so many successes, almost as much superior to the other Greeks in valour and discipline, as the rest of the Greeks were superior to the Persians, and to such nations as resembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Persia in Alexander's time, was a just, brave, and generous prince; was beloved by his subjects, and wanted neither good sense nor vigour for the execution of his designs. But, if we compare the two monarchs; if we oppose the genius of Darius, to the penetrating sublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty invincible courage, which obstacles animated, of the latter; with that boundless desire which Alexander possessed, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all things ought to bend before him, as being formed by Providence superior to the rest of mortals; a belief with which he inspired not only his generals, but the meanest of his soldiers, who thereby rose above difficulties, and even above themselves; the reader will easily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to these considerations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it must be confessed, that it was impossible for the Persian empire to subsist any longer, when invaded by so great a hero, and by such invincible

armies. And thus we discover, at one and the same time, the circumstance which ruined the empire of the Persians, and raised that of Alexander.

To smooth his way to victory, the Persians happened to lose the only general who was able to make head against the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought against this illustrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquished an enemy worthy of himself. But in the very infancy of a diversion, which began already to distract Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a splendour and magnificence which had never been seen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after subduing, with incredible swiftness, all the nations subject to Persia; to secure his new empire on every side, or rather to satiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conquests farther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whose impetuous career neither deserts, rivers nor mountains, could stop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his soldiers, who called aloud for ease and repose.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and respected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheless, the formidable empire he had acquired, subsisted no longer than his life, which was but short. At thirty-three years of age, in the midst of the grandest designs that ever man formed, and flushed with the surest hopes of success, he died before he had leisure to settle his affairs on a solid foundation; leaving behind him a brother, who was an idiot, and children very young, all incapable of supporting the weight of such a power.

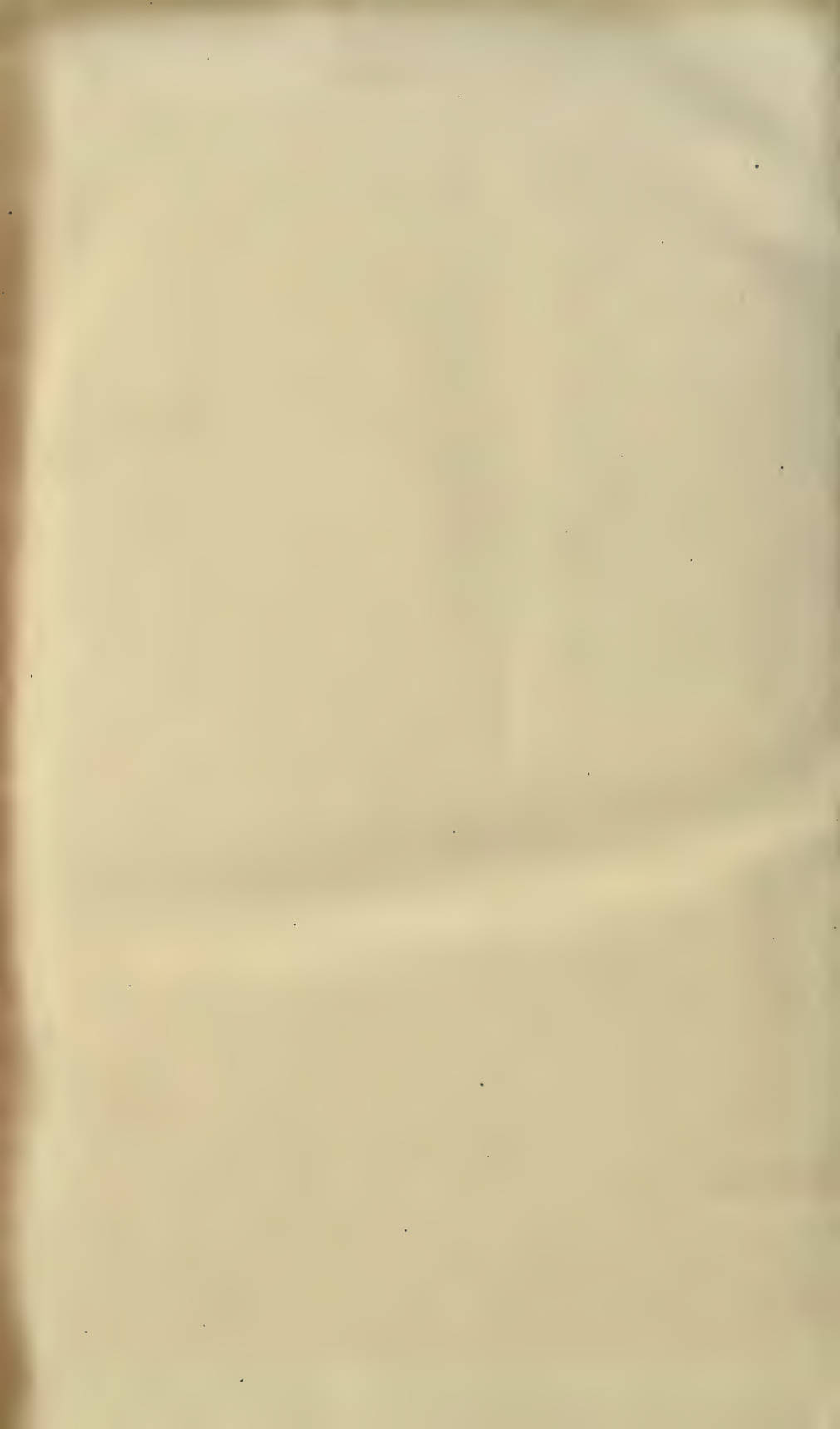
But the circumstance which proved most fatal to his family and empire, was his having taught the generals who survived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foresaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of mistaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his successor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold that his friends would solemnize his obsequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the sad images of the confusion which would follow his death.

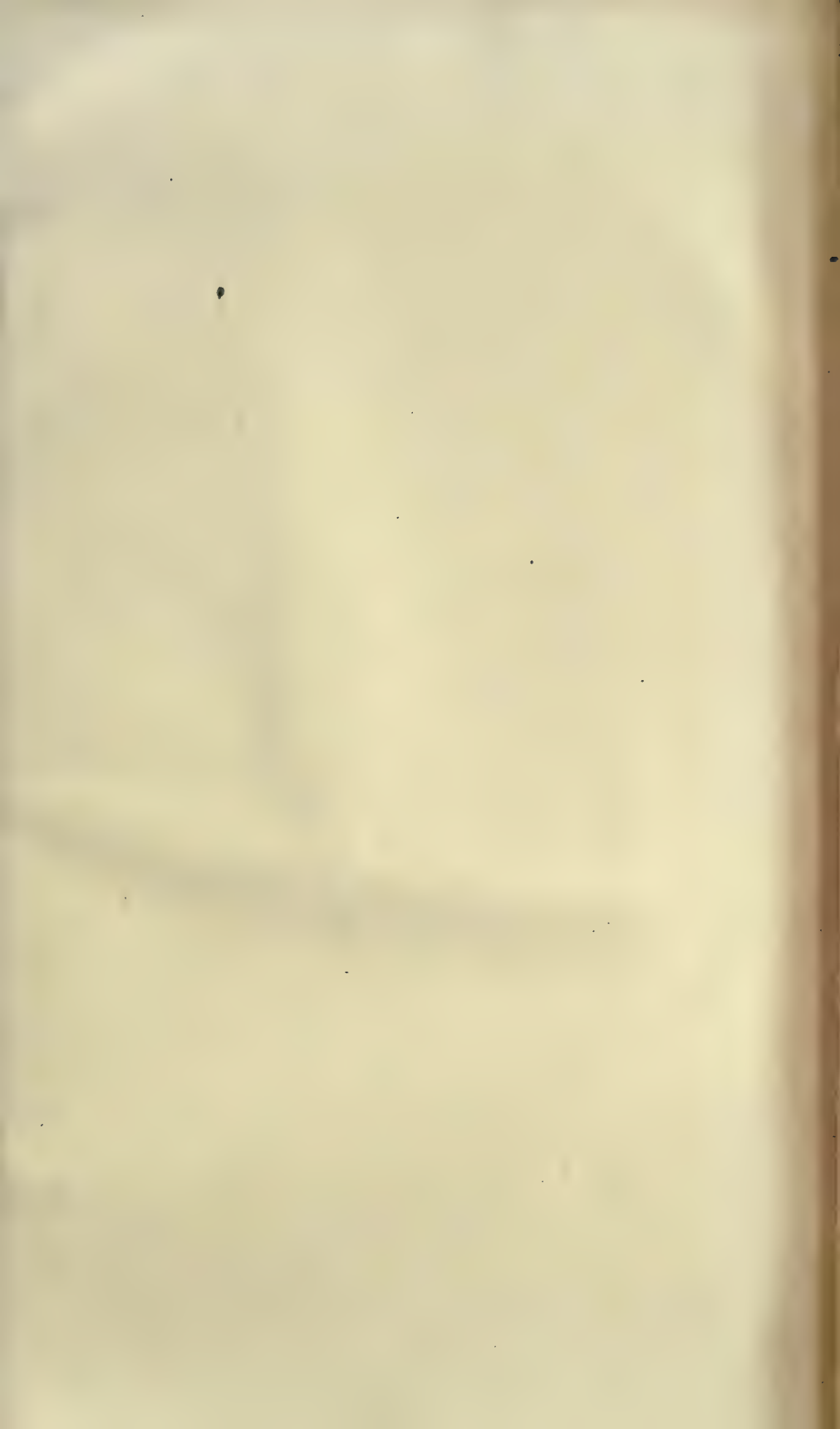
And indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his ancestors had governed during so many ages, was invaded on all sides, as a succession that was become vacant; and after being long exposed a prey to the strongest, was at last possessed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the most renowned the world ever saw, was the last king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the greatness of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his ancestors. But rising to too exalted a height of power, he proved the destruction of his posterity; and such was the glorious fruit of all his conquests!

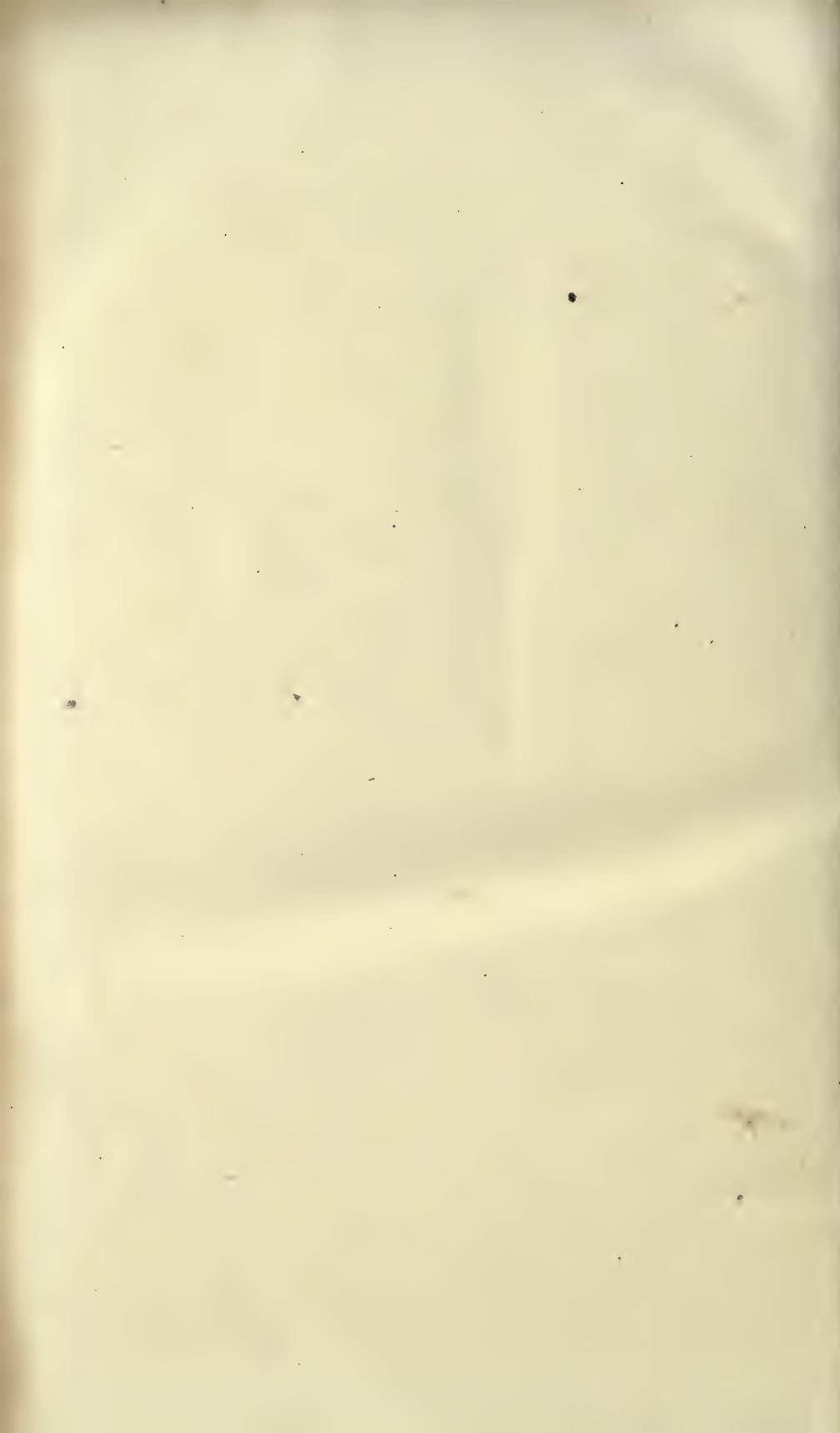
1 Plat. de Leg. l. iii. Isocrat in Paneg

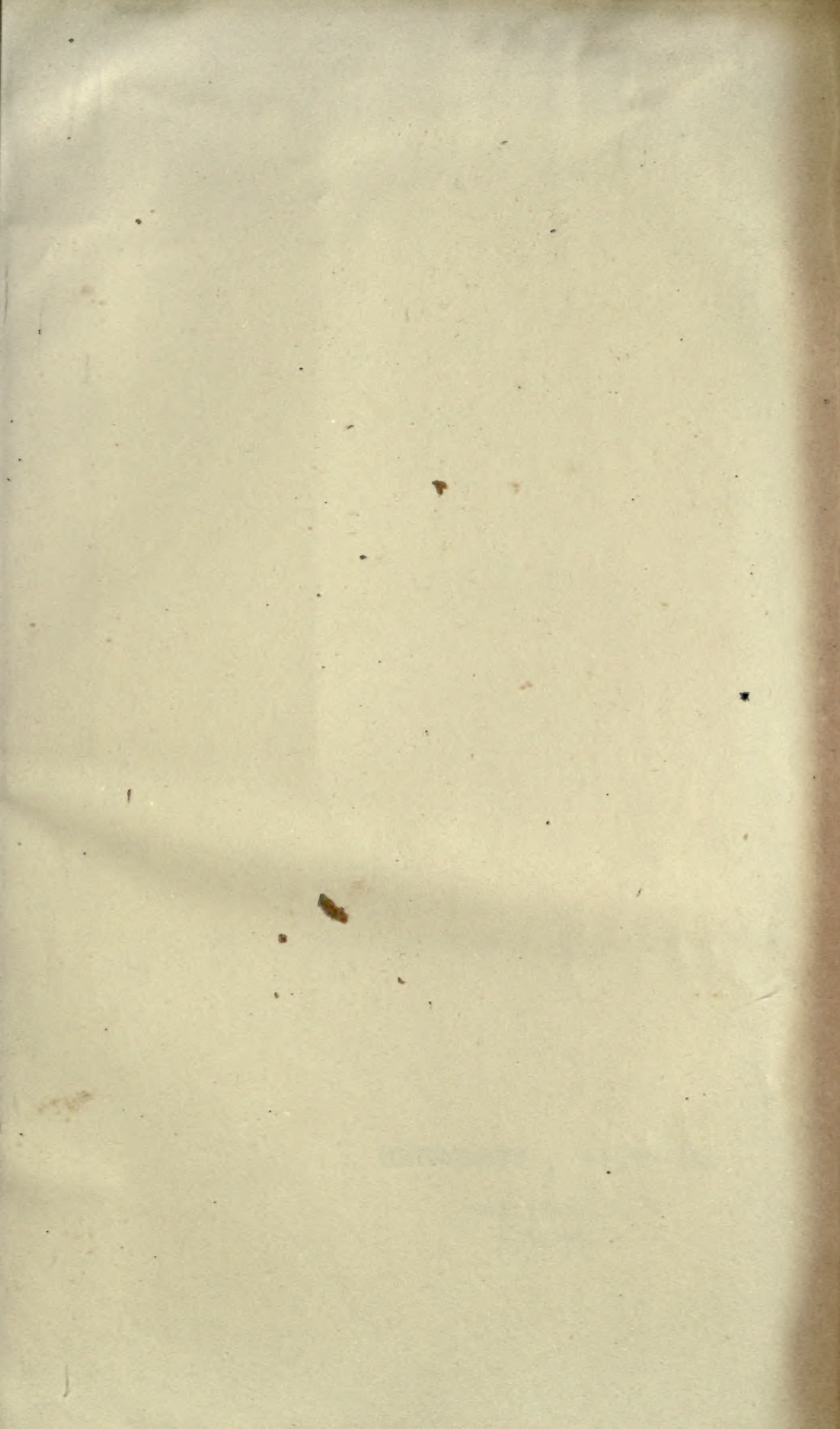












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